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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from Vol. XXVI. p. 329.*)

3.

Siamese and Shân Weights.

THE quaint, but for its time intelligent and advanced, *Comparative Vocabulary of the Barma, Malayu and T'hai Languages*, from the Serampore Mission Press, 1810, gives us, at p. 129, a list of weights and measures, valuable for tracing the history of Indo-European words and weight denominations, and at the same time enables us to pass on to the next point for consideration: **comparative Burmese and Siamese bullion weights.** In this table the Burmese and Malay words are in their respective characters, but the T'hai (Siamese) words are in Roman transcription. I will, therefore, transcribe the first two columns in transcription and leave the other two, Siamese and English, as they are in the original.

Comparative List of 1810.

Burmese.	Malay.	Siamese.[94]	English.
Chên	Tembang[95]	Chang	(any) Weight
Pyaungzàn	Pâdi...	Met-k'au-fang ...	A grain[96]
Taywê[97]	Sagâ[98]	Klam	A rutty
Lêywê[97]	Sûkû-kôndarî[99] ...	P'hai	Half coonderin[99]
Tamû[97]	Kôndarî[99]	Fùang	Coonderin[99]
Tamàt[97]	Mayam—Mâs[100] ...	Salüng[1]	Mas
Kyàtchên[2]	Jampal	Bât	A rupee weight
Tahông[3]	Taêl[4]-Bûngkal ...	Tamlüng[1]	Tial[4]

[94] For a further explanation of Siamese weights, see later on in the text.

[95] Timbang, according to Crawfurd (*Malay Dict.*, 1852), is Javanese "to weigh."

[96] There is a curious mistake here: *pyaungzàn* is millet; *pâḍi* is "paddy," rice; and *met-k'au-fang* is for *metk'aus'an*, a grain of rice unhusked, *vide* Bowring, Vol. II. p. 259; La Loubère, E. T., *Siam*, p. 164; Cushing, *Shân Dict.* p. 396. So the book has mistaken the words "a grain" for "a grain weight." In Burmese this is, in this case, strictly *sànzê*, but usually *ywê*; and in Malay it is *buku*.

[97] These words mean respectively: 1 *ywê*, 4 *ywê*, 1 *mû*, 1 *màt*. [98] See Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 171.

[99] *Sûkû* is, however, one-fourth: *kôndarî* and coonderin are valuable forms for the history of "candareen:" *kôndarî butang*, according to Crawfurd (*Malay Dict.*, *s. v.*), is the *Adenanthera pavonina* = *ywêjî*: see *ante*, Vol. XXVI. pp. 314 ff., 320.

[100] The origin of "mace."

[1] In these words the *ü* is nearly the German ö, or perhaps in most men's mouths nearest the French *eu*. French writers represent it by *œu* or *œ*.

[2] *Lit.* (the) weight (of a) *kyàt*, or tickal.

[3] Spelt *tahun* and means "1 *hun*" or "*hông*." I do not know what this is meant for, unless for the Indian coin *hûn* or pagoda, which was known to the Malays (*vide* Crawfurd), and so got to the informants of the writers of the *Vocabulary*. This view is confirmed by the current Shân word *haung* for 2¼ rupees (or tickals), the tael being, in Shân really *taung* or 4 rupees (or tickals). Taking the *haung* as properly 2½ tickals it would equal in weight 3½ rupees or very nearly the pagoda. The Siamese tael and the pagoda were mixed up in the last century, *vide* Stevens, *Guide*, p. 88.

[4] *Tüil* or *tâhil* in Crawfurd; always *tahil* in Raffles' *Java*, and in Maxwell's *Malay Papers*: *tial* (evidently meant to be pronounced like "dial") for tael is a valuable transitional form; La Loubère has "*teil or tael.*"

Burmese.	Malay.	Siamese.	English.
Tabêkbâ[5]	Kati[6]	Chang[7]	Catty
Achêntayâ[8]... ...	Pikûl[9]	Hap...	Pecul
....	Bhârâ	P'hrâ	Bahar
Taing[3]	Ukurat	Wât	any) Measure
Chin	Suqâtan	Fûang	(any) Measure of capacity

To dive into the irregular tangle of **Siamese weights,**[10] as presented by travellers and writers, with any hope of arriving at clear ideas, is no easy matter, but I think **we may safely affirm the following comparative table :—**

Burmese.	Siamese.
2 pè are 1 mû	4 p'ênüng[11] are 1 fûang
2 mû ,, 1 màt	2 fûang ,, 1 salüng
4 màt ,, 1 kyàt	4 salüng ,, 1 bât
100 kyàt ,, 1 pêkbâ	80 bât ,, 1 chang

Now the *chang* is roughly 3 lbs. 2½ oz., *i. e.*, 50½ oz. av., and the pêkbâ (viss) roughly 3 lbs. 11 oz., *i. e.*, 59 oz. av. Practically this works out the *bât* and *kyàt* to half an oz. av., and both represent the tickal. Therefore the *kyàt*, *màt* and *mû* of Burma represent the *bât*, *salüng* and *fûang* of Siam. Now it will be seen on reference to the concurrent Burmese tables given *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 320, that the above synonymous denominations for bullion weights refer to the quaternary Burmese scale and not to the decimal. So that here we begin to have **an explanation of the concurrent Burmese systems. Namely, that the decimal scale is due to Chinese influence and the concurrent quaternary scale to Siamese influence.**[12] Historically I should be inclined to say that the original Burmese scale was the decimal one borrowed from China,[13] and that when the Lower Provinces were held in Siamese dominion from about 1300 A. D. to 1550 A. D.,[14] the people adapted the terms of the decimal scale to the Siamese quaternary scale, and then preserved the adaptations, precisely as they have in Lower Burma since the Wars of 1825 and 1853 and in Upper Burma since that of 1876 fitted their existing terms for weights to suit the Rupees, annas and pice of British-India. In both these last instances the two-fold senses of the terms used have continued to run concurrently :

[5] Written *tapitsá*, which is unusual and probably phonetic : it means "1 viss."

[6] *Katî* is Javanese, according to Crawfurd, *Dict.*, *s. v.*

[7] A Siamese catty is two Chinese catties.

[8] This means "weight one hundred," and helps to account for the *teiya* and *peiya* of Wilson above noticed, Vol. XXVI. p. 329.

[9] Javanese according to Crawfurd, meaning "a man's burden, as much as a man can carry."

[10] How the people got along with their muddle of weights and measures is well described by La Loubère, *Siam*, E. T., p. 72. See also p. 134, and Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 134 ff.

[11] Usually so stated, but the word *nüng* as a suffix often means "one" in Shân, and this expression should therefore perhaps be correctly always given as simply *p'ê*. Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I. p. 329, has "les *fai* ou sous Siamois."

[12] In 1333 A. D. the Chinese Government sent to Siam a set of its standard weights and measures on application; Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. I. p. 73. And Mr. E. H. Parker informs me that it did so to the Northern Shân States constantly, notably in 1483 A. D. To Burma it issued such standards in 1441 and 1451 A. D.

[13] See Stevens, *Guide*, p. 90 f. ; Symes, *Ava*, p. 328 ; Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 34 : but Crawfurd, *Ava*, p. 434, thinks it was borrowed from the Hindus, and may be right. The point is a very obscure one.

[14] See Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 290 : as to Siamese influence in Pegu, see *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 353.

thus the common terms 5 *mû* (*ngâmû*) = half a *kyàt* = 8 annas, and 6 *mû* (*chaukmû*) = 10 annas will no doubt live as long as 1 *mû* (*tamû*) = 2 annas, and 3 *mû* (*bôngmû*) = 6 annas, though the former refer to the decimal and the latter to the quaternary scale.

By going into the greater weights one can further shew the Siamese and Burmese to be the same. Thus, two Chinese (Penang) catties are one Siamese catty (*chang*), and, assuming the *bât* and *kyàt* to be the same weight on the faith of the table just given, 100 viss (Burmese) are 125 Siamese catties = 250 Chinese (Penang) catties. Now 100 viss (Burmese) are one old Ava picul of 250 Penang catties.[15] The comparative scale of old Burmese and Siamese weights is therefore based on the equality of the *bât* and *kyàt* or tickal. Again, the Siamese picul (*hap*) equals the Chinese picul thus: 2 Chinese catties = 1 Siamese catty, but 100 Chinese catties and 50 Siamese catties = 1 Siamese picul.[16]

As regards **the lower weights**, the available information is naturally too insecure for useful comparison, thus: — 32 or 24 or 20 *klam* (or *clam*) = 1 *p'ênüng* Siamese; 4 *sànzê* = 1 *ywê* and 8 *ywê* = 1 *pè* Burmese; 2 *p'ênüng* Siamese = 1 *pè*, Burmese. Now the *klam* and *sànzê* are both grains of rice. Therefore, on the above premises, 32 grains of rice = 1 *pè*, and 16 grains should equal 1 *p'ênüng*, but the scale gives more.[17] To complicate the matter, the usually at all points reliable Crawfurd, *Siam*, p. 331, calls the *klam* the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*, which is a much heavier weight than the rice-seed, but he gives the local vernacular form as *sagâ*, which when used thus by itself is Malay (usually) for a rice-seed. By turning to the cowry equivalents, the position is not improved. Crawfurd puts 200 cowries to the *p'ênüng*: Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. II., on p. 257, puts it 300 and on p. 260, 200:[18] Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 150, at 400. But one may expect this sort of thing in such matters. It all depends on the date and place of the enquiry on the spot.

I feel confirmed in the speculation as to the origin of the concurrent Burmese systems by the existence of precisely the same conditions further Eastwards under apparently similar circumstances. Professor Ridgeway,[19] quoting M. J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Camboge*, 1883, Vol. I. p. 323, affords the following table for Cambodia: —

Concurrent Tables for Cambodia.

Decimal Scale.[20]			Quaternary Scale.		
10 hun	are	1 chi	4 pey	are	1 fuong
10 chi	„	1 tomlong	2 fuong	„	1 slong
16 tomlong	„	1 neal	4 slong	„	1 bat
100 nêal	„	1 hap[21]	4 bat[22]	„	1 tomlong
			(?) 16 tomlong	„	1 neal[23]
			100 neal	„	1 hap[24]

15 See Wilson's *Documents of the Burmese War*, Appx., p. lxi.

16 Rule 4 of the Treaty Rules with China, dated 8th November 1858, runs: — "The weight of a pecul of 100 catties is held to be equal to 133 1/3 pounds avoirdupois." Herstlett's *Treaties*, p. 33.

17 The following quotation from Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I. p. 134 f., gives the probable explanation of the muddle: — "Non seulement le Mœuong Attopœu paie son impôt en poudre d' or, mais, fait unique au Laos, ce métal précieux est sa seule monnaie. Cette poudre est habituellement pesée dans des petites balances à plateaux. On dit que l' unité de poids est le tical pesant 32 grains d' un gros riz rouge du pays."

18 At p. 244 Bowring quotes Vanschouten, 1636, 200 to 300 to the tael, which must be a mistake for 2,000 to 3,000: Mandelslö, 1669, *Travels to the Indies*, p. 104, makes 200 to 225 cowries to the *p'ênüng*: Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, 1884, p. 141, makes them 300: so does Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shâns*, 1885, p. 220 n.: Holt-Hallett, *Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, 1890, p. 134, has 100 to 200 at Zimmè (Chiengmai, Kaingmai).

19 *Origin of Currency*, p. 160.

20 The spelling is Prof. Ridgeway's in both tables.

21 *Hun* is candareen, *chi* is mace, *tomlong* is tael, *nêal* is Chinese catty, *hap* is Siamese picul.

22 Ridgeway, p. 161, says the Cambodian term for *bât* is *clom*. Haswell, *Peguan Vocabulary*, p. 42, gives *klòm* as the Mon word for 100.

23 M. Moura has not apparently stated how many *tomlong* go to the *nêal* in this scale. In Siam 20 *tamlüng* go to the *chang*.

24 I must here note, though it is not in itself surprising, that the details in French terminology of the Siamese

He says that the first is "plainly borrowed from the Chinese, whilst the other is regarded as native in origin." The first or decimal scale is no doubt of Chinese origin, but the second or quaternary scale is the Siamese scale word for word, except as to *nêal* (catty) for *chang*,[25] though **I am unable to produce evidence at present as to whether the Cambodian scale came from Siam or the Siamese scale from Cambodia,**[26] beyond Prof. Ridgeway's statement at p. 161 : — "The Siamese coins, known also to Cambodia, were the weight and money units of the ancient Cambodians, who probably weighed their precious metals."

Sir J. Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. I. p. 257 ff., evidently intended to sum up the information available on the weights and measures of that country, as known up to 1857, but apparently without fully grasping the significance thereof : —

First he gives a table from Jones, *Siamese Grammar* :—

4 pic[27]	are	1 fuang
2 fuang	„	1 salung
4 salung	„	1 tical or bat
4 tical	„	1 tambung[28]
20 tambung	„	1 chang
50 chang	„	1 hab or picul
100 hab	„	1 para[29]

He then gives another table from McCulloch's *Dictionary*, on Crawfurd's authority :—

200 bia or cowries	are	1 phainung
2 phainung	„	1 singphai
2 singphai	„	1 fuang
2 fuang	„	1 salung
4 salung	„	1 bat or tical
80 ticals	„	1 cattie
100 catties	„	1 picul

But he notes that the "cattie" above mentioned is the Chinese and not the Siamese "cattie," which is double of the Chinese and of which only 50 go to the picul.

---

and Cambodian weights do not fit at all, according to Bowring and Ridgeway ; see Vol. II. p. 258 and p. 160 respectively. Thus : —

Terms.	Bowring : *grammes.*	Ridgeway : *grammes.*
Hūn	·45	·375
Fûang	2·25	1·174
Salūng	4·5	2·344
Bât	18	9·375
Nêal (chang)	720	600

[25] Siamese influence has extended over Cambodia more or less completely, till quite lately since 1850 A. D. Browning, *Siam*, Vol. I. p. 43 ff. : Cushing in *Burma Census Report*, 1891, Vol. I. p. 202 f.

[26] If the Cambodian scale is the original one, then the historical argument as to the origin of the Burmese quaternary scale is strengthened, for the Cambodian influence in Lower Burma lasted from the 6th to the 10th Century A. D., giving way to the Siamese finally in the 13th Century : *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 353 ff. See also M. Pontalis' article *L'invasion Thaïe en Indo-Chine*, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. III. p. 53 ff.

[27] There are so many misprints in such of Bowring's quotations as I have been able to verify, that this seemingly impossible word should perhaps be read for some form of *p'ê* : Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, has *pie* at p. 141.

[28] Misprint for *tamlūng*. The Shân word is *taung*, evidently the same as *tam*. See Cushing, *Shân Dict.* p. 252.

[29] *Bhârâ, bahar*, or *bar* : *bhrâ* in the *Burmese Vocabulary* quoted *ante*, p. 2. "A measure called a Parrah, whereof ;80 make a Quoyan, w[h] ; weighs just : 30 Pec[l];." *Trade Report of Siam*, 1678, in Anderson, *Siam*, p. 424.

He also gives a *résumé* of the information in **La Loubère**,[30] 1688, from which can be extracted the following table: —

4	payes	are	1 fuang
2	fuangs	,,	1 mayon
4	mayons	,,	1 tical
4	ticals	,,	1 tael
20	taels	,,	1 catty
50	catties	,,	1 pic[31]

At p. 244 he quotes **Vanschouten**, 1636, to the following effect:—

2	foangs	are	1 mace
4	mace	,,	1 tical
(4	ticals	,,	1 tael)
20	taels	,,	1 catty[32].

His own information can be tabulated thus (p. 257): —

1,200	cowries	are	1 fuang
2	fuang	,,	1 salung
2	salung	,,	1 songsalung
2	songsalung	,,	1 tical
4	tical	,,	1 tael
20	tael	,,	1 catty[33]

Bowring also gives **a table from the French authorities** as follows: —

Avoirdupois Weight.

						cwt.	qr.	lb.	oz.	dr.	sc.	grs.
Hùn	=	45	cg.	=	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7·6170
Fuang	,,	2¼	g.	,,	..	...	...	...	...	...	3	8·0949
Salung	,,	4½	g.	,,	...	..	...	...	...	2	1	6·1898
Bat	,,	18	g.	,,	...	...	...	...	...	10		4·7597
Xang[34]	,,	1,440	g.	,,	...	...	...	3	2	12		0·7811[36]
Cati[35]	,,	720	g.	,,	...	...	...	1	9	6	1	0·3955
Kab[37]	,,	72	kg.	,,	...	1	1	18	11	14	2	4·460

Put in another form, which will be found later on to be of great value in determining the true relation of the Siamese to other Far-Eastern scales, the above tables can be stated thus: —

5	hùn[38]	are	1 fûang
2	fûang	,,	1 salüng
4	salüng	,,	1 bât
80	bât	,,	1 Siamese catty (xang)
40	bât	,,	1 Chinese catty
100	Chinese catties	,,	1 hap (picul)

30 See E. T., p. 164. In a letter from the English factors at Ayuthia, dated 1675, we find "accounting 20 taile to the catt:" and "215 Catt[s] :, 8 Tec[ll] : a Mass." Anderson, *Siam*, p. 123.

31 Mistake for picul, based on La Loubère.

32 Mandelslö, *Travels into the East Indies*, 1669, E. T., p. 104, gives the scale in full, as in the text.

33 Pages 259 f., he gives derivations, following La Loubère, for the terms, which can now be shewn to be quite erroneous.

34 *I. e.*, *chang* or Siamese catty.

35 *I. e.*, Chinese catty.

36 2·675 lbs. av., according to Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 141.

37 Should be *hab* (*hap*).

38 From the Cambodian tables above given we see that this is meant for the candareen or seed of the *Adenanthera pavonina*.

From Crawfurd himself, *Siam*, p. 331 f., we get the following: —

32	sagas[39]	are	1 p'hainung
200	bias[40] (cowries)	,,	1 p'hainung
2	p'hainungs	,,	1 songp'hai
2	songp'hais	,,	1 fuang
2	fuangs	,,	1 salung
4	salungs	,,	1 bat or tical[41]
80	ticals	,,	1 cattie[42] or 1 1/3 lb. av.
100	catties	,,	1 picul[43]

In the above tables *pic* (?), *pey*, *paye*, *p'ê* and *p'ênüng*[44] are the same thing: *bât*, *tamlüng* (*tomlong*), *chang* (*xang*) and *hab*, *hap* (*kab*) are Siamese forms respectively for tickal, tael,[45] catty and picul: *mâyam* (Malay), mace (commercial), *mâsha* (Indian) and *salüng* (*slong*) (Siamese) are the same thing. *Sông* (*sôm*) means two or double, and can be discarded in comparisons. As regards the *hün* it seems, while being intended for the candareen, to be treated in the Tariff attached to the Treaty which Sir John Bowring drew up with Siam in 1855, as if it were synonymous with "*p'hainung*."[46] I do not find it mentioned in the other Treaties.

We may now upon the information thus collected fairly draw up a **general table** in the following form for the purposes of comparison:—

4	p'ênüng	are	1 fûang
2	fûang	,,	1 salüng
4	salüng	,,	1 bât (Siamese tickal)

That is the *bât* = 32 *p'ênüng*, and since, as we have already seen, 2 *p'ênüng* = 1 *pè* Burmese, the *p'ênüng* must equal 4 *ywê* Burmese: so the *bât* = 128 *ywê* = 1 *kyàt* (Burmese tickal). **Thus also the Siamese scale can be referred to the ordinary ancient Indian scale on the assumption of a common origin.**

Since gathering the above information, I have come across the statements of **Malcom** on this subject, who wrote some twenty years previously to Bowring. His testimony, *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 150, is as usual valuable and much to the point, confirming generally what has been just stated:— "The Siamese have coined money, but use cowries for very small change. The coins are merely a small bar of silver, turned in at the ends, so as to resemble a bullet and stamped with a small die on one side.

400	cowries	make	1 p'hai
2	p'hai	,,	1 songp'hai
2	songp'hais	,,	1 fuang
2	fuangs	,,	1 saloong
4	saloongs	,,	1 bât or tical
4	ticals	,,	1 tamloong
20	tamloongs	,,	1 chang

The two last are nominal. They sometimes have a gold *fuang* equal to eight ticals.[47] The tical assayed at the mint of Calcutta, yielded about one rupee, three and a half annas,

[39] Crawfurd makes the *sagâ* the *Abrus precatorius*, but the number to the *p'ênüng* shews that in this case it must have its proper meaning when used by itself, *viz.*, a rice seed. See above, note 96, p. 1.

[40] This word is given as *mê*, *wê*, *makmê*, and *makwê* in Cushing's *Shân Dict.* pp. 382, 407, 515.

[41] Variable weight, but about 236 grs., according to Crawfurd, *loc. cit.*

[42] Crawfurd by this meant Chinese catties = half Siamese catties, and knew that the Siamese and Chinese piculs were of the same weight: *vide loc. cit.*

[43] See above, note 7, p. 2.

[44] For these Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 141, gives a synonym *at*.

[45] Siamese tael, that is. The Chinese tael is apparently to the Siamese tael as 32 to 20.

[46] See Browning, *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 224 ff.

[47] This statement is a little difficult. If a *fuang* weight of gold = 8 tickals weight of silver, then gold is to silver as 8 × 8 = 64 to 1: which one knows could not have been the case in Malcom's time, *c.* 1839 A. D.

equal to 2s. 6d. sterling, or about sixty cents of American money. For weights they use the catty and picul. The catty is double that of the Chinese, but the picul is the same."

Going back to observations made at considerably earlier dates than those above mentioned we find in **Stevens' Guide**, 1775, at p. 88: —

1 Tekull	is	12 or 13 Fanams Madras, or 1 Rupee	
3 Tekulls	are	1 Pagoda	
4 Tekulls	,,	1 Tale or Pagoda	
20 Tales	,,	1 Catty, or 36 Pagodas 26 Fanams	

At p. 128: "Gold and Silver Weights," Stevens tells us that "These are the Tical, which weighs nearest 9 dwts. 10 grs. and (is) $9\frac{1}{2}$ dwts. better than standard Silver. Great Weights. 80 Tuals are 1 Catty, or 2 lb. 9 oz. $4\frac{1}{2}$ drs. Avoirdupoise (*sic*): 50 Catties 1 Pecul, or 129 lb. 0 oz. 13 drs.[48] Fifty Siam Catties should be equal to 1 China Pecul of 132 lb. for all their Goods are weighed by the China Dotchin:[49] But the King's Dotchin at Siam is never found to give more than 125 lb., though it should be 132 lb.

Coins.

2 Samporfs[50]	are	1 Tuang[51]
2 Tuangs	,,	1 Miam[52]
4 Miams	,,	1 Tual

Coins.

800 Cowries[53]	are	1 Tuang
4 Tuals	,,	1 Tale
20 Tales	,,	1 Catty

Accounts are kept here in Catties, Tales, Tuals, Miams, Tuangs, and Cowries. 10 Miams pass for a Tale China, and 85 Tales Siam are always reckoned as 8 China."[54]

I have given these extracts *in extenso*, as instructive in the present enquiries. From the first we can see why it is that Alexander 50 years later (*Travels*, p. 21), and later again Malcom (*Travels*, Vol. II. p. 270), say that the Burmese tical was nearly a Madras rupee. From it we also see that the merchants recognised at that time a Madras and a Siamese Pagoda, the last being the tael or *tamlüng*. The "*tual*" mentioned is clearly for "tical," probably through misreading some MS. document.

But **Alexander Hamilton**, writing 35 years before Stevens, in his *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 8, hits off the facts much better in his "Table of Weights, etc." Thus: —

"Siam Weights and Coin have the same Denomination.

1 Miam	is	2 Foads (*fûangs*)
1 Tecul	,,	4 Miams
1 Cattee	,,	80 Teculs
1 Pecul	,,	100 Cattees or 133 lb. Avoirdupois.

The Cattee and Pecul are used in Cambodia, Couchin-china, Tonquin, China and Japan, not differing above 2 per Cent. in all those Countries."

[48] But compare *ante*, p. 5.

[49] *I. e.*, scales, balance: see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*, *datchin*. But here is a new reading for this word: "In China . . . . they having no regular Standard kept; but the usual Resort for the trial of their *Dodgings* are the Joss houses, where they always keep what they call the true *Dodging*, but you will seldom find two of them agree." Stevens, *Guide*, p. 91.

[50] *I. e.*, *sòngp'è*.

[51] A misprint for *Fûang*.

[52] Malay term, *mâyam* = *mâs* = *salüng*.

[53] *I. e.*, 200 to the *p'ènüng*.

[54] This is not quite intelligible. Stevens reckoned 16 Chinese taels to the Chinese catty, (p. 91), and the Chinese catty as half the Siamese catty, therefore 32 Chinese taels = 1 Siamese catty. By Siamese reckoning 20 Siamese taels = 1 Siamese catty, therefore 85 Siamese taels = 133 Chinese taels. But the statement "10 miams pass for a tale China" is rather a neat reference to *mâyam* (Malay) = *mâs* (S. Indian) = *mâsha* (Sanskrit) = mace (commercial), for 10 mace are 1 tael Chinese.

From a document attributed to George White, the son of the celebrated Interloper, being a **Report on the Trade of Siam in 1678,**[55] we find that the buying price of sapan-wood at the Royal warehouses was ": 2: mace : 1: *ffuah* p. Pec:$^{l}_{a}$," and the selling price therefrom ": 6 : mace ordinarily."[56] But the King " an: 77[57] hee raised it to 2 Tecalls vpon notice that y^{e}: price, was advanced in China, since when 'tis fallen againe to y^{e}: form^{r}: rate of : 6 : mace." Here "*ffuah*" is clearly for *fûang*.

As the Siamese and the more or less wild Hill Tribes, known to the English through the Burmese as **the Shâns,**[58] and to the French through another local source as **the Laos,**[59] are merely sections of the same race, **the Tâi,**[60] it will be useful to make a survey of the **Shân method of calculating bullion weights.** To make clear the observations that follow, it is necessary to explain that the Shân Race is spread from the sources of the Irrawaddy within Indian and Chinese Territories over the plains between the Salween and the Cambodia[61] Rivers to the Gulf of Siam. It includes the Khâmtîs of the Assam border, the Siamese, the people of S'ips'òng Pannâ of Cambodia, and the former ruling race Ahom, from which Assam takes its name. It includes also Tribes that are conveniently known to the English as **Burmese Shâns, Chinese Shâns** and **Siamese Shâns,** and clearly besides, what may be called on a perusal of French authorities, **Cambodian Shâns.** These generalisations shew, what is so important for the present purpose, the influences to which these people have been exposed, the said influences, as will be seen later on, giving a variety of colour to their ideas on currency and weights.[62] The fundamental affinities of the Shâns are historically towards the Chinese proper.[63]

As regards **the Burmese Shâns,** McLeod and Richardson's *Journal,*[64] 1837, says that the Shâns " use the same weights and measures as the Burmans, but deteriorated one-fourth or 25 per cent. by alloys." Again Cushing's *Shân Dictionary* gives *pê* (*pâ*), *mû*[65] (*mu*), *mat* (*met*), and *kyap* (*kip*), all with their Burmese equivalents, obviously meant for the same words and weights. Also *taṅkâ* for the British-Indian rupee, obviously again for the Burmese *diṅgâ*.

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[55] Anderson, *Siam*, p. 424.

[56] What the King only is said to have done here, every one does in the Shân States after a much milder fashion. M. Rocher, writing in 1890, *Notes sur un Voyage au Yun-nan*, in T'oung Pao, Vol. I. p. 51, says : — Il est difficile de donner un poids mathématiquement exact, chaque négociant ayant deux manières de peser, selon qu'il paye ou qu'il reçoit, la différence entre les deux poids variant de quelques centièmes pour un tael."

A remarkable passage in Raffles, *Java*, Vol. II., Appx., p. clxv , gives an administrative reason for this practice. " In order to cover wastage, it was the rule of the Government (Dutch) that there should be one rate for receipt of goods, and another for their delivery. This varied according as the article was perishable or otherwise, or to the degree of peculation established by the usage. This applied to all measures and weights by which goods were received and issued at the Government stores, and the rates were different in different districts."

[57] *Scil.* A. D. 1677.

[58] Spelt *Hrân*. The name *Siam* comes through the Malay form *Siyam* (Crawfurd, *Malay Dict. s. v.*), and the various forms of it shew it to be identical with "*Shân*." See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*

[59] See Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shâns*, pp. 49, 206 ff. Holt-Hallett, *Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, pp. 38, 210, 351.

[60] In Siamese T'ai, to make the word mean " the free."

[61] *I. e.*, the Mêkhông or Namkhaung.

[62] See Dr. Cushing's Introduction to his *Shân Dictionary*, p. 6, and his notes in the *Burma Census Report*, 1891, Vol. I. p. 168 f.

[63] Dr. Cushing in *Burma Census Report*, 1891, Vol. I. p. 203 ; *cf. T'oung Pao*, Vol. III. p. 42 ; Terrien de la Couperie, *Cradle of the Shân Race*, in Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shâns*, p. lv. ; also pp. 331, 334, 358 of the same work, where is given Holt-Hallett's *Historical Sketch*. During a short trip to Canton I found that the Southern Chinese numerals and other common words bore in sound a most striking resemblance to their counterparts in Shân.

[64] House of Commons, E. I., 10th August 1869, p. 37.

[65] At p. 407 Dr. Cushing says oddly that the *mû* is half a *pê*. The fact is, of course, just the other way. He also gives us, p. 45, "*kum*, two viss in weight, two hundred rupees ; " p. 552, " *haung*, two rupees and a half, one-fortieth of a viss ; " and p. 252, " *taung*, four rupees, one twenty-fifth of a viss."

A Northern Shân from Mônê (Müngnai) told me, through Capt. J. W. Orchard, Indian (Madras) Staff Corps, employed for a time with the Lashio Battalion, Military Police, that the Burmese denominations[66] with slightly different words to express them, are now almost always used by the Shâns in his part of the country. He recognised the *fûang*, *salüng*, and *bât* of the Siamese, as expressions used by the people on the Siamese borders. His list ran as follows:—

Burmese.	Shân.
ywê	makk'ik'wêyüng[67]
pè	pêlüng or pênüng[68]
mû	mûlüng
màt	matlüng or sômmû[69]
kyàt	pyâlüng[70]
pêktbâ	soilüng

Another Shân from Mômeit (Müngmit) gave me the following forms for the Burmese denominations:—

Burmese.	Shân.
pè	p'ênüng[71]
mû	mûnüng
màt	lukmat
kyàt	kyapnüng

Dr. Cushing comes to the rescue as to *luk* in *lukmat*, at p. 477 of his *Dictionary*. *Luk* means anything round: *lukk'an* is a weight used in weighing: *lukpê* equals six or eight (*ywê*)[72] seeds of the *Abrus precatorius* or 1 *pè*: *lukmat* equals 4 *pè* or 1 *màt*: *lukmû* equals 2 *pè* or 1 *mû*.[73] With this explanation we can follow further the same informant from Momeit:—

8	annas	are	lupâseau[74]
9	,,	,,	lupâseau-paipe[75]
10	,,	,,	lupsip[76]-pênüng
11	,,	,,	lupsip-pênüng-paipê[77]

66 Burmese domination commenced in 1604 A. D. and lasted till the destruction of the Burmese monarchy. Dr. Cushing in the *Burma Census Report*, 1891, Vol. I. p. 203.

67 *Makk'ik* is the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*, Dr. Cushing, *Shân Dict.* p. 379: and *'wê* is anything round, p. 538; and so *'wêyüng* may mean merely "round." *Wê* is also a cowry, p. 515.

68 *Lüng* and *nüng* mean "one," but *lüng* means also a round thing, and perhaps *lüng* and *nüng* in this connection mean merely "round." The concurrent forms of *lüng* and *nüng* rest on the well-known interchange of *l* and *n* when initial.

69 *Som* means two.

70 *I. e.*, ? a piece.

71 The Shân numeral coefficient for money or coin is *t'ip*: *e. g.*, Shân, *ngünt'ips* ı = Bur. *ngwêtabyâs*, a silver piece. The persistent *nüng* here confirms the idea that in such words *lüng* = *nüng*.

72 For the *ywê* I have been given the terms *namjyâ* and *chetnâ*. Dr. Cushing's words are (p. 82) *k'ik* and *k'ikaung* for the *Abrus* seed and *k'iklûng* for the *Adenanthera* seed.

73 These words were given me as *lupmû*, *lupmat*, *lupkyap*, by a Shân from the Thatôn (Satûng) State.

74 As will be seen later on *âseau* (= *ashauk*) means either eight or a half.

75 *Pai* (Shân) = plus.

76 *Sip* (Shân) = ten.

77 It is odd that he did not use *sipitpênüng*, 11 annas.

This man further gave me the following little table: —

1 pice	is	pyüng (and ? chüp)[78]		
2 „	are	sôngchüp		
1 anna	is	sîchüp,	*i. e.*,	4 chüp
2 annas	are	pyatchüp[79]	„	8 chüp
3 „	„	sipsôngchüp	„	12 chüp
4 „	„	tĕ̂ng[80]		

He also volunteered the information that in the hills of the same State the people called pice *prông*, which is evidently the same word as his own *pyüng*, and counted thus: —

1 pice	taprông
2 „	naprông
3 „	sôngprông
4 „	litprông
5 „	ngàtprông
6 „	sûprông
7 „	nutprông
8 „	swàtprông
9 „	kutprông
10 „	tachîprông

Now, all these numerals are those of the Hill Tribes, known to the Burmese as **Taungðûs** and to themselves as **P'ao,** to be found in the Maulmain and Thatôn Districts of Burma, in the Shân State of Thatôn (Satûng) and other Shân States, and in Combodia.[81] They are at the same time suspiciously near to being merely dialectic Burmese, thus: —

Nos.	Burmese.	Taungðû.	Shân (Momeit Hills).
1	ta (tit)	ta[82]	ta
2	'na ('nit)	nî	na
3	þôngȝ	sôn	sông
4	lêȝ	lit	lit
5	ngâȝ	ngat	ngàt
6	chauk	sû	sû
7	k'o'nit	nit	nut
8	shit	sôt	swàt
9	kôȝ	kut	kut
10	tas'è	tachîȝ	tachî

One might go on gathering evidence of dialectic forms almost indefinitely in the Shân Hills, but the above information and what follows will shew that the further one dives into the sea

[78] Dr. Cushing, *Dict.* p. 317, gives *piksân* avowedly for *paisâ*, as the word for 'pice.'

[79] Evidently for *pît*.

[80] *Cf.* Cushing, *Shân Dict.* p. 226, a bar of metal, = (?) the *lat* of the Siamese Shâns, see below in the text. Perhaps here for *t'ê*, Chinese and Northern Shân for '4 annas.' See Cushing, *Shân Dict.* p. 270, and later on in the text.

[81] See Taw-Sein-Ko, *Memo. of a Tour in Parts of the Amherst, Shwegyin, and Pegu Districts*, p. 4 f.: Mouhot, *Travels*, p. 24. The *Burma Census Report*, 1891, pp. 165, 207, treats the Taungðûs ethnographically as merely a branch of the Karens. So does Mr. Burgess, at p. 18 of *Notes on the Languages and Dialects spoken in British Burma*, an official publication, 1884: but in the same work Dr. Bennett is rather scornful as to the official ideas on the subject: p. 15. Stevenson, *Bur. Dict.*, gives "Shân-Taungthû; one of the Shân-Taungthû Race," under 'Shân.'

[82] To these the Taungðûs add *pâ*, as a coefficient, much after the manner that the Shâns add [illegible], *nüng* or *lüng* to their numerals.

of dialects the more certainly do the forms become explainable. Here is a list from a Shân from Pindyâ near Mêktilà :—

No.	Pice.	Annas.	Sense of the terms for Annas.
1	padû ...	tapê ...	1 pê
2	nadû ...	tamû ...	2 mû
3	pômkû[83] ...	pômpê ...	3 pê
4	lidû ...	tamàt ...	1 màt
5	ngadû ...	ngapet[84] ...	5 pet
6	sudû ...	pômmû...	3 mû
7	nudû ...	pômmûtapê ...	3 mû 1 pê
8	pwàtdû[85] ...	ashauk[86] ...	a half (?)
9	kôdû ...	ashauktapê ...	a half (?) 1 pê
10	tasî ...	chaukmû ...	6 mû
11	....	chaukmûtapê ...	6 mû 1 pê
12	....	pômmàt ...	3 màt
13	....	pômmàttapê ...	3 màt 1 pê
14	....	takyàtyònmû[87] ...	1 rupee less by a mû
15	....	takyàtyònpê ...	1 rupee less by a pê

One rupee was given as *tabî*, which is evidently the Burmese *tabyâ*, a piece. Burmese influence is here clearly seen in the table for annas; and the dialectic forms for the numerals in the pice table give curiously connective forms between the Burmese and the Taungðû numerals.

To shew how the Shân dialects meet and how they are influenced by their surroundings or reminiscences, I give here a comparative table of the parts of a rupee, as enumerated to me by illiterate Shans, respectively from Bhamo (Manmò, Chinese influence), Theinni (Northern Shan, S'ênwî), and Wuntho (Western Shân, *i. e.*, from the late Shân State of Wunpô, West of the Irrawaddy).

A Comparative Shân Money Table.

English.	Bhamo Shân.		Theinni Shân.		Wuntho Shân.	
	Term.	Sense.	Term.	Sense.	Term.	Sense.
One anna ...	yipê ...	1 pê ...	kaunywê ...	9 ywê ...	sòngkyap .	2 kyap
Two annas ...	mûlüng ...	a mû ...	sonpê ...	2 pê ...	mûlüng ...	a mû
Three ,, ...	sampê ...	3 pê ...	sampê ...	3 pê ...	sampê ...	3 pê
Four ,, ...	yimàt ...	1 màt ..	yit'ê ...	1 t'ê ...	sîpê ...	4 pê
Five ,, ...	hâpê ...	5 pê ...	t'êpê ...	a t'ê & a pê.	hâpê ...	5 pê
Six ,, ...	hôkpê ...	6 pê ...	hôkpê ...	6 pê ...	sammû ...	3 mû
Seven ,, ...	sitpê ...	7 pê ...	sammûpê .	3 mû & a pê	sammûpê .	3 mû & a pê
Eight ,, ...	sòngt'ê ...	2 t'ê ...	pîtpê ...	8 pê ...	sòngt'ê ...	2 t'ê
Nine ,, ...	sòngt'êpê .	2 t'ê & a pê	kaupê ...	9 pê ...	sòngt'êpê .	2 t'ê & a pê
Ten ,, ...	sippê ...	10 pê ...	chaukmû .	6 mû ..	sippê ...	10 pê
Eleven ,, ...	sipitpê ...	11 pê ...	sipitpê ...	11 pê ...	chaukmûpê	6 mû & a pê

[83] *Kû* is an odd form, but was insisted on. [84] Also an odd form, but *pet* is used for 'anna' later on in the text.

[85] *Dû*, not *tû*, as one might expect.

[86] The *âseau* above given : *asheau* according to a Shân from Thatôn (Sâtûng) State. Another Shân from the same State gave me the odd form of Chinese look, *ngünliang*, for "eight annas." The word is *püng* in Siamese Shân according to Cushing, *Dict.* p. 372.

[87] *Yòn* evidently = "less by."

English.	Bhamo Shân.		Theinni Shân.		Wuntho Shân.	
	Term.	Sense.	Term.	Sense.	Term.	Sense.
Twelve annas ...	samt'ê ...	3 t'ê ...	hôkmû ...	6 mû ...	samt'ê ...	3 t'ê
Thirteen „ ...	sipsampê .	13 pê ...	samt'êpê...	3 t'ê & a pê.	samt'êpê...	3 t'ê & a pê
Fourteen „ ...	sipsîpê ..	14 pê ...	sipsîpê ...	14 pê ...	sipsîpê ...	14 pê
Fifteen „ ...	sipâpê ...	15 pê ...	kyapyònpê	a kyap less a pê.	kyapyònpê	a kyap less a pê
Rupee	kyaplüng .	a kyap ...	kyaplüng .	a kyap ...	byâlüng ...	a byâ

We have indeed here a general muddle of terms. Thus, the Bhamo Shân uses the Chinese numeral *yi* for one, and the curiously mixed term *yimàt* (*yi*, Chinese, one, and *màt*, Burmese, a quarter), though he knows his own term *t'ê*[83] = *màt*, as shewn by his use of *sòngt'ê*, 2 *t'e*, and *samt'ê*, 3 *t'ê*. The Theinni Shân's use of *kauywê*, 9 *ywê*, is very remarkable, because *ywê* is a Burmese and not a Shân term, and 12 (not 9) *ywê* would be, if anything,[83a] the modern Burmese equivalent for "an anna." But the knows his term *pê* for "anna," and uses it constantly thereafter in the table. He uses the Chinese *yi*, one, in *yît'ê*, and a purely Burmese term *chaukmû* for "ten annas." Then the Wuntho Shân uses *kyap*, properly "a flat piece," evidently for the "half-anna" or "double pice," as he makes the anna *sòng-kyap*, *i. e.*, two *kyap*. This obliges him to borrow the Burmese coefficient for "pice," *byâ*, for the rupee in *byâlüng*, *lit.*, a *byâ*. Also, having got *sippê*, 10 *pê*, right in his own tongue, he tumbles into the purely Burmese compound expression, *chaukmûpê* for "11 annas." I have no doubt whatever that by persistent cross-examination a purely Shân and more consistent table could have been extracted from these informants. But that was not the point aimed at, which was rather to let the peasants count out their money in their own way, however puzzling the results to the enquirer.

It is hardly, in the present state of available knowledge on the subject, worth while to seriously consider the **Chinese Shân** forms, and I give the following information collected from a man from Shwêgû near Bhamo (Bamò, Manmò), as an indication of a line of research worth following up. *Sik* is a pice: then :—

sikâ	is	1 pice	
sikûk	„	2 „	
siksî	„	3 „	
sikauk[89]	„	4 „	or 1 anna
yehông[90]	„	1 anna	
yeksî[90]	„	2 annas	
s'aukît[91]	„	4 „	
wàtsî[92]	„	1 rupee	

[83] See Cushing, *Shân Dict.* p. 270.

[83a] But compare the use of *sambyâ* for an anna, *post*, p. 18.

[89] I think we may fairly take *sik* to be a pice, = ¼ anna, in these words, as *chek*, *chak* (*sek*, *sak*) is a Shân word for ¼ *pê* used in connection with money and gambling tokens. This leaves *â*, *ûk*, *sî*, *auk* for the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4. *Ûk* at any rate is, I understand, Kadû, and perhaps they all are. The character of the Kadûs (Kudôs) appears to be still indeterminate both as to language and descent. See *Burma Census Report*, 1891, Vol. I. pp. 161, 199. *Ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 129 ff.

[90] (?) Chinese *yi*, one.

[91] Cushing, *Shân Dict.*, gives pp. 87, 196, *k'ips'ò* and *s'ò* as "a Chinese coin": *s'ò* being Chinese and *k'ip*, Shân, a numeral coefficient for flat things. The Shân word for "coin" with Burmese affinity is *asapyâ*, p. 559. *Pyâ* (*prâ*) is a Shân and Burmese numeral coefficient for flat things, and *apabyâ* ꩻ (*asaprâ* ꩻ) is obsolescent Burmese for "coin," being supplanted by the Indian importation *dingâ* (Shân *tankâ* and *tinkâ*); Stevenson, *Bur. Dict.*, *s.v.* For "four annas" Cushing, *Dict.* p. 270, gives *t'ê* as the Chinese Shân term.

[92] *Wàt* is Eastern Shan for *bât*, Siamese, a tickal or rupee.

Neither the man who gave the above information, nor the men from Momeit and Pindyâ recognised the expressions, *fûang*, *salüng*, *bât*, and *chang*.

For the **Siamese Shâns**, on the authority of Prof. Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 162, we get a table :—

4 lat[93]	are	1 bat
4 bat	,,	1 damling
20 damling	,,	1 chang
50 chang	,,	1 picul

This, of course, is the Siamese Table pure and simple, substituting *lat* for *salüng* (*slíng*, as Prof. Ridgeway writes it), a fact which is further proved by the *chang* being said to be a double one of 1,200 *grammes*.[94]

It is apparently rare for a Shân in British territory to know much of Siamese financial terminology, but **an Eastern Shân living at Lôngnîs'êk** in the Amherst District on the Attaràn (or as he called it the Ataràm) River, gave me the following instructive table of terms applied to British-Indian money : —

English.	Siamese-Shân.	Sense of the Shan terms.
1 anna	sîpê[95]	4 pice
2 annas	fûang	a fûang
3 ,, ...	sàmpet	3 pet
4 ,, ...	salüng	a salüng
5 ,, ...	âmpet	5 pet
6 ,, ...	salüng-fûang	a salüng and a fûang
7 ,, ...	salüng-sàmpet	a salüng 3 pet
8 ,, ...	sôngsalüng	2 salüng
9 ,, ...	sôngsalüngpaipet	2 salüng and a pet
10 ,, ...	sippet	10 pet
11 ,, ...	sipyatpet[96]...	11 pet
12 ,, ...	sôngsalüng-fûang	2 salüng-fûangs
13 ,, ...	sôngsalüngfûang-paipet	2 salüng-fûangs and a pet
14 ,, ...	sipsîpet	14 pet
15 ,, ...	bàtyònpet	a rupee less by a pet
1 rupee[97]	bàt	a bàt

For **pice** the same man gave the following terms :—

1 pice[98]	pênüng
2 pice	sômpê
3 pice	sàmpê
4 pice	sîpê[99] or 1 anna

[93] For a figure of the *lat*, see Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shâns*, illustrations facing p. 315.

[94] In Siam 1,140 *grammes* according to Bowring, *Siam*, Vol. I. p. 258.

[95] Another Eastern Shân trader settled at Maulmain gave me, more correctly for *his* tongue, *sòngpê*, *i. e.*, 2 (Siamese) *pê* for 'one anna.'

[96] *I. e.*, *sipitpê.*

[97] This man also gave 'catty' as *chang*.

[98] Cushing, *Shân Handbook*, p. 196, gives *paing* for "pie."

[99] Oddly enough in this list we have *pê* for 'pice' and *pet* (*byat*) for 'anna,' reversing the usual terminology.

For the **Cambodian Shans**, Prof. Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 161, quotes M. Aymonier, *Notes sur Laos*, 1885, to the following effect as to money of account : —

10 hun	are	1 chi
4 chi	„	1 bat
4 bat	„	1 damling
10 damling	„	1 chang (catty)[100]
100 catties	„	1 picul

Here we see a mixed Cambodian decimal and Siamese quaternary scale: the terms *hûn* and *chi* belonging to the Cambodian decimal scale and *bât*, *damling* (*i. e.*, *tamlüng* or tael), *chang* to the Siamese quaternary scale. In addition to this, these Shâns use the regular Cambodian money and the Cambodian decimal scale in full.[1]

It must, moreover, be remembered that for long past **the British-Indian rupee** and its parts in silver, the eight, four, and two anna pieces have been **the chief currency in the Shân States outside of Siam proper,** and the words denoting parts of the tickal are used to denote parts of the rupee, just as in Burma itself.[2]

Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 159, says :—"Here and there one may come across one of **the old native pieces of money,** oval in shape, very thin, with a depression on the reverse side, which is always varnished, and a corresponding elevation on the obverse, giving the coin a shrivelled appearance. Round the margin are stamped different devices, representing the States from which the coin originated, *e. g.*, an elephant for Lakon, a horse for Chengmai."[3] This refers to a form of the **oblong ingots of silver and gold issued in Tongking and Cochin-China,** described by Crawfurd, *Siam*, p. 517, as can be seen from p. 361, where Bock's book talks of "a few of the old Lao silver coins, called Nan-tok,[4] worth about 6s. each;" for Crawfurd's silver ingots were "carefully analyzed in the Mint of Calcutta, and found . . . . to be equal in value to 1·56 Spanish dollar, or 6s. each."[5]

We have, therefore, found **the concurrent decimal and quaternary system observed in Burma, running side by side through all the wide districts occupied by the Shân Tribes**: the decimal scale being obviously Chinese in origin and the quaternary scale as obviously Burmese, Siamese, or Cambodian, according to the predominating influence of these respective countries over the Shân Tribes. But whether decimal or quaternary the sense of the terms used for the denominations is the same throughout. Thus, the denominations can be stated in terms of each other as follows :—

Burmese and Burmese-Shân.	Siamese-Cambodian.	Cambodian.	Shân (Siamese and Cambodian).	Indo-European Commercial.
pè	pê	pê	....	....
mû	fûang	fûang	....	....
màt	salüng	chi and salüng ...	lat and chi ...	mace
kyàt	bât	bât	bât	tickal
taung	tamlüng ...	tamlüng	tamlüng	tael
pêkbâ and soi[5a]..	chang	nêal	chang	catty
....	hap	hap	hap	picul

[100] It will be observed that the *damling* here is the Siamese tael, and the *chang* the Chinese catty : the Shân catty being made equal to the Chinese catty by making 10 taels to the catty instead of the Siamese 20; the picul remaining constant. The mixed influence is thus shewn to perfection.

[1] Compare the statements of M. Rocher, *Notes sur un Voyage au Yun-nan*, 1890, in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 51.

[2] 1837: McLeod and Richardson's *Journal*, *ante*, p. 8.
1881: Cushing, *Shân Dict.*, *s. v.*
1884: Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 159.
1885: Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shâns*, pp. 94, 192, 315.
1890: Holt-Hallett, *Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, pp. 2, 163, 179, quoting Garnier, *c.* 1870.

[3] See Plate I., fig. 11, the marks of (?) a *hinꝫa* (*hansa*) on a piece of *as'êk* silver.

[4] (?) Royal or "palace-struck."

[5] The larger and better known ingot is meant t equal ten of the description mentioned in the text.

[5a] Properly a Siamese catty is 1½ viss (*pêkbâ*, *soi*).

And a corollary to the above observation is that, if the Siamese-Burmese quaternary scale is traceable to an Indian source on the basis of a common origin, the whole Further-Eastern System, from Burma through the Shân States and Cambodia, is likewise so traceable.

As regards money of account of higher denominations than the tickal or rupee, we have seen the *tamlüng* or four tickals, the *chang* or eighty tickals, the *hap* or four thousand tickals of the Siamese, and also the *pêkbâ* or hundred tickals of the Burmese, which last is the equivalent of the *soi* of the Shâns. But amongst the Shâns there are evidently a number of such terms worth following up, some of which are recorded by Dr. Cushing, thus :—

English.	Dr. Cushing.[6]	Siamese.	Given myself by Shâns.
1 rupee	kyap, wat	bât	lupkyap, bàt, chetk'ê[7]
2 rupees	....	... ...	ngünbau
2½ "	haung	... ...	ngâmûk'ê
4 "	taung	tamlüng ...	....
5 "	....	....	ngünlêng
7 "	....	....	kô'nalàm
8 "	hoi	....	....
10 "	k'an	....	....
80 "	pan	chang	chên, chang
100 "	soi	....	....
200 "	kum	....	....

Since the above remarks on Siamese weights were prepared for the press, my old correspondents, the managers of the Musée Guimet, heve been good enough to send me Vol. I. of the **Voyage dans le Laos of the Mission Étienne Aymonier,** 1895. This consists chiefly of full and exceedingly intelligent diaries of journeys undertaken in 1882-3 off both banks, but principally off the right (Western) bank, of the Grand Fleuve, best known to us by its Siamese name of Mêkhong, the French apparently preferring the Shân name Nam Khong for it. And as M. Aymonier constantly records prices, values, rates, taxes, dues, demands, presents, offerings and such like, for all parts of the country traversed, the volume is of great value for the present purpose. The book, however, is essentially a journal of a tour, and the collection, tabulation and comparison of the facts recorded in it have involved a careful perusal and collation of the whole of its 350 pages.

Journeying through a great number of villages occupied by a variety of tribes more or less wild, M. Aymonier came across several forms of currency used under a considerable variety of terms therefor. He also employs occasionally translations into his own tongue of the vernacular words, which at first are a considerable puzzle to the English reader. I will, therefore, first consider here the terms employed and then the results of his representations of the currency and weights of the Siamese Shâns.

Translated Terms.

1. **Balance.** — This is a literal translation of *chûng*, the Siamese word for a catty, and also for balance and weight. It is used for the Siamese catty (pp. 18, 89) and as a synonym for *livre siamoise* (p. 122).

[6] In quoting Dr. Cushing I have rendered his words as best I can and perhaps not always as he would, for Shân writing, though intended to be phonetic, allows several sounds to the same vowel symbol. To the list here given might be added from Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I. p. 133, *anching* or 40 rupees, *i. e.*, 5 *chang*.

[7] For *kyàt* or *kyàp* clearly.

2. **Barre.** — The *barre d' argent*, or simply *barre* (p. 72) is given as the equivalent of 15 to 16 Mexican dollars (pp. 22, 136), or of about 50 to 60 francs (pp. 72, 134). At p. 132 it is described as running 160 to the picul, *i. e.*, as being of 10 taels. It is clearly therefore the silver ingot already noted (*ante*, p. 14).

3. **Livre.** — The expressions *livre d' argent* (pp. 18, 60, etc.), *livre siamoise* (p 18), or simply *livre* (p. 133, etc.) mean usually a Siamese catty (p. 264), but sometimes a Chinese catty (p. 22). They are also, with the *livre cambodgienne* (p. 113) and *livre indigène* (p. 61) found (p. 321) expressed in terms of the *mœun* (*müng*), a measure of capacity taken at 5 to the picul, *i. e.*, at 10 catties or 20 catties, according as the Siamese or Chinese catty is mentioned. I gather that the *livre cambodgienne* = the *livre siamoise*, and that the *livre indigène* = the Chinese catty. By *livre asiatique* the writer means the representative of the Chinese catty (p. 22), weighing in Indo-China about 600 *grammes*.

4. **Once.** — By this is meant the Chinese tael, 16 to the catty or *livre* (p. 22). *Once indigène* (p. 51) is, I gather, the *tamlüng* or Siamese tael (see *ante*, pp. 1 and 6, n. 45).

Vernacular Terms.

1. **Bat.** — This is only once used (p. 133), and then as a weight of gold: — "*un impôt de 2 ou 3 bats d' or par village* (*le bat doit peser 9 grammes 177 milligrammes*)." *Cf. ante*, pp. 1, n. 2, 2 and 6. But it turns up in a most interesting form in the course of a "*Spécimen de conte des Khmêrs de Korat . . . . qui selon toute probabilité appartient aussi aux Siamois.*" It is there called (p. 285) **pad**: — "*deux pad* (*c' est-à-dire deux ticaux*)." And a line or two further on we have "*deux pad d' argent.*"

2. **Cattie.** — The term *cattie* or *cattie d' argent* is not mentioned until well on in the book, when it is frequently used (pp. 161, 190, 203, 228, etc.). By it or its equivalents is meant, sometimes the Chinese catty, 100 to the picul, and sometimes the Siamese, 50 to the picul (p. 223, etc.).

3. **Chang.** — This is only once used, and then clearly for the Siamese *châng* or catty (p. 264), but we have a curious multiple of it (p. 133) in the phrases "*cinque livres ou* **anching** *d' or*," and "*l' impôt est de trois* **anching** *d' or*"; *an* in the word *anching* being clearly the Shân dialectic term *hâ, â, âm, ân*, = 5.

4. **Chi.** — This word occurs as a pure weight (p. 258, and p. 112: — "*un garçon pesait à la balance 4 chi de cuivre*"), and sometimes as currency (p. 136, and p. 133: — "*ces inscrits laociens paient chacun un chi et quatre hun d' or, soit 5 grammes 25 centigrammes de capitation annuelle*"). At p. 27 it is described as "*monnaie fictive*," and we are there given a useful set of analogues, as it equals "*1 sling siamois, 1 ligature de sapèques annamites et 3 lingots de fer de Kompong Soaï.*"

5. **Damling** or **damleng.** — This word is spelt at times either way, and is the Siamese *tamlüng*, or tael of 4 tickals (pp. 75, 272, 320, etc.). It is purely a weight, for on p. 264 we find the people paying as dues *damling d' or* and *damling d' argent*.

6. **Hun.** — This only occurs on p. 133, where we are given: — "*un chi et quatre hun d' or* (*soit 5 grammes 25 centigrammes*)," and "*sept hun* (*soit 2 grammes 625 milligrammes*) *d' or*." This makes the *hun* = ·375 *grammes*. *Cf. ante*, pp. 3, n. 21, 5.

7. **Lat.** — This is defined (p. 60) as the chief small money (*monnaie divisionnaire*) of the Eastern Shâns, and as consisting of small lumps of copper (*de petits saumons* [pigs] *de cuivre*) of various sizes and values, and is constantly mentioned as currency (pp. 51, 112, 197, etc.). There is no doubt as to variation in value, as one finds it running 16, 24, 32, 40, and 64 to the tickal (pp. 60, 89, 110 f., 189, 221, 244, 259, 264).

8. **Sling** or **sleng.** — This is spelt either way and is frequently used. It is the *salüng* or quarter tickal (pp. 60, 223, etc.).

9. Thêp. — This is a most interesting form and in the sense used by M. Aymonier new to me. It occurs on three pages. Page 309 :— "*Ils ont pour monnaies les ticaux saimois et les thêp* (sic) *ou pièces anglaises de la Birmanie.*" Page 321 : —"*Les monnaies usitées à Dansaï sont les ticaux et les thêps* (sic) *de Birmanie.*" Page 329 : —"*Dans ce pays de transit, les monnaies sont les ticaux de Siam, les thêp* (sic) *ou pièces d' argent de la Birmanie anglaise à l' effigie de la reine Victoria, de la valeur de trois sling, d' un sling et d' un fœuong* (*fûang*) . . . ." Clearly then **thêp means the current British money of Burma.** It is a Shân numeral coefficient for money (*ante*, p. 9, n. 71).[8]

10. Tical, plu. ticaux. — This has now evidently become a French word, as rupee has become an English one. It is the unit used throughout the book, and to it all the currency is referred (p. 18). By it is meant the Siamese money known universally by that name (*le tical est une monnaie siamoise d' argent*, p. 18).

Besides the statements thus collected, there are several others directly giving the inter-relations of the terms for currency and weights, especially at pp. 18, 22, 27, 60, 75, 132, 172, 197, 223, 243 f., 265, 272 and 329; and from the whole we can fairly make out the following tables for 1882-3, in complete confirmation of what has already been written in this Section.

Aymonier's Siamese-Shân Weights.

A. — Siam-Cambodian Scale.

4	sling or chi	are	1 tical
4	tical	,,	1 damling
20	damling	,,	1 cattie
50	cattie	,,	1 pikul

B. — Chinese Decimal Scale.

(16 tael are 1 cattie)
20 cattie ,, 1 mœun
5 mœun ,, 1 pikul
Also
(10 tael are 1 barre)
160 barre ,, 1 pikul

C. — Relative French and Shan Weights.

1 cattie is 600 grammes
1 pikul ,, 60 kilogrammes

At p. 329 M. Aymonier mentions that besides the British money, the *thêps* already noted, there are current in the country he traversed "*les* **at** *et les* **faï** *ou sous siamois.*" The *faï* is obviously the "*phailung*" or *p'ê* of the Siamese, and as to *at*, it has been above noted (*ante*, p. 6, n. 44) that Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 141, gives it as the equivalent of the *p'ê*. But I find in the *Report* of Mr. T. H. Lyle on the **Trade of Müng Nan** for 1896[9] that the scale runs thus :—

2 làt are 1 àt
2 àt ,, 1 p'ê
2 p'ê ,, songp'ê

The *Report* in question is so much to the point as regards the present enquiry that I give it here in full : —

"The country is undoubtedly under the disadvantages which the lack of a medium of exchange entails. Money is scarce, more especially small change, and so unaccustomed are the inhabitants of this district to the usage of money that of the four denominations of Siamese

[8] Cushing, *Shân Dict.* p. 255, *s. v. t'ip*. An Eastern Shan settled at Maulmain gave me the word as *tyap*. *Cf.* Shân *k'ip* and *kyàp* = Burmese *kyàt* (*kyàp*). Cushing, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 87.

[9] *Rangoon Gazette*, 27th Sept. 1897, p. 18 f.

copper coin, namely, the *lot* (half *att*), the *att*, the *pai* (two *atts*) and the *songpai* (four *atts*), the first two only are current, the *pai* and *songpai* being refused in the native market with cautious suspicion. The coins current in Nan are the rupee, with its factors the four and two-anna silver pieces, and Siamese copper coins, the *att* and half *att* or *lot*.

"For the four-anna and two-anna pieces the absence of small change has produced a fictitious value, which is somewhat confusing to a new-comer. The rupee is recognized in Siam as equivalent to 48 *atts* or decimal 75 of a tical. Under these circumstances the two-anna piece equals six *atts* and the four-anna piece equals 12 *atts*. In Nan, however, whilst the rupee is still recognized as equivalent to 48 *atts* the two-anna and four-anna piece are given a value of 7 and 14 *atts* respectively. Consequently, whereas in Chiengmai there are eight two-anna pieces to the rupee, in Nan one can only obtain seven two-anna pieces, or three-and-a-half four-anna pieces for the same coin. There is thus a loss in purchasing value of 12½ per cent. on every rupee expended in the native market, though on the other hand any one importing and making sole use of small coin would be the gainer to a similar extent.

"This system holds good also in Phre. It appears to have arisen from the former scarcity or absence of small change combined with the easily satisfied needs of the people, which enable them to buy and sell their necessities in diminutive quantities.

"One or two proclamations have been issued requiring the people to give eight two-anna pieces to the rupee, and to regard the two-anna piece as of six *atts* value; but, in spite of penalties held out to the disobedient, the old order prevails, and any attempt to insist upon the normal rate is met with the unanswerable argument 'it is not the custom.'"

The above *Report* makes clear an otherwise inexplicable statement as to British coinage made to me by a peasant settled at Lênyâ to the Mergui District, who stated that he came from Bankok, and was what the Burmese call a Yôd'iyâ (Ayuthia) Shân, *i. e.*, a Siamese. This man's table of British money in his own language was given thus: —

A Siamese Version of British Coinage.

English.	Siamese Terminology.	
	Terms.	Sense.
1 anna	sambyâ[10]	3 pice
2 annas	fûang	a fûang
3 "	kaubyâ	9 pice
4 "	salüng	a salüng
5 "	salüngsambyâ	a salüng and 3 pice
6 "	salüngfûang	a salüng and a fûang
7 "	salüngkaubyâ	a salüng and 9 pice
8 "	sòngsalüng	2 salüng
9 "	sòngsalüngsambyâ	2 salüng and 3 pice
10 "	sòngsalüngfûang	2 salüng and a fûang
11 "	sòngsalüngkaubyâ	2 salüng and 9 pice
12 "	samsalüng	3 salüng
13 "	samsalüngsambyâ	3 salüng and 3 pice
14 "	samsalüngfûang	3 salüng and a fûang
15 "	samsalüngkaubyâ	3 salüng and 9 pice

[10] *Byâ* is properly a cowrie in Siamese; see *ante*, pp. 4, 6: but it is also used commonly as the Burmese numeral coefficient for copper money.

It is obvious that this man's knowledge of British coinage in Siamese territory must have been picked up in the places in which it is current, *i. e.*, in the Siamese Shân States, where the *làt* and *àt* are practically the only recognised native copper currency, and where the small British silver, *viz.*, the two and four-anna pieces, would be known in terms of the *làt* and *àt*. Now, if the *àt* run 48 to the rupee, 3 *àt* will make one anna, and no doubt that fact was in the man's mind, when describing the anna as being of three "*byá*" or "copper pieces," the term *byá* being borrowed from the surrounding Burmese idiom.

A correspondent of the *Rangoon Gazette* (22nd November 1897, p. 20) dating from rural Siam (apparently from a Siamese Shân State, for he notes that rupees and British small silver are current together with Siamese money) gives the following account of a village computation of a simple sum in British currency:—

"Arithmetic seems to be unknown. A man once had to add Rs. 234-14-0 to Rs. 165-2-0. He could not do it; neither could any of the 'clever' men in the village whose aid had been invoked. Finally a Baba — father Chinese, mother Siamese — turned up. He was asked and correctly did the addition. His method was interesting, and I give it. He placed two rupees on the ground to represent hundreds of the Rs. 234-14-0. Then another rupee to represent the single hundred in Rs. 165-2-0, making three rupees, representing three hundreds on the ground. He next placed nine eight-anna bits to represent the tens of the 34 and 65. Then came nine four-anna bits for the 4 and 5 of the units. He knew that 14 annas and two annas made a rupee. He therefore added a four-anna bit to the nine already placed on the ground. These he took away as representing one ten, and added an eight-anna bit to the nine already placed. This gave ten eight-anna bits representing 100 rupees. Sweeping these away, he added a rupee to the three originally referred to, and announced the result as Rs. 400 to an astonished and wonder-struck crowd. Needless to say that Check Te was from that day forward a man of some consequence in the village."

The method of addition above quoted evidently struck the writer as something strange, but the explanation is simple enough. The "Baba" had clearly been taught the use of the Chinese abacus (*swanpan*),[11] and, being without the instrument, improvised one out of the British coins available on the spot.

The above problem, as worked out on the system of the Chinese *abacus*, can be stated as follows, in order to shew to a person trained to European mathematics the process of reasoning followed by the "Baba":—

Let $a = 100 : b = 10 : c = 1 : 16d = c$.

Add $2a$, $3b$, $4c$, $14d$ to a, $6b$, $5c$, $2d$; and state the result in figures.

Then $2a + a = 3a : 3b + 6b = 9b : 4c + 5c = 9c : 2d + 14d = 16d = c$.

Then $9c + c = 10c = b : 9b + b = 10b = a : 3a + a = 4a = 400$. Q.E.D.

A Burman[12] (or for that matter, a modern Tibetan, an ancient inhabitant of India, or a modern Indian astrologer) would have tackled the problem thus, writing on sand, or on a sanded board, beginning with the large figures, and rubbing out and substituting as he proceeded, precisely as did the "Baba."

Problem: add Rs. 234-14 to Rs. 165-2.
Write......... 234
165

[11] Pronounced *sänpon* to me by a Southern Chinese. See Terrien de la Couperie, *Old Numerals and the Swanpan in China, passim*: Knott, *Abacus, J.A. S., Japan*, Vol. XIV. p. 18 ff.: La Loubère, *Siam*, E. T., p. 182.

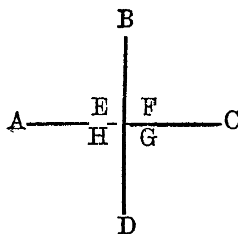
[12] See present writer's article on Burmese Arithmetic, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 53 ff.

2 + 1 = 3, therefore write 334
65
3 + 6 = 9, therefore write 394
5
4 + 5 = 9, therefore write 399
Now because 2 + 14 = 16 = Re. 1, add 399 and 1.
Write......... 399
1
9 + 1 = 10, therefore write 390
1
9 + 1 = 10, therefore write 300
1
3 + 1 = 4, therefore write 400. Ans. Rs. 400.

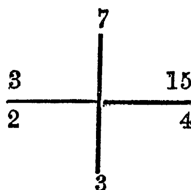
I may mention here[13] that this process is **really natural mental arithmetic,** and is that followed by bank clerks all over Europe, when running up accounts in books. It can with practice be gone through with extreme rapidity and accuracy. In ancient India the written process made a nearer approach to the mental than is possible with the modern system of denoting numerals, because the ancient people did not express value by position, but by signs, and so wrote as they spoke and thought, and as all Europeans still speak and think.

The same writer goes on to say, *Rangoon Gazette, loc. cit.*, that :—

" **The Siamese do not write Rs. A. P. as we do.** The best explanation I can give of their method is by diagram —



From A to E 'tam loongs' are placed. One tam loong = 4 rupees. At B 'changs' are placed. One chang = 20 rupees. From F to C rupees. At G four-anna pieces. At D pice. And at H two-anna pieces. Thus ;

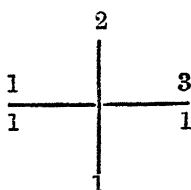


would read : 3 tam loongs, 7 changs, 15 rupees, 6 annas (4 and 2), and 3 pice, or Rs. 167-6-3."

These statements do not, however, work out as the writer makes them, for two reasons. Assuming that the tickal and its parts have already been superseded by the rupee and its parts, — a fact of great importance to the present enquiry —, the "tam loong" = the Siamese tael = 4 rupees, as stated, but the chang = the Siamese catty = 20 taels = therefore, 80, not 20, rupees. Secondly, in the figured diagram the parts of the rupee are wrongly stated for the total required, and for the lower ciphers 2, 4, and 3 we should read 1, 1, and 1, and for "3 pice" we should read "3 pie." *E. g.*, the total according to the diagram works out to

[13] See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 55.

Rs. 538-4-9[14] and not to Rs. 167-6-3, as stated. The proper diagram for Rs. 167-6-3 is as follows:—



Now, eliminating the errors from the statement, we can perceive that it provides an exceedingly valuable form of improvised abacus for computing money. Thus, taking the rupee as the unit, we get

$a =$ châng, catty $= 20b$:

$b =$ tamlüng, tael $= 4c$:

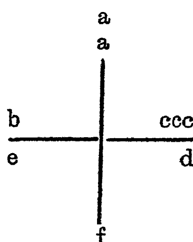
$c =$ rupee $= 1$.

$c = 4d$; $d =$ 4-anna piece :

$d = 2e$; $e =$ 2-anna piece :

$e = 8f$; $f = 1$ pice.

Then the *abacus* diagram, as made out by the Siamese, runs thus, for a sum of Rs. 167-6-3:—



And it would read thus:—

$2a =$	$40b =$	$160c =$	Rs. 160
$b =$		$4c =$	4
$3c =$		$3 =$	3
$d =$		$1/4c =$	4
$e =$	$\frac{1}{2}d =$	$1/8c =$	2
$f =$		$1/8e =$	3
			Rs. 167-6-3

(*To be continued.*)

[14] Thus,

7 catties ...	Rs. 560
3 taels ...	12
15 rupees ...	15
4 four-annas ...	1
	588
2 two-annas ...	-4
3 pice ...	-9
	588-4-9

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from Vol. XXVI. p. 304.*)

1. The Features, Character, and Mode of Living of Spirits.

In Western India, **most spirits are believed to have their legs turned back or crooked, their hair loose, and in some cases on end.**[23] Many are lean and ugly, and many are supposed to be green or, like English fairies,[24] to wear green. Some are white, like Muñjâ, the spirit of a Bráhmaṇ lad, and a few are black, like Kâfrî, the spirit of a murdered negro. Vêtâl, the chief of spirits, is green, and rides a green horse. The Konkân female spirit Hêdalî wears a yellow robe and bodice, and lets her hair fall loose. The water-spirit Girâ has his legs turned back, and the hair of his head is on end. In Bengal, Churâil, the spirit of a woman who has died in child-bed, is fair in front and black behind; and her feet are turned back.[25] The Pârsîs have spirits whose features are half like a man's half reversed.[26] According to Henderson,[27] the English spirit Brownie was half spirit half man. English mermaids, or water-spirits, were women above the waist, and below the waist fish with fins and a sp reading tail.[28]

The general character of spirits is supposed to be evil; *bhûts* are spirits who are almost always bent on mischief. Satara (Western India) Mhârs say that all who die accidental or sudden deaths with unfulfilled wishes come back and plague men and cattle. Still, all spirits are not mischievous, and some of them, like Vêtâl, Brahmâpurush, and Chêdâ, if pleased or propitiated, are believed to be of great help to their worshippers. Vêtâl is said to shew his devotees hidden treasure, and to supply their wants.

The belief in the complete or in the partial good-will of spirits is widespread. Up to the eighteenth century the belief in a kindly helpful spirit called **Brownie** was common in the British Islands. About 1600, James I., in his *Demonology*, describes Brownie as a rough man who haunted houses without doing evil. Some, he adds, were so blinded as to think Brownie made their house all the sonsier, that is, fatter or more prosperous. In 1690, the traveller Martin says, in the Shetland isles every family of consequence has its Brownie. Milk and water are poured to Brownie through a holed stone. Brownie used to be seen as a tall man. Since 1640 sights of him had become rare.[29] In his *Journey to the Western Islands*, Dr. Johnson (A. D. 1773)

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[23] Of the character and features of German spirits Grimm says: — They have in them some admixture of the superhuman, which approximates them to gods; they have power to hurt man and to help him, at the same time they stand in awe of man, being no match for him in bodily strength. Their figure is much below the stature of man, or else mis-shapen. They almost all have the faculty of making themselves invisible. The females are of a broader and nobler cast, with attributes resembling those of goddesses and wise women; the male spirits are more distinctly mark ed off both from gods and heroes (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 439). English fairies are said (Kirk in Napier's *Folk-Lo re*, p. 20; Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 535) to be astral spirits between angels and humans. In looks and ways they are like tiny men and women. They are merry, and dance decked in green. They marry, have children, and die; they can be visible or invisible at pleasure; they live in the ground and unseen; they constantly wait on men; they are fond of human children, and carry them away, and sometimes women. They milk cattle, and shoot people with flint-head arrows, of which at the same time fairies themselves stand in awe. According to Sir Walter Scott (*Demonology and Witchcraft*, pp. 180, 462; *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 461), English Woodland spirits are kindly but mischievous. Scottish Moorland spirits are fierce; and Highland spirits are peevish and envious. As to their appearance Reginald Scott (1580), *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 426, complains that some sixteenth century English writers are so carnally minded that if a spirit is spoken of they think of a black man with cloven feet, horns, tail, claws, and eyes as broad as a bason. The Ceylon evil spirit is black-skinned, large-eyed and long-tusked; some of them wear colours (*Journal*, Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1865, p. 16). They have the worst wishes to men, and can be forced or tempted to do what any one wishes who has a charm over them (*op. cit.* p. 8).

[24] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 479.

[25] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 258.

[26] Bleek's *Vendidâd*, p. 81.

[27] *Folk-Lore*, p. 246.

[28] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 413.

[29] Quoted in Hone's *Year Book*, p. 1533. Compare Dalyell (*Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 530). Brownie is a house-spirit who did much work. Food and milk were set apart for him. The Reformation chained him up. Brownie's Gaelic name was Gruagach (*Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, Vol. VIII. p. 500).

says of the spirit called Browny :—"Browny was a sturdy fairy, who, if he was fed and kindly treated, would, as they said, do a great deal of work. They now pay him no wages, and are content to labour for themselves."[30] Heron in his journey through part of Scotland, 1799, Vol. II. p. 227, says :—"The Brownie was a very obliging spirit who used to come into houses by night, and, for a dish of cream, performed lustily any piece of work that might remain to be done. Sometimes he would work and sometimes eat till he bursted: if old clothes were laid out for him he took them in great distress, and never more returned."[31] Sir Walter Scott describes the Brownie as thin, shaggy and wild, hating rewards. Scott likens the Brownie to the Roman Lar who was human, roughly clothed in dog's skin, and, like Milton's lubber fiend, lived near the fire.[32] The Welsh farmer still puts out a bowl of milk for the fairies[33] Trolls or droiles were found in Scotland and in Shetland. Like the Brownie the Troll worked for man. They came to houses where feasts were held, especially at Yule or Christmas time.[34] Shakespear describes Puck or Sweet Puck as another name for Hobgoblin. For those who called him Sweet Puck, Hobgoblin worked and brought them luck. Puck describes himself as the merry wanderer of the night who jested to the fairy king and made him smile, neighing like a filly to beguile the horses, lurking in a gossip's bowl and bobbing against her lips, or as a three-legged stool slipping aside from those about to sit.[35] Coleridge (1790) describes the Devonshire Pixies or little Pucks, a friendly race too small to be seen, as before dawn in robes of rainbow hues, sipping the furze flowers, shedding soothing witcheries over their favourite poet, sighing with the lover and dancing on the fairy grass rings.[36] The Phynnodderre, a spirit of the Isle of Man, was believed to help peasants in cutting and gathering grass.[37] Ariel was a kindly spirit, glad to help man, especially the weak and ill-used. The Ban-she or Irish woman-fairy warned Irish families, and corresponding family spirits warned Scottish families, before the death of any of its members.[38] Another English guardian or good genius was Billy Blind or Blind man's Buff.[39]

As a class, Indian spirits are considered unclean in their habits, and, as they never bathe, their bodies are said to have a peculiar smell. So the Marâṭhî proverb runs :—*Jêthên shuchirbhut panâ âhe, têthên bhut nâhi,*—Where there is cleanliness there is no spirit. On the other hand some spirits are represented as specially clean and pious. Thus Vêtâl is very clean in his habits, and spends much of his time in the worship of the god Shiv. The Brahmâpurush bathes daily, wears clean white clothes, performs *sandhya* adoration, and observes all the religious duties of a pious and orthodox Brâhmaṇ. Similarly fairies are fond of neatness and cleanness of apparel, of strict diet, and of an upright life.[40]

Certain spirits were believed to have connection with men. Thus the *apsarâ* or fairy named Urvaśi was believed to have come on earth and lived for some time with an Indian king named Pururava. The story runs that while king Pururava had gone hunting he heard a woman cry, and, on looking back, saw a beautiful damsel being carried off by a demon. He turned, slew the demon, and released the damsel. Out of gratitude the damsel who was a fairy agreed to live with the king, with the condition that he should never come before her undressed. She lived with him happily for a year during which a son was born to

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30 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 489.

31 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 489.

32 *Border Minstrelsy*, Introduction (1880), p. 7.

33 *In Gipsy Tents.*

34 Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 533; Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary.*

35 *Midsummers Night's Dream*, Act III. Scene I. The word Puck is apparently the Welsh Pwcca or spirit. Compare Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 500. In Brecknock is a Cwm Pwcca (Coom Pooky) or Goblin Vale which Shakespeare is believed to have known (Vaughan's *Poems*, Pt. XVI., Ed. 1883). In 1603, imps are called puckrels (Sharpe's *Witchcraft*, p. 211). Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 441) notices a division of elves into *albs* who are white and good, and *dvergar* dwarfs who are dark and bad.

36 *Songs of the Pixies*, Poems, Moxon's Ed. 1870, p. 8.

37 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 415.

38 Shakespeare's *Tempest;* Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary;* Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 217.

39 Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, Vol. II. p. 32.

40 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 498.

her. One day the king happening to come before her undressed, she upbraided him for breaking his promise, and disappeared. In the Konkân, the lower classes believe that the spirit Muñjâ can have connection with women, and it is said that, if a man can accomplish the penance and rites described in the *kalpa tantra*, he can have connection with the fairies called Yakshiṇîs.[41] In India, spirits are supposed to visit women at night in the form of a dog, cat, or other animal.[42] In Ceylon, if a child is born with hair and teeth it will probably be killed as the offspring of a demon-father.[43] The belief, that spirits had connection with men and women, continued in Europe till the middle of the eighteenth century. The Romans believed that their sixth king Servius Tullius was the son of a hearth-spirit.[44] The Greeks believed that the people of Cyprus were descendants of female-spirits,[45] and St. Augustin (A. D. 650) considered it imprudence to deny that female spirits or Succubi lie with men or that male spirits or Incubi lie with women.[46] In Skandinavia, it was believed that spirits had intercourse with men and women.[47] In the early Iceland stories dwarfs have children by women,[48] and the Laps of Finland held the same belief. The Gauls believed that certain demons violated the chastity of women.[49] In 1660, Sir T. Browne[50] held that spirits associate with human beings of both sexes. In Middle-Age England (1000-1400), there was an incubus in every tree which attacked women, so that it was not safe for them to go up and down.[51] Burton (1621) believed that there never had been a time in which so many lecherous devils, satyrs and genii had shewn themselves as in his own days.[52] In France, as late as 1750, a Mass was said in the abbey of Soissy to keep the nuns from the power of the fairies,[53] and in Scotland, in 1690, it was believed that Incubi and Succubi came and slept with men and women.[54] The Incubus or fiend-lover was specially hard to scare. Neither the names of Jesus and Mary, the Sign of the Cross, nor relics had any power over him.[55] In Seventeenth-Century Europe, the Huns were believed to be the children of Incubi.[56] Luther held that spirits have intercourse with men.[57] The wife of a Crusader was said to have a son by the spirit of the Tweed.[58]

As in other branches of belief the two great influences, **development and degradation, have always been at work affecting man's view of the character of spirits.** Under the influence of development the early unfriendly spirit by being housed and honoured rises to be the house guardian, the tribal guardian, the universal guardian. Under the influence of degradation the lower guardians of the earlier faith become subordinate evil influences. Dêv in the Brâhmaṇ religion is a guardian: the later Zoroaster (A. D. 300) degrades the Dêv to an evil spirit. In the *Ṛig-Vêda* the Asuras are gods: in the later *Atharva-Veda* the Asuras are fiends.[59] The Daimon of classic Greece becomes the Christian demon.[60] Similarly, the leading guardian

41 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 190.

42 Dubois, Vol. II. p. 59.

43 Journal Asiatic (Ceylon) Society, p. 19.

44 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxxvi. Chap. 27.

45 Leckie's *European Rationalism*, p. 26.

46 *Op. cit*, p. 26.

47 Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 511.

48 Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 440.

49 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 521.

50 Browne's *Religio Medici*, ed. 1800, p. 42.

51 Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale.*

52 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, pp. 118, 494, 496.

53 *European Rationalism*, Vol. I. p. 25.

54 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 143; Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 189.

55 Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 87.

56 Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 512.

57 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 7.

58 Note to *Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

59 Barth's *Indian Religion*, p. 42.

60 The case of the divine and guardian daimon of Socrates (B. C. 400) illustrates this feeling. An honorable meaning was attached to the word *daimon*, at least till A.D. 150, when Celsus called upon men to give up Christianity and worship the demons or ministers of God. In a less honorable sense daimon was used of a magician's *paredros* or familiar (Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1075). The early Christians held that the gods of the Pagans were demons who had taken the names and the incense of the popular divinities (Jamieson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. II. p. 523). Jacob Grimm further notices that the idea of the (Christian) devil is foreign to all primitive religions. Perhaps it would be more correct to say there is a strain in the Christian idea of the devil foreign to the character of the evil spirits of the earlier religions. Satan's fight with God, his hatred of man, his immortality, are all late ideas. Still in the Christian devil remain the evil spirits of earlier times: His going about as a roaring lion, his riding the storm, his delight in destruction, are all early. "One large slice of the devil," says Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1020), "is from the old giant, only the devil is harsher and crueller." The saying (*Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, Vol. IV. p. 265) that the devil built St. Vigean's Church three miles west of Arbroath in Scot-

becomes in the new system the leader of the hosts of spirits who are hostile to man. Christianity has degraded the classic and northern gods to be devils. How far Christianity robbed classic spirits of their kindly element is shewn by these words of St. Augustine (A.D. 600) :— "The devil while we feed allures us with gluttony, thrusteth lust into our generation, sloth into our exercise, envy into our talk, greed into our dealings, wrath into our correction, pride into our government, evil thoughts into our hearts, lies into our mouths. When we wake he moveth us to evil thoughts, when we sleep to evil dreams. He stirreth the merry to looseness and the mad to despair."[61] As regards the northern gods, Grimm has shewn how Satan has usurped the names and titles of many of the early German Guardians.[62] Not less in India is it hard to draw a line between *bhûts* or unfriendly and *dêvs* or guardian spirits. Were not all *dêvs* once *bhûts* : were not some *bhûts* once *dêvs* : Vîrs, Vêtâls, and other powers are by some ranked as *bhûts*, by others as *dêvs* living in the *dêvasthâna* or seat of the guardians. Vîr, the spirit of a dead warrior, often known as the *sât vîrs* or seven heroes, holds a place of special honour. When a man asks a *dêv* to harm his enemy, the *dêv* first sends a *vîr* and himself goes behind to help. In such a case the sacrificial goat is divided equally between the *dêv* and the *vîr*. As a rule Vêtâl is a *dêv* to the Marâṭhâ and a *bhût* to the Brâhmaṇ. Still certain Marâṭhâs rank Vêtâl among *bhûts* and certain Brâhmaṇs rank him among *dêvs*. One reason why all *dêvs* were once *bhûts* is that originally not all *bhûts* were unfriendly to man. Among some Tamil tribes *Butâ* is the benevolent god.[63] The word *bhût* had once, to some extent the word still has, the sense of spirit, not of fiend. A mother who comes back to nurse and care for her child, though she is the bad type of *bhût* known as *jaknî*, is still a guardian. The following details shew how even a *jaknî*, one of the worst forms of *bhûts*, the dreaded ghost of a woman who has died in child-bed, may become a guardian or *dêv*. When the cradle of a babe, whose mother is dead, rocks of itself, the house-women ask :—"Who are you that rocks the cradle? Come into one of us, and tell us who you are." The women sit in a circle, and, as the mother passes into her, one of them shivers, and says :—"I am Gangâ. I have a child, I have come to take care of my child. I will do you no harm." The house-women doubt if this is a true spirit. "To try your truth we will give you something to do. You will ripen the crop : you will cure Râma's cough, you will heal the lame Môtî. Do this, and we will trust you." If the task is done the women ask the mother to enter into one of the men of the family, since mothers rarely pass into the bodies of women. The men and women sit round. Presently one of the men shivers as the mother passes into him. The women ask :— "Mother, what is your

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land is probably a recollection that the Christians took the building from the service of an early god. Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 23) writes :— "Under the influence of Christianity elves and giants developed into angels and devils. Apparently the change was evil. The fairies who in the honoured days of King Arthur fulfilled the land of Britain disappeared. Sights were no longer to be seen of the Elf Queen and her Jolly Company dancing full of faerie in many a green mead (Chaucer in Folkard's *Plant-Lore*, p. 64). Similarly the German gods Wuotan, Donar, Tio and Phol put on the nature of diabolic beings. Their yearly visitation was turned into a rabble-rout which the people shunned. The result of the degradation of the guardian on the belief of the lowest classes in Germany is shewn by the characteristic remark of Luther (A. D. 1500) :— "When we walk abroad, sit at our board, lie on our bed, legions of devils are round about ready to fling whole hell into our hearts" (Seafield's *Dreams*, Vol. I. p. 145). Other countries refused to give up their faith in the good element in spirits and much trust continued to be placed in elves and faeries. With Satan, whose virtue was a grim northern humour, were associated men and women possessed by evil spirits, witches, wizards and warlocks (*Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. II. p. 94). In Russia, the devil is thought of more in sorrow than in anger. He is really poor old *domovoi*, the ancestral spirit, the Guardian of the Hearth, disgraced by the tenth century enthusiasts who wanted either the art or the patience to work his old guardianship into some Christian grace (see Ralston's *Russian Songs*, p. 124). In talk the French feeling is kindly to the devil. Un bon diable is a genial companion like the English A queer devil. The usual and natural shape of the devil in the time of James II. (1685) was an empty bottle (Hone's *Everyday Book*, Vol. II. p. 1241). Before John Knox (1530) and other destroyers, according to Sharpe (*Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 23), in many parts of Scotland, about milldams and green brae faces elrich elfs and brownies strayed and green-gowned fairies danced and played. According to R. Scott (1584) the result of Knox's influence was evil. The spread of the belief in witchcraft was due to the loss of Robin Goodfellow and the fairies which were wont to maintain the common people's talk in this belief (R. Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, Ed. 1886, p. xxii.).

[61] Quoted in Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 426.

[62] Boots, Nick, Scratch, Walker.

[63] *Journal Ethnological Society*, Vol. VIII. p. 115, in Lubbock's *Primitive Condition of Man*, p. 206.

wish?" Through her chosen medium the mother says: — "Make an embossed golden likeness of me and fasten the plate round my child's neck." Or the mother says:— "Make a tiny golden image of me and set my image in the ark along with the house-gods." If the mother asks that her image should be set in the ark the people say:— "We must ask the house-gods. If the house-gods do not object we will set your image in the ark." The house-gods speak through certain men only. If a medium is present, he bathes, puts on a fresh loin cloth, loosens his top knot, and sits in front of the ark. He drops incense on a fire to the right, and prays to the gods:— "God, come into my body and tell me one or two things." Presently he tosses his loose hair and trembles. The house-god has passed into him. The people come and say to the house-god:—"The mother has come back." The mother (that is, the man into whom the mother has entered) says:—"I will do you no harm. I will do you good. Put me in the ark." The people ask the house-god's medium:— "Are you willing that we should set the mother's image close to you?" If the house-god is willing the medium pants:— "Yes, seat her close to me." If the house-god is unwilling the medium says:—"Put the mother outside." They say to the medium:—"Can we trust the mother will not harm us?" The medium replies, quivering and panting:— "The mother is good; she will do you no harm." The chief house-god has ended and retires. The medium bows until his brow strikes the ground. He raises himself. A fresh shivering seizes him. He is possessed by the second of the house-gods. "Who are you?" the women ask. "Bahiri," pants the medium. Bahiri agrees that the mother may have a seat in the ark and retires. The medium droops till his brow smites the ground. He pulls himself straight. A fresh air comes over him. He shivers as the third guardian passes into him. The third guardian approves the mother. And so it goes till all the powers are asked and have approved. The image of the mother is set in the ark. The women ask:— "What should we give the mother to eat?" The wise men say:—"The same as other guardians—a cock and a cocoanut once a year." The mother's worship is performed year after year, so long as her child lives. With her child's life the mother's immortality ends. Her image remains in the ark; no offerings are made to it. The Germans have the same belief as Hindus. A German mother comes back to nurse the child. A hollow in the bed shews where she has lain.[64]

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME TECHNICAL TERMS AND NAMES IN PORT BLAIR.

THE Penal Settlement of Port Blair being established for the whole of British India, every one of the many languages in that vast area is represented at the Settlement as the mother-tongue of some person or other. In such circumstances it was early found to be imperative that one chief language should be established as a *lingua franca*. The language that naturally suggested itself for this purpose was Urdû, the language of the Camp of the Muhammadan conquerors of India, better known by its name of Hindustânî. Consequently every one in Port Blair has to acquire a practical knowledge of Urdû, be he Englishman or Burman, Tamil or Afghan, Lepcha or Gond, and one result of this necessity is that this language is current in every conceivable variety of corruption. It is spoken in many forms and with very many accents, and in addition to the curiosities of language thus created, there are many words of local growth, invented to suit local wants. On the whole, therefore, the Andaman form of the old Camp Language of India is philologically worth study, even as Pigeon English is, and with more reason, because, being perhaps the easiest of all languages to acquire fairly correctly, Urdû has never degenerated into such a jargon as Pigeon English.

I propose now to give a few Port Blair words to illustrate my meaning.

The following words I have heard even in the mouths of Burmans unable to make themselves understood in Urdû:—

Bijan. — This means now a barrack for convicts as distinguished from a barrack for troops or police, though various corruptions of "barrack" are also used for that purpose. It is really English in origin, and represents the word "division," the corruption having taken place on vulgar Urdû

64 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I p. 456.

lines. Thus, "di" has dropped out, *v* has become *b* and the *sh* sound of *si* has become *j*, quite according to custom. Originally the convicts were divided into "divisions," each of which slept in a barrack. Hence the present application of the term.

Tâpu. — This means a convict "station." It is really good Urḍû for an "island." Originally all the convict stations were situated on small islands in Port Blair harbour. Hence its present application to any convict station, inland or on an island.

Sikshan. — This means now either the "sick list," or the Female Jail. It is the English word "section." Originally the major division of the convicts was into sections, of which No. XVII. was the convalescent gang, the sick and unable to do any or full work. The women were of course all in the Female Section. Hence the present double application of the word, kept in existence no doubt in the first case owing to the likeness of "*sikshan*" to the familiar "*sîk-mán*" of the Native Army Hospitals.

Waipar. — The first Jail constructed in the Settlement was on Viper Island, so named after a gunboat in the last Century. It is now dwarfed by the great Cellular Jail on Atalanta Point, so named after an old man-of-war, which is the Jail *par excellence*, much to be avoided in the eyes of the convicts; the other is simply *waipar*. Other jails are being constructed at Minnie Bay (named after another by-gone gunboat), Pahâṛgâoṅ, and Gôplâkabang (Andamanese word), of which the mightiest will be that of Minnie Bay, and it will be interesting to see what popular terms will be applied to them. By the way Gôplâkâbang is already Gôbang in common parlance and script, and the name is likely to have "no derivation" in days to come.

Dhôbî, a washerman, and **tâlâsh**, search, are pure Urḍû, but they are two of the first words picked by Burmans and non-Indians, and it is curious to hear them in the midst of an otherwise purely Burmese sentence.

Pêṭî Âfsar, for "petty officer," is unquestionably referred by Native speakers to the *pêṭî*, belt, they all wear and not to the English word. I have heard them spoken of simply as *pêṭîwâlê*, the men who wear belts, though in ordinary Anglo-Indian slang *pêṭîwâlâ*, translated into "box-wallah," is the hawker who sells articles of female attire and familiar wants, and *pattiwâlâ* exists for those familiar with the language for the belt-wearer, *i. e.*, the messenger or peon.

Many of the existing **place-names** about Port Blair are English, and the corruptions thereof by the convicts and their Native guards are interesting, shewing that striving after a meaning which is so prolific of verbal corruptions all over the world. *E. g.*:—

Mount Harriet	becomes	**Môhan Rêt.**
Perseverance Point	,,	**Parasu Pêt.**
Shore Point	,,	**Sûwar Pêt.**
Navy Bay	,,	**Nabbî Bêg.**
Phœnix Bay	,,	**Pînik Bêg.**
Barwell Ghat	,,	**Bâlû Ghâṭ.**

Harriet was the name of the wife of a former Superintendent. Perseverance and Phœnix were the names of Royal Ships in the last Century. Shore Point is named after Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), Governor-General. General Barwell was a fomer Chief-Commissioner. There is also a large village called Ânîkhèt, a conscious pun on the name of the daughter of a former Chief-Commissioner, who was named Annie Kate. The largest steam-launch in the harbour is named "The Belle," after Belle, the daughter of a former Chief-Commissioner, which has proved an unfortunate name, for the vessel is invariably called by the Natives "Belly Jahâz."

The station of Elephant Point has been translated into **Hâthî Tâpu.** The stations of Navy Bay, Dundas Point, South Point, and Phœnix Bay are all also frequently called indiscriminately **Chûna Bhattâ**, because there is now, or has been at some former time, a lime-kiln at these spots. Convicts never forget a place at which there has been a lime-kiln: they hate the work so. So also there is a village called **Chauldârî** in the Southern District after a former convict "camp" at the spot; but the station of Middle Point, a long way off in the Northern District, is also commonly known to the convicts as Chauldârî for the same reason.

Sometimes the Natives' names for places are merely corruptions of the English words, without any effort at a meaning; *e. g.*, **Ubtên** for Hopetown, where Lord Mayo was murdered, and **Hârḍô** for Haddo. Port Blair itself is always **Pôṭ Bilêr** and Port Mouat always **Pôṭmôṭ.**

R. C. TEMPLE.

KULA.

ONE of the first vernacular words that the stranger learns in Burma is **kalâ** (written **kulâ** ꩻ), a foreigner. It has always a contemptuous sense, much like the word "barbarian," and is applied properly to a native of India; and hence to any Western foreigner, when it is not likely to be resented. It is traceable to **Gôḷa** (**Gauḍa**) and meant originally an Indian Buddhist immigrant from Bengal (**Gauḍa, Gauṛ**, Pali **Gôḷa**). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

Perhaps nothing would astonish the ordinary Burman more than to learn that the term could anywhere be applied to himself precisely as he applies it to others. But such is nevertheless the case, for it is invariably so used by the Eastern Shâns (Laos) about the Mêkhong (Nam Khaung); *teste* **M. Aymonier, Voyage dans le Laos,** 1895. The journey of the "Mission Aymonier" about the Mêkhong, especially its right or Western bank, as far West as Korât and as far North as Nampat, was undertaken in 1882-3, and the leader's references to the **Burmans as Kalâs** are so distinct that I will quote all there are in his first volume, — the only one so far issued.

Page 37. — "La population [de Bassak] est laocienne avec quelques rares Khmêrs, Chinois, **Kula** (ou **Birmans**)."

Page 83. — "Nous rencontrons des **Kola** [à Phou Dên Mœuong] **nom que les Laos donnent aux Birmans.**"

Page 197. — "Les habitants [d'Oubon] sont tous des Phou Thaïs qui cultivent des rizières, pêchent et élèvent des bestiaux qu'ils vendent aux **Kola ou Birman** pour les exporter à Bangkok."

Page 233. — "On y fait aussi [à Dhatou Penom] un commerce de buffles que les **Kolas ou Birmans** viennent acheter dans la region pour les emmener à Bangkok."

Page 263. — "On rencontre à Nongkhaï des Chinois qui occupent une quarantaine de boutiques, des Siamois généralement venus de Korat, et des **Kolas ou Birmans.**"

Page 265. — "[Le Phya de Nongkhaï] avait à ce moment de gros ennuis avec des **Kolas ou marchands Birmans** qui sont détestés dans le pays . . . . Le jour même le Chau et les mandarins firent signifier leur expulsion aux Kolas qui furent attaqués la nuit suivante, à coups de fusils . . . . Ils allèrent réclamer au consul anglais à Bangkok, d'où ordre au Chau de Nongkhaï de rendre justice aux Kolas, ou bien de faire expédier les accusés à Bangkok."

Dr. Cushing, **Shan Dictionary,** p. 13, gives "**kalâ3**, a foreigner : **kalâlam,** a black foreigner, used generally of a native of Hindustân because most known to the Shâns : **kalü,** a name applied to Karens on the mountains East of Toungoo: **kalaum,** a Siamese or Laos, also an appellation given to all who are under Siamese rule; infrequently **karaum**"

So the opprobrious term appears to be of mutual application!

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MUSALMAN TITLES OF HINDUS.

There is nothing really Musalmân in these titles. *Khân,* which means simply tribal chief, was the usual title of the heads of tribes in the North-West Panjâb. Within historic periods Afghânistân was ruled by Hindu or Kshatriya tribes, and many a tribe of Râjpûts, Jâts, and even Khatrîs still preserve the tradition of having emigrated into the Pañjâb from the neighbourhood of Ghaznî. And of these several had ancestors who are said to have borne the title of *Khâṅ.*

In later times, too, titles borne by Muhammadans originally were adopted by others — *e. g.,* the *Bâdshâh, Shâhzâdâ,* and *Sirdâr* of the Sikhs. In modern times Hindus gladly accepted such titles as *Khâṅ Bahâdur,* etc., when conferred on them by the British Government.[1]

The tradition of the Mân Jâṭs is that they once ruled in Ghaznî, and that Râjâ Bhîmpâl was the last ruler of their race there. This king came on an expedition to India, and settled at Baṭhindâ (Paṭiâlâ territory), driving out the Bhattî Râjpûts. Another Mân Jât of the same family held the title of Khâṅ, his name being Bhûndar. His son, Mîrzâ, succeeded to the title. Another ancestor, now known as Mân Shâh, had the title Shâh conferred on him by the Delhi Emperors. His real name has been lost, and he is only remembered by his title of the Mân Shâh. His descendants are called Mânshâhîâ, and even now those who claim descent from Bhûndar Khâṅ would have no objection to the revival of the title of Khân in their favour.

GURDYAL SINGH in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

NICOBAR ISLANDS — LATTER-DAY FOLK-MEDICINE.

THIS is a prescription by a "doctor" of the village of Kenuaka in Car Nicobar, given on 14th April, 1896:—

"Mix Eno's Fruit Salt in water. Add to it a little powdered camphor and turpentine. Give twice a day for colic and stomach-ache. Add a little quinine to the above in fever cases.

R. C. TEMPLE.

Port Blair.

[1] [The British Government frequently bestows mixed Hindu and Musalmân titles on Native Chiefs, following in this the custom of the Native Governments. The Sikh rulers constantly did so. The custom no doubt arose in the time of the free-thinking earlier Mughal rulers of Delhi. — ED.]

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 21.)

4.

Chinese Weights.

So much is said in the course of this Chapter regarding Chinese influence on the weight system of Further India, that it is necessary to consider here the Chinese weights themselves.

Prof. Ridgeway,[15] *Origin of Currency*, p. 158, quoting apparently Silvestre, *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, 1883, No. 15, p. 308 ff., but in reality taking the whole information from Wade, *Tzu Erh Chi*, Vol. II. p. 213, which again is condensed from Bridgman's *Chinese Chrestomathy*, a book I have not seen, gives the modern indigenous table of weights thus:—

10 lî[16]	are	1 fên
10 fên	,,	1 chi'en
10 chi'en	,,	1 liang
16 liang	,,	1 chin
100 chin	,,	1 tan or shih

For the above vernacular terms read as follows, and the universal Far-Eastern and Archipelagic modern commercial terminology for currency is reached, thus[17] :—

lî	is	cash
fên	,,	candareen
chʻen	,,	mace
liang	,,	tael
chin[18]	,,	catty[19]
tan (shih)	,,	picul[20]

The modern scale then is practically almost entirely decimal, the 16 *liang* to the *chin* being introduced apparently to satisfy general Far-Eastern convenience commercially.[21] However, when and how the modern scale came to be introduced I have no means by me of satisfactorily ascertaining, but such examination of ancient Chinese weights as I am able to make shews that it cannot have been introduced very long ago, for it certainly did not exist, according to Terrien de la Couperie, at any rate up to 621 A. D.

For, in his *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, he covers the period of the VIIth Century B. C. to the VIIth Century A. D., and at pp. xliii. ff. has an elaborate disquisition on weights, based chiefly on the ancient coins still in existence, because of the muddle which the native writers on the subject have made of their identifications. His pages are rather hard and difficult reading, but after an amount of trouble that might have been avoided had the presentation been clearer, I have been able to put together the following statements from pp. xliii. and xliv. : —

Ancient Chinese Weights.

A. — General Table.

1 chu			equals grs.	4·06
6 chu	are	1 hwa	,, ,,	24·37
2 hwa	,,	1 che[22]	,, ,,	48·75

15 Prof. Ridgeway is a little vague in his transcriptions, *e. g.*, we have *chi'en*, p. 158 = *chʻen*, p. 159, and *liung*, p. 158 = *liang*, p. 159.

16 Also *tʻung* and *chʻien*, Wade, *Tzu Erh Chi*, Vol. II. p. 213.

17 Herstlett's *Treaties*, p. 37 n. See also Stevens, *Guide*, 1775, p. 91, who says that the "gross Weights differ, more or less about one per Cent" and that the "Dodgings," *i. e.*, scales, seldom agree.

18 Usually *kin*.

19 This seems for a long while to have been fixed at 1⅓ lb.; see Stevens, *Guide*, p. 91.

20 Fixed at 133⅓ lbs. av. by Treaty of 1858: see Herstlett's *Treaties*, p. 33. It was reckoned at that rate in the ast Century; see Stevens, *Guide*, p. 91.

21 The modern *liang* (tael), being about an oz., 16 *liang* or catty (*chin*, *kin*) = about a lb. av.

22 Terrien de la Couperie is not certain as to this word apparently, for on p. xliii. he has rendered the character for this weight as *tze*, and on p. xliv. as *tche*.

2 che	are	1 liang	equals	grs.	97·5
2 liang	„	1 kin	„	„	195
4 kin 觔	„	1 yuen	„	„	780
5 yuen	„	1 lüeh	„	„	3,900
2 lüeh	„	1 hwan	„	„	7,800

B. — Special Ancient Coins.

1 fun			equals	grs.	86
9 fun	are	1 yuen	„	„	780

C. — Literary Weights.

20 liang	are	1 literary kin 斤	equals	grs.	1,950
2 kin	„	1 lüeh	„	„	3,900
2 lüeh	„	1 hwan	„	„	7,800

D. — Larger Weights.

30 kin 斤	are	1 kuin	equals	grs.	58,500
4 kuin	„	1 shih[23]	„	„	234,000

E. — Ancient and Modern compared.

1 modern chu is 1 ancient hwa, or 6 ancient chu, equals grs. 24·17
1 modern liang is 6 ancient liang[24] equals grs. 579·84

These ancient Chinese tables are of the first importance to the present discussion, because of the following comparison that can be made:—

Burmese Decimal Scale of Mû.	**Ancient Chinese Scale.**
6 ywê are 1 pè	6 chu are 1 hwa
2 pè „ 1 mû	2 hwa „ 1 che
(2½ &) 2 mû „ 1 màt	2 che „ 1 liang
4 màt „ 1 kyàt	2 liang „ 1 kin 觔

Therefore 96 *ywê* = 1 *kyàt* and 48 *chu* = 1 *kin*. Now the *chu* is four grains and equals the *fên* or candareen, *i. e.*, the conventional seed of the *Adenanthera pavonina*, and the *ywê* is in this case, as we have seen *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 314, the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*, conventionally

[23] Neumann, *Translations from Chinese and Armenian*, 1831, in *The History of the Chinese Pirates*, has under date 1809, p. 41, and also p. 124, an odd note:—"A *shih* or stone contains 4 *kuens*: a *kuen* 30 *kin* or catty, the well-known Chinese weight: a catty is equal to 1⅓ lb. English." The *shih* could not, therefore, have possibly been a stone or 14 lbs. He has, however, other odd notes; *e. g.*, p. 22 (also p. 102):—"These (*teaou fa*) are large vessels, with windows from 200 to 300 tons: they are called by Europeans by the Chinese name, in the Canton dialect, *junks; chuen* is the Mandarin pronunciation." But how about Malay and Javanese *jong* and *ajong?*

[24] Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 156 ff., gives a table, dated *c.* 1704, for converting Canton weights into Troy weights and *vice versâ*. His tale is 10 oz. 4 dwts. 5·28 grs. = 581·28 grs. His mace is 2 dwts. 10·12 grs. = 58·12 grs. But p. 159 he says:—"you cannot well be without such a Table, thoroughly examin'd, in your Closet. I met with several done by other Hands; but all disagreeing, I calculated this for the Use of the Factory. . . . . . The weights are here much bigger than at Amoy; where by the Medium of four different Tables 100 oz. Troy, amount to Tale 84, 4m., 8c., 9c., which at Canton is 82T., 5m., 7c., 6c." That is, the Canton weights were then about 2 per cent. larger than the Amoy weights, which would make the Amoy Tale of that period c. 570 grs. and the mace about 57 grs. Stevens, Guide, 1775, p. 105 ff., gives a table for converting "Canton Weight or Money into English Troy Weight" and *vice versâ*. His tale is 1 oz. 4 dwts. 3·84 grs. = 579·84 grs.; his mace 2 dwts. 9·984 grs. = 57·984 grs.: his candareen is 5·7984 grs.: his cash (*caxa* on p. 129) is 0·57984 grs. This is a calculation downwards on the basis that 100 taels, Canton weight, = 120 oz. 16 dwts. English Troy weight. Both Terrien de la Couperie's and Stevens' weights must be taken as conventional literary denominations, because in 1870 the tael varied in practice from 5s. 9d. to 6s. 8d., *i. e.*, *c.* 14 per cent., in different ports in China: Herstlett's *Treaties*, p. 37 n., quoting *Parl. Papers, China*, Nos. 7 and 12, 1870.

half the *Adenanthera pavonina* seed. Therefore, if the *ywê* is half the *chu* **the ancient Chinese kin = the kyàt or modern tickal.** That the *kyàt* or *bât* or tickal is the upper standard of modern Indo-Chinese bullion weights and the *ywê* the lower standard we have seen already abundantly in the preceding sections of this Chapter, and a reference to Terrien de la Couperie's work will shew that the *kin* was likewise an upper and the *chu* the lower standard of ancient Chinese bullion weights. Given these premises the inference is irresistible that **the modern Burmese Decimal Scale of Mû is merely the survival of the ancient Chinese universal scale,** and as (*ante*, p. 2) the modern Burmese decimal scale of *mû* is practically identical with the scale for the whole of Indo-China, it follows that **the Indo-Chinese populations have preserved, apparently without material change, the bullion weight measures of the ancient Chinese.**

The further inference then is that if the whole Further-Eastern System, from Burma through the Shân States and Cambodia, is traceable to an Indian source on the basis of a common origin, the old Chinese scale is also so traceable; though here we should, I think, modify the proposition by stating that **the Indian and old Chinese scales are therefore traceable to a common origin.**[25]

All the evidence available to me points to the overlaying of the Chinese decimal scale upon an older scale such as Terrien de la Couperie has extracted from the ancient coins and to the supposition that **the decimal scale has been introduced from some outside and independent source.** Thus, in attempting to connect the terms of the old and new scales, one finds that nothing is so puzzling as the tracing of Chinese terms from author to author, no two Sinologists apparently using the same system of transcription.[25a] But if we abandon the transcriptions and make a comparison only of the Chinese characters for ancient and modern weights used by Wade and de la Couperie, we shall find that, if we are to accept Terrien de la Couperie's statements, apparently prepared with great care and fullness of examination of the details on which they are based, the terms used in ancient and modern times have entirely changed in significance: — Thus,

Character.	Wade's Modern Equivalents.	T. de la Couperie's Ancient Equivalents.
分	fên 5·7984 grs.	fun 86 grs.
兩	liang 579·84 „	liang 97·5 „
斤	chin 9277·44 „	kin 1950 „
石	shih 927744 „	shih 234000 „

Terrien de la Couperie himself tells us that the old *liang* and *chu* were about a sixth of the modern *liang* and *chu*, and this table makes the old catty (*chin, kin*) about a sixth of the modern one. It also makes the old picul (*shih*) about a fourth of the modern one. By the old *fun* must have been meant something quite different from the modern *fên*, which, as the conventional candareen, must represent the old *chu* of 4·06 grs.

25 Colquhoun, *Across Chryse*, 1881, Vol. I. p. 263, makes a disquieting statement as to this. All the evidence goes to shew that whatever the catty or pound might be, the picul of China and all Indo-China and the Far East was the same, but Colquhoun says, describing the famine in Yünnan after the then recent war: — "The scarcity was fearful, the price being at times 25 taels per picul (*tan*) of Yünnan. The *tan* is equal to 176 Chinese lbs." If then he means by lbs. *kin* or catties, and his statement is correct, we have the disturbing fact of a double (picul) (*tan*) existing in Yünnan.

25a "No. 1 Compradore" of the Indo-China Co.'s S. S. *Kutsang* gave me *vivâ voce* the list from cash to picul thus: — *man, fàn, ch'en, lêang, kàn* and *siàk* as the terms used in the Cantonese dialect. All these terms, except *ch'en*, I have found in W. Williams' *Tonic Dict. of the Canton Dialect*, 1856, at pp. 274, 45, 231, 128, 441, respectively. W. Williams gives also *lî* for 'cash' at p. 233, and *tan* for 'picul' at p. 499. I have found also that all the *Guide Books* about Canton and Hongkong, some written by men with good local colloquial knowledge, differ in the representation of the characters for 'money,' etc.

Again, as regards the introduction of the Chinese decimal scale, it appears in full swing in the days of Marco Polo and the mediæval travellers, as recorded in two of Yule's great works, *Marco Polo* and *Cathay and the Way Thither, i. e.*, during the Mongol sway in the XIIIth and XIVth Centuries A. D. But the money then found was almost entirely of paper,[26] in which tale and not measure or weight is the essential point in denominations. And it is to be noticed that Marco Polo and his successors sometimes speak of money in the terms employed for enumerating the Army. This makes one inclined to hazard the conjecture that the Mongols introduced the decimal division of the coinage, basing it on the ancient decimal division of the Army, which can be seen from the following terms: —

onbàshi[27] decurion (*on*, ten)

yüzbàshi centurion (*yüz*, hundred)

bîng-(mîng)bàshi chiliarch (*bîng, mîng*, thousand)

tûmàn-àghàssi chief of a legion (*tûmàn*, ten thousand men)[28]

Now the notes of Marco Polo's time (Vol. I. p. 378 ff.) were those of Kublai Khan's first issue (1260-1287 A. D.), whose denominations were stated in terms of

(1) tens of cash (*tsien*)[29]

(2) hundreds of cash

(3) thousands of cash (strings)[30]

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[26] *Marco Polo* (1275-92): Vol. I. p. 378 ff.; Vol. II. p. 88. Wassaf (1300): *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 160. Friar Odoric (1320-30): *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 115. Archbishop of Soltania, (?) John de Cora (*c.* 1330): *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 245. Pegolotti (1330-40): *Cathay*, Vol. II. pp. 289, 294. Ibn Batuta (1348): *Cathay*, Vol. II. p.

Marco Polo has many local notices of the use of paper money always introduced with the formula:— "The people are Idolators, burn their dead, use paper money and are subjects of the Great Kaan (Kublai):" Vol. II. pp. 103, 115, 116, 132, 140, 143, 175. But see also *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 291 f., in Chapter I. of this work, section on paper money.

With reference to Yule's specimen of a note of the Ming Dynasty in his *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 378, I bought some years ago a number of beautiful French plates relating to China from a Parisian dealer, evidently meant to illustrate some (? folio) book, though they have never been bound into one. No. 65 is superscribed, like the rest, "*Descript, gén. de la Chine*," and is a plate of coins and currency. Some French hand has dated many of these plates "1785," but among the curious illustrations of "Monnoyes anciennes nommées Pou et Tao, Monnoyes incertaines ou étrangéres dont on ignore le temps, et qui ont eu cours à la Chine, Monnoyes auxquelles dans la suite des temps le Peuples à attaché des idées mêlées de Superstitions, et Monnoyes d' argent du Tibet (*i. e.*, Nepalese rupees)" we find "Monnoyes de differentes Dynasties," which are illustrations of cash, commencing with the "Dynastie des Tcheou," and winding up "De Chun tchi fondateur de la Dyn. regnante, Du feu Empr. Cang hi, De Yong tching Empr. regnant." This gives the true date, for it refers to the Ts'ing Dynasty and to the Nien Hao or titles of reigns of Shun Che, 1644-62, K'ang Hi, 1662-1723, Yung Cheng, 1723-36; see Mayer, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 387 f. So perhaps the plates refer to what Terrien de la Couperie has called (*Cat. Chinese Coins*, p. vii. n.) "the great work of P. E. Souciet, *Observations Mathematiques, Astronomiques, Géographiques, et Physiques, tirées des Anciens Livres Chinois*, 3 vols., 1729-32," which I have not seen. At any rate the work is that of a complete Chinese scholar, for, in addition to the other matters, there is an illustration of the very rare 1,000 cash note of the Ming Dynasty of the identical issue of that given by Yule, character for character and seal for seal. Every character is transcribed and translated into French.

[27] I have here used *à* for the sound of *aw* in *awful*.

[28] See Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. pp. 223 f., 231. Also *ante*, Vol. XI. pp. 189 ff., 193 f., where an account of the military arrangements of Chinghiz Khan, under date *c.* 1206 A. D. is given, based on the authority of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* (1240 A. D.), *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 89, and of 'Abu'l-Ghazi (1663 A. D.). Also Redhouse, *Turkish Dict. s. vv.*: Shaw, *Sketch of the Turki Language, s. vv.* See also *Âîn Akbarî*, Blochmann's Ed. p. 236 ff., where the divisions (nominal) of Akbar's Army (16th Cent.) bear a remarkable likeness to the denominations of Kublai's note currency (13th Century) as recorded in Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 378 ff.

[29] *Wen* at Vol. II. p. 59.

[30] By the way, all Yule's valuations at p. 381 ff. of the paper money in Marco Polo's time are based on the assumption that a "string" = *liang* = tael = 80d., but from what Terrien de la Couperie tells us as to the *liang* up to 620 A. D. being a sixth of the modern *liang* of *c.* 80d., it would follow that the *liang* of 1260-1300 A. D. might be anything between 13d. and 80d. This consideration might reduce Yule's enormous figures as to the value of Kublai's note currency to more manageable amounts.

And in estimating the revenues of China, Marco Polo (Vol. II. p. 171 f.) expresses it in "*tomans* of gold,"[31] and Friar Odoric (*Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 123) in "*tumans* of *balis*."[32]

One cannot, however, lay much stress on all this, as *tûmân* with the travellers evidently meant the abstract number 10,000, for we find Wassâf (A. D. 1300) talking of "*tômâns* of soldiers and *tômâns* of *ra'iyats*," and Friar Odoric of "*tumans* of fire-places, every *tuman* being ten thousand." The Friar also tells us of a man, whose revenue was "XXX *tumans* of *sagars* (bags) of rice, and each tuman is ten thousand.'"[33]

Such being the evidence available, I leave this question here, and pass on to a point of much interest and value in the present argument. Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 158, following Wade, *Tzu Erh Chi*, Vol. II. p. 213, points out that **the modern Chinese metric system,** like that of all the Further East, the Eastern Archipelago and India, is **based on the natural seeds or grains of plants,** and then proceeds to talk of "ten of a kind of seed called *fên* (the candarin)." Here Rumphius (1741) comes to our aid, as will be seen from his terms quoted *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 316 f. He there tells us that the *Abrus frutex* (*i. e., precatorius*) seeds are mixed up in weight standards with the *Corallaria parvifolia* (*i. e., Adenanthera pavonina*) seeds, and that the latter run ten to a mace (maas) in China, and ten mace to a "tayl." He also tells us that the candareen (*condorius* or *condorium*, as he calls it) is the seed of the *Adenanthera pavonina*, and that the "*Chinensis condorius*"[34] of the Southern parts of China is rounder, harder, more solid and heavier[35] than the Malayan variety. There can be no doubt, therefore, that **the "kind of seed called fên" is the Adenanthera seed,** and if we are to accept the modern *fên* as representing the ancient *chu*, then it follows that **the ancient and modern Chinese weight systems, despite differences in denominations, are alike based on the Adenanthera seed.**

The mixing up of the *Abrus* and *Adenanthera* seeds has already been explained, *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 317 ff., and is to be seen in the following quotation from a *Collection of Dutch Voyages*, **1703**, p. 199. The quotation also shews that **the Chinese were then known to use the Adenanthera seed as a weight standard.** "They (mixed metal Cash) were not then (1590) currant in China it self,[36] where the People pay nothing in Money, but with little bits of Silver, which they weigh against **Conduris**, or small red Beans, which have a black Spot on one side."[37]

[31] As a contribution to the study of Marco Polo's narrative I may here make the following remarks. Yule sagaciously infers that by "*tomans* of gold" Polo referred to "*tomans* of *ting* (ten ounce) notes," and that the "*ting*" note was the equivalent of an ounce of gold, as the ounce was understood at that time. But Polo estimates the *tûmân* in *saggi*, and the *saggio* (Venetian) was one-sixth of an ounce (Venetian), Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 273, *Cathay*, Vol. II. p. 297. The *saggio* was therefore equal in say 1275-92 A. D. to 76 grs., while according to Terrien de la Couperie up to 620 A. D. the *liang* (ounce) was equal to say one-sixth of the modern *liang* or Chinese ounce, and was in fact about 97 grs. May we not argue, therefore, that all Marco Polo was trying to convey by the expression *saggio* was an idea of the *liang* of his time, to which the *saggio* might then have been the nearest equivalent in European money that his hearers were likely to understand? Grant this and we can again cut all the calculations as to the real sense of Marco Polo's figures down to say a sixth of the sums hitherto accepted as equivalents, and thus bring them within reasonable limits, and go a step further towards relieving him of the (?) undeserved *soubriquet* of Marco Milione.

[32] So far as I can judge the *balis* was a *ting* note (of ten ounces), but it is a very difficult word: see Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 169; *Cathay*, Vol. I. pp. 115 f., 123, 240; Vol. II. pp. 289, 294, 481.

[33] *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 169: *Cathay*, Vol. I. pp. 123, 153. Johnson's *Persian Dict.*, 1952, calls *tomân* a *Persian* word and says :— "A myriad, 10,000. A sum of money equal to 10,000 Arabic silver *drachmas*, which are about one-third less than those of the Greeks ; also a sum equal to 15 dollars and a half (? 10,000 cash). Districts into which a kingdom is divided, each being supposed to furnish 10,000 fighting men: when the city of Samarkand, for example, therefore, is put down for 7,000 *tomâns*, it implies that she holds 70,000 men ready to bear arms on the requisition of her sovereign. A large division of a tribe." This description seems to fairly cover the general usage of the word. It is called *tomand* and *tomond* in Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 124, 129.

[34] Rumphius' vernacular Chinese synonyms are *tsjontsjo, tsjontsjii, zongzi, tschonsidji, tschongsidji,* which I suppose represent characters for some such word as *chüngchi* or *chungsi*.

[35] This may account for the *fên* being reckoned at about 5 grs., while the *Adenanthera* seed is reckoned at about 4 grs.

[36] This, of course, is wrong.

[37] At p. 221, *op. cit.*, the *Conduri* is correctly described, and it is noted that it is called *Saga* in Java.

Turning now to the countries south of China proper, and confining the research to the modern money and weights, we find from Ridgeway, pp. 158 ff., who has followed Msg. Taberdier, 1838, Msg. Pallegoix, 1854, M. Moura, 1883, and M. Aymonier, 1885, the following illuminating tables as regards **Chinese influence on modern Cambodian ideas of currency** :—

Cambodian Denominations.

1. Bullion.

60 dong (sapec,[38] cash)	are	1 tien (mace)
10 tien	,,	1 string (tael)
10 strings	,,	1 nên (bar of bullion)

2. Account.

10 lî (cash)	are	1 hun (candareen)
10 hun	,,	1 chi (mace)
10 chi	,,	1 denh (tael)
10 denh	,,	1 nên (ting)[39]

3. Weight Avoirdupois.

10 hun (candareen)	are	1 chi (mace)
10 chi	,,	1 tomlong (tamlüng, tael)
16 tomlong	,,	1 nêal[40] (catty)
100 nêal	,,	1 hàp (picul, tan, shih)

38 The text gives 600 *sapecs* to the tael, a fact which appears to be accounted for later on in the text under the quotations as to Tongking money in the last Century. *Cf.* Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I. pp. 23, 27. Yule's ingenious suggestion for the word *sapeca* (*Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*), *sapek, sapec, sapèque, çepayqua*, is that it is Malay *sa* + *pŭku*, a string of *pichis* (*pitis*) or cash. *Cf.* Stevens, *Guide, ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 328, who writes the word *feitee* and *petty*. Yule's conjecture is practically set at rest by the following valuable quotation from Mandelslö, *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, E. T., 1669, p. 117, under date 1639 :— "By them (the Chineses) likewise comes the money hither (Java), which in the Malayan Language is called *Cas*, in Javan, *Pity*, and is current, not only at Bantam, and all the Isle of Java, but through all the neighbouring Islands. 'Tis a little thin plate made of Lead, and the Skum of Brass, so brittle, that letting fall a string of *Caxaes*, you shall break at least ten or twelve. They are made in the Town of Chincoa in China, and they are beholding to Wanty (? for Wanly), King of China, for them, who lived about the year 1590, and finding that the *Caxaes* made by his predecessour Huyien, King of China, went not off, by reason the Chineses had so filled the adjacent Islands with them, he contrived this brittle money, which his Successour Humendon put forth, as it is now corrupted. It hath a four-square hole through it, at which they string them on a Straw; *a string of two hundred Caxaes, called Sata*, is worth about three farthings sterling, and *five Satas tyed together make a Sapocon.* The Javians, when this money came first amongst them, were so cheated with the Novelty, that they would give six bags of Pepper for ten *Sapocons*, thirteen whereof amount to but a Crown. But they have had leisure enough to see their error; for in a short time, the Island was so filled with this stuffe, that they were compelled absolutely to prohibit all trading, which so disparaged this money, that at present two Sacks of Pepper will scarce come for one hundred thousand *Caxaes*."

We seem here to have both the rise of the *sapec* and its depreciation fully accounted for. Huyien, Wanty, and Hamendon, "Kings of China," are, I fancy, the Ming Emperors, whose Nien Hao, or Reign Titles, are Lung K'ing, 1567-73, Wan Li, 1573-1620, and Tai Ch'ang, 1620-1. See Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 378. But in Mandelslö's day, during the disruption caused by the fall of the Ming and the rise of the Ts'ing Dynasty (1628-44), there must have been some confusion as to who was "King of China." Wan Li's long reign would, of course, make his name well remembered.

Since recording the above information, I have found the same story in different, and perhaps more interesting, detail in a *Collection of Dutch Voyages*, 1703, inserted (but ? interpolated) during an account of the First Voyage, 1595-7, p. 199 ff. *Sata* there becomes *santa* (and at p. 197, but *saüta* at p. 137) and *sapocon* becomes *sapoon* (? by a misprint), but *pity* has its correct form *pitis*. I am also able to finally confirm Yule's derivation from Moor's *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, 1837, p. 94, in an article entitled "Short Account of the Island of Bali" from the *Singapore Chronicle*, June, 1830 :—

"The money current on Bali consists solely of Chinese pice with a hole in the centre, which have been introduced into Bali from time immemorial. They value them at half a cent and 600 of them may be obtained for a silver dollar. They, however, put them up in hundreds and thousands : 200 are called *satah*, and are equal to one rupee copper, and 1,000 are called *sapaku*, valued at five rupees."

In Vol. II. of Raffle's *Java*, p. 64 f., are described ancient Javan coins and Plate 87 gives several dated by natives from 861 to 1568 A. D. These are all evidently *pitis*, and in view of the information now given are worth examining. They form part only of a large collection made.

39 The Chinese denominations for ten taels.

40 Also 105 and 112 *nêal* = 1 picul; and according to Crawfurd (*Siam*, p. 516), 112, 148 and 150 catties go to the picul of various commodities.

For Laos, *i. e.*, the Shân Country under Cambodian and Chinese political influence, we see Chinese fiduciary influence clearly in the following tables for "Laos" generally: —

10	hun (candareen)	are	1 chi (mace)
10	chi	,,	1 bât (tickal)
4	bât	,,	1 damling (tamlüng, tael)
10	damling	,,	1 chang (catty)
100	chang	,,	1 hàp (picul)

And in the following statement regarding "the South-West of the Country (Laos), Bassak, and Attopoeu": —

10	strings of cash (mace)[41]	are	1 denh (tael)
10	denh	,,	1 nên (bar of bullion)

For Annam we have a most interesting table of weights in terms of the tael, there called *luong* and in translations a "nail" of bullion, while the nên, *i. e.*, the bar of bullion, weighing ten taels, nails, or *luong*, becomes in translations a "loaf" of bullion.

Annamese Table.

¼ luong		equals	¼	tael	(*i. e.*, a tickal)
½ ,,		,,	½	,,	(liang)
1 ,,	(also dinh)	,,	1	,,	
½ nên		,,	5	,,	
1 ,,		,,	10	,,	(ting)

For Tongking in the last Century, there are the statements of Stevens, *Guide*, 1775, p. 129: — "Tonquin Weights. These are by the Chinese Dotchin (scale). . . . . Copper Cash are the only Coins here: 600 great, and 1000 small, Cash, are accounted one Maradoe.[42] The Price of Silver is always variable here, on Account of its rising and falling according to the Quantity brought in. By this the Chinese make considerable Advantage. In the Year 1739 they allowed 28½ Maradoes for 1 Bar or 10 Tale Silver, and in 1748, but 21 Maradoes. All the Mexico and Pillar[43] Dollars are run into Bar Silver without any Distinction. These Bars should weigh ten Tale each. . . . . Accounts are kept here in Tales, Mace and Candareens: all which are regulated by the Price of the Maradoes and Copper Cash."

For Cochin-China generally Crawfurd, *Siam*, p. 516 ff., gives us information based on an Edict of 1818 A. D., which confirms that herein gathered as to the Further East. He tells us that all "the zinc coin (sapecs), as well as the gold and silver ingots are struck at Cachao, the Capital of Tonquin," and from his other statements can be put together the following tables, curiously combining the vernacular and general commercial terminology already ascertained: —

Cochin-Chinese Denominations.

Bullion.

¼ ingot		equals	¼ tael (*i. e.*, tickal)
½ ,,		,,	½ ,,
1 ,,	(luong, dinh)	,,	578·67 grs. (*i. e.*, 1 tael)
1 large ingot	(*nén*, bar)	,,	6172·9 grs. (10 taels)[44]

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41 By "string" in books is apparently intended sometimes a string of 100 cash (mace), and sometimes a string of 1,000 cash (tael).

42 This *maradoe* is clearly meant for the weight in bullion of the dollar, or about two tickals, or half a tael. Now Stevens, *Guide*, 1775, p. 89, tells us that at Madras the "Goa Pardoe" and the "new Mexico Dollar" were each of the same value and that the "new Pillar Dollar" was of but very little more, and so we may fairly gather that the "*maradoe*" was some local form of the Portuguese silver *pardao*; *vide* Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *Supplt.*, *s. v.*

43 Spanish, see Chalmers, *Colonial Currency*, p. 391 f.

44 *I. e.*, as nearly as local metallurgy would permit.

Account.

60	sapeks (cash)	are	1 mas (mace)
10	mas	„	1 kwan or quon[45] (tael of account)
2	kwan 8 mas	„	1 ingot (tael of weight)

For the Archipelago there is a valuable contribution to mediæval currency in Groeneveldt's "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca" in *Indo-China*, 2nd Series, Vol. I. p. 177 ff Speaking of **Java,** the *Ying-yaî Shêng-lan* (1416 A. D.) is quoted as follows: — "In their trading transactions the Chinese copper cash of different Dynasties are current. . . . . Their weights are as follows: a cati (*kin*) has twenty taels (*liang*), a tael sixteen ch'ien and a *ch'ien* four *kobangs; a kobang* is equal to 2·1875 *fen*, Chinese official weight, the *ch'ien* is 8·75 *fen*, their tael is 1·4 Chinese taels and their cati has 28 Chinese taels, all in official weight of China." Such is the text and there is a footnote (1879): — "We have not been able to ascertain the official weights and measures of the Dynasty during which the above article was written, but we have been told by a very reliable native scholar, that the present Dynasty has made no change in this respect. Taking, therefore, the Institutions of the present Dynasty (Ta-Ch'ing Hwui-tien) as our guide we arrive at about the following values :—

A Javanese	cati	equals	1·12	kilogr.
A „	tael	„	0·056	„
A „	ch'ien	„	0·00035	„
A kobang		„	0·000875	„

For cati, tael, and *ch'ien* the author gives the Chinese names."

I do not understand why the author quoted has not translated *ch'ien* by mace, when he has translated *kin* by cati, and *liang* by tael, for it clearly was the mace. In the first place it was $\frac{1}{16}$ of a tael, and a reference to the previous and succeeding sections of this Chapter will shew that that was a mace in the Archipelago and Indo-China.[46] In the next place it was equal to "4 *kobangs*," *i. e.*, a mace, *vide* Stevens, *Guide*, 1775, p. 87 : — "4 Copang[47] Acheen are 1 Mace (an imaginary Coin)," and Stevens further shews, *loc. cit.*, that the Japanese *kobang* (222 grs. gold and also silver[48]) was also current among the Malays and was known to be a different thing from the Malay *kupong* :— "They (at Malacca) have no particular Coins of their own : some few Dutch Schillings and Stivers are to be seen : the Rest are Gold as Coopangs, stamped, is 10 Dutch Dollars or 8 Spanish." And p. 88 : — "1 Japan Gold Coopang, stamped, is current for 30 Rix Dollars, unstamped is do. for 8 do."[49]

This notice, however, plunges us into the Malayan currencies, but I will not pursue the subject further here, as it will be discussed in the next section of this Chapter, except to point out that the currency noted, though expressed in Chinese terms, is not of the decimal Chinese scale but belongs to the general Malayo-Indo-Chinese system ; — the notice is in fact merely a Chinaman's way of stating the currency he found in those parts.

Far away on the other borders of the Chinese Empire, I have come across a curious reference to its influence on currency and weights. In Shaw's *Vocabulary of the Language of Eastern*

[45] The *kwan* of 600 *sapeks* is the "string" clearly, and I gather (p. 518) that $2\frac{8}{10}$ tael of account = 1 tael or weight was a law merely made for the benefit of the royal treasury.

[46] See also Linschoten, p. 44, quoted by Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* Mace : — 1598. "Likewise a Tael of Malacca is 16 Mases." Yule also quotes, *loc. cit.*, *s. v.* Tael, De Bry, *Indien Orientalis*, 1599, Vol. II. p. 64, to the same effect.

[47] Kupong, Dutch *cupon*, a copper money, estimated at 10 *doits* or the decimal of a Spanish dollar; Crawfurd, *Malay Dict.*, *s. v.*

[48] Lane-Poole, *Coins and Medals*, p. 233 ff. ; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* Carelessness in Oriental words is engrained in European writers. *Coins and Medals* has *Oho-ban* and *Ko-ban* on p. 234 and *Oho-bang* and *Ko-bang* on p. 233.

[49] See also Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 69: A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II. p. 86 : Chalmers, *Colonial Currency*, p. 382 f. The story of the depreciation of the Japanese *kobang* in the 17th Century is told at length in Raffles, *Java*, Vol. II. Appx. on Japan Trade.

Turkistân, J. A. S. B., Pt. I., Extra Number, 1878, p. 69 f., it is recorded that "*tangah* is a money of account used in Turkistân, consisting of 25 small copper 'cash' of Chinese make with square holes through them, called *dahchân*,[50] each of which is worth two *pul*, imaginary coin. The value of the *tangah* varies constantly in the *bâzârs*, according to the number of *tangahs* that may be given for a *kurs*, a Chinese silver ingot weighing about 2 lbs.[51] and worth about 170 Rupees. Sometimes the number reaches 1100 and sometimes falls as low as 800. . . . . The Khôsan *tangah* consists of 50 copper *shuchân*, which are slightly smaller than the Yârkand *dahchân*. Consequently a Khôsan *tangah* is worth nearly twice as much as a Yârkand or Kâshghar one." But at p. 59 we find "*pul*,[52] a copper coin, the 50th part of a *tangah*, which = 5 pence about; also money in general." This information is a little uncertain, but we have a clear reference of Turkî to Chinese standards.

It is often difficult to determine the language or dialect that travellers across the Asiatic Continent are using, when detailing their monetary transactions *en route*, prices, and so on. Usually their attempts at describing the currency results in a jumble of terms, due, no doubt, to their interpreters' notions of making them understand it. Witness the following statement of Littledale, *Journey Across Tibet* in the *Geographical Journal*, 1896, Vol. VII. p. 456: — "Theoretically the Chinese monetary system is very convenient: 10 *fen* = 1 *miscal*, and 10 *miscal* = 1 seer; but unfortunately all payments are made in *tengahs*, sixteen of which go to a seer in Kashgar and only eight in Khotan, so confusion results." Here *fen* is Chinese: *miscal* is Arabic and now Asiatic Muhammadan: seer is Indian. Apparently what is intended is that 10 *fên* (candareen) = 1 *ch'en* (mace): 10 *ch'en* = 1 *liang* (tael), which would make the Turkî *sêr* to be a very different weight from the Indian *sêr*.

Mr. Littledale, following the example of many another traveller, sometimes uses (pp. 456, 468) the terms of English money to express his statements of prices and sometimes those of Indian money (pp. 469, 473). But on p. 473 he says: — "I wrote, proposing to give to their temples fifty silver yamboos (1 *yamboo* = £8 or £9) if they would allow us to pass through Lhasa and go to Sikkim." As regards the term *yamboo* we get an explanation from Dr. Sven Hedin's horrible *Journey through the Takla-Makan Desert*, Chinese Turkistan, in *op. cit.*, 1896, Vol. VIII. p. 365: — "He brought back all my money (Chinese jambor and Kashgarian *tengehs*)."

The *yamboo*[53] or *jambor* would appear then to be an ingot of silver about half the value of a *kurs*, and the remarks of these travellers justify Shaw both as to facts and to the influence of Chinese currency in those parts.

5.

Malay Weights.

We have just seen (*ante*, p. 33) from a Chinese account of the XVth Century A. D., that the Malay ponderary table of that period can be stated as follows: —

4 kobangs	are	1 mace
16 mace	,,	1 tael
20 tael	,,	1 catty

50 *I. e.*, the *tanga* is the quarter mace.

51 Say *c.* 2 catties (*kin*) or 30 taels (*liang*).

52 Apparently there is a confusion here between the *pul* of account and the *pul* (*fuls, fals*) a copper coin of Western origin.

53 The word appears to be Tibetan (= silver piece): Terrien de la Couperie, *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. xx

This is identical with the Siamese, i. e., Continental Indo-Chinese, quaternary scale, thus: —

XVth Cent. Malay.	Siamese Quaternary.
	2 song'pê are 1 fûang
....	2 fûang „ 1 salüng
4 kobang are 1 mace	4 sòngp'ê „ 1 salüng
	4 salüng „ 1 tickal
....	4 tickal „ 1 tael
16 mace are 1 tael...	16 salüng „ 1 tael
20 tael „ 1 catty	20 tael „ 1 catty

The *kobang* therefore represents 2 *p'ê* or half a *fûang*.

The above table applies to Java, and that there was no difference in denominations in Acheen (Sumatra) up to *c.* 1833, or perhaps up to 1858, can be gathered from Thomas' Ed. of Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 115, which gives: — "Tale of 16 mace or 64 copangs." But his table goes on to say "Catty = 100 tales or 20 buncals (*bûngkal*)," and he gives the weight of the catty at 2 lbs. 1 oz. 14¼ drs. av. or nearly double the Chinese catty of 1⅓ lbs. av., *i. e.*, this modern Achinese catty is practically the Siamese catty. The calculation also greatly reduces the weight of the tael below that of the Chinese tael (c. 580 grs.) and makes it only 148·2 grs.

These statements lead to the consideration that among a people chiefly occupying a very large Archipelago a great variety in the actual weights of the standard denominations may be looked for.[54]

Such indeed is to be found among the Malay populations, making a study of their system somewhat puzzling and difficult. Thus, from the work just quoted, *loc. cit.*, we can gather the following table of the weights of the tael at various points in the Malay Archipelago about 1833: —

Acheen	Sumatra	grs.	148·2
Amboyna	Moluccas	„	455·35
Banjarmassin	Borneo	„	614·4
Bantam	Java	„	1,055
Bencoolen...	Sumatra	„	638
Macassar	Celebes	„	614
Natal	Sumatra	„	584
Palimbong	Sumatra	„	949·4

While for Cachao (Tongking) is given 590·7 grs. and for China 579·84 grs. (the usual standard).[55] The catty is, in the Archipelago, no steadier, thus: —

Acheen	Sumatra	lbs. 2	oz. 1	drs. 14¼	
Banda	Moluccas	„ 6	„ 1	„ 10	
Banjarmassin	Borneo	„ 1	„ 5	„ 5⅓	

[54] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, Vol. I. p. 271: Marsden, *Sumatra*, p. 171: Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 87 f., 127 ff.: Lockyer, *Trade in India*, pp. 42, 63, 70.

[55] There is more method in all this variety than would at first appear. The existing Singapore *bûngkal*, or tael of weight is 832 grs. and equals, of set purpose, 2 standard dollars of 416 grs. each. Similarly all these tael weights except that of Acheen, which is the only indigenous one, and that of Natal, which follows the modern Chinese, refer to the standard dollars of *c.* 416 grs. in some fixed proportion; *e. g.*, the Banjarmassin, Macassar, and Bencoolen weight equals 1½ dollar; the Amboyna weight equals 1⅛ dollar; the Bantam weight equals 2½ dollars; and the Palimbong weight equals 2¼ dollars.

Bantam ...	...	... Java ...	...	... lbs.	1 oz.	2 drs.	2
Batavia ...	...	... Java ...	...	... ,,	1 ,,	5 ,,	$11\frac{1}{5}$
Bencoolen...	...	... Sumatra ...	...	... ,,	1 ,,	7 ,,	5
Macassar ...	...	... Celebes ...	...	... ,,	1 ,,	5 ,,	2
Natal ...	...	... Sumatra ...	...	... ,,	4 ,,	0 ,,	0
Singapore...	...	... Straits ...	...	... ,,	1 ,,	5 ,,	$5\frac{1}{3}$

While for what may be termed the Continental Malay and other States we find the catty stated as follows: —

Malacca	lbs. 2	oz. 0	drs. 12
Penang	,, 1	,, 5	,, $3\frac{1}{4}$
Siam	,, 1	,, 3	,, $11\frac{2}{3}$
China	,, 1	,, 5	,, $5\frac{1}{3}$

It is clear then that in order to arrive at any definite idea of the rise of the modern Malay bullion weight system, we must trust rather to the denominations themselves than to the actual weights they now represent in various places for various articles of commerce.

What the denominations were in Prinsep's time can be partly seen from the following table compiled on the information given *loc. cit.* :—

	kobang ×	mace ×	tael ×	buncal ×	catty ×	pecul ×	bahar[56]
Acheen ...	4	16	5	20	200	...	1
Amboyna ...	...	16	1	...	...	...	...
Banda... ...	...	...	...	...	100	...	1
Banjarmassin ...	...	16	10	...	100	1	...
Bantam ...	...	...	...	...	100	3	1
Bencoolen ...	...	...	16	...	1	...	...
Cachao (Tongking) ...	(100 cash)	10	16	...	100	1	...
China	...	10	16	...	100	1	...
Macassar ...	...	16	? 10	...	100	1	...
Malacca ...	...	16	(20)[57]	...	100	3	1
Palimbong ...	...	10	1	...	...	...	...
Penang ...	...	...	...	...	100	3	1
Siam	...	...	20	...	50	1	...
Singapore ...	...	...	...	...	100	1	...

As, in books, weights are sometimes stated in vernacular terms, sometimes in the international commercial terms, and sometimes in a mixture of both, it is necessary before proceeding further to give **a comparative statement of the vernacular and commercial terms.**[58]

[56] This table must be read "kobang 4 × mace 16 × tael 5 × buncal 20 × catty 200 (× pecul 0) = 1 bahar: and so on.

[57] In this case 20 buncals = 1 catty of 2 lbs. and over; *i. e.*, the Siamese catty; so that 10 *bûngkal* would equal a Chinese catty.

[58] It is possible that my rendering of Malay terms may give rise to criticism. All I have to say is that the authorities on the subject never agree, — old or new, — owing to the great variety of dialects and the absence apparently of any standard dialect. I have before me the *Malayu Vocabulary*, 1810, Raffles, 1814, Crawfurd, 1852, Swettenham, 1881, Maxwell, 1882. Swettenham and the *Malayu Vocabulary* give the vernacular, and even in that do not agree. The careful Crawfurd varies in orthography in the two halves of his *Dictionary*. Sir Frank Swettenham and Sir William Maxwell, the two contemporary authors, differ as often as not in the words required here to be accurately represented.

Standard Terms.

Malay Vernacular.	International Commercial.
pitis, pichis	cash[59]
sagâ	rutty, rati, also candareen
kôndarî, kûndarî...	candareen
kupong, kûpang	cobang,[60] copang, kobang
mâyam, mâs	mace, mas
tâhil, tâil	tael, tale
bûngkal	buncal
katî	catty
pikûl	picul, pecul
bahar, bhârâ	bahar, bar
kôyan	coyan, quoyane, quoin

Having collected evidence from the XVth Century A. D., and in the XIXth Century between 1833 and 1858, and having arrived at an idea of the relation of commercial to vernacular terms, I may now proceed to the evidence available to me for the periods between these dates and up to the present time.

Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*, candareen, quotes **A. Nunes, 1554**, p. 39, to the following effect for **Malacca** : —

5	cůmduryns	are	1 cupong
4	cupong	„	1 maz
4	maz	„	1 paual[61]
4	paual	„	1 tael
20	tael	„	1 cate[62]

Capt. T. Davis in *Purchas*, **Vol. I. p. 123, 1599,** is quoted by Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* **tael,** to the following effect : —

400	cashes	are	1 cowpan
4	cowpans	„	1 mas
4	masses	„	1 perdaw[63]
4	perdaws	„	1 tayel

59 Clearly so from Stevens, *Guide*, p. 87 : — " Their Money (Acheen) is in Mace and Cash : The Mace is a Gold-Coin, about the size of a Twopenny-Piece but thinner, weighing about nine Grains ; the Cash is a small Piece of Lead, 2500 of which usually pass for a Mace, but that often varies, 7 or 800 in a Mace." Lockyer has (*Trade*, p. 42) 1400 and 1600 " Leaden Cash (*i. e., pitis*) per Mace" in 1711, and 1500 as " the Number allowed in Accounts." Alex. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II. p. 109, talks of " Leaden Money called Cash" at Acheen, 1200 to 1600 to the " Mace or Masscie." Lastly Mandelslö, *Travels*, 1639, p. 117, has : — " By them (the Chineses) likewise comes the money hither (Java) which in the Malayan Language is called *Cas* and in Javan *Pity*."

60 *Copong* in Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 42: *kepping* in Marsden, *Sumatra*, p. 171 : *kêpeng* in Raffles, *Java*, Vol. II., Appx., p. cxli. ; *cupang, keping, capang, kapang* in Chalmers, *Colonial Currency*, p. 382 f. For other forms, see later on in the text.

61 Whatever this word may be etymologically it is the Siamese tickal here in practice, which by the way is recognised in Crawfurd's *Malay Dict.*, 1852, *s. v.* tikal, as " a silver coin or weight of Siam, weighing 225½ grs. English." But see later on in the text.

62 Oddly enough, *s. v.* mace, Yule gives quite a different rendering, using *mazes, cupões* and *cupão.*

63 *Pardao :* see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, Supplt. *s. v.*

To a *Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company*, 1703, there is an Appendix (p. 245 ff.) to the **First Voyage, 1595-7,** "Of the Weights, Measures and Coyn of the East Indies." From the statements in this Appendix can be worked out the following table : —

A. — Malayan Weights.

22 Tayels[64]	are	1 Cate[65]
200 Cates	,,	1 Bahar[66]

B. — Chinese, i. e., Commercial Weights.

10 Conduris (candareens)	are	1 Mase
10 Mase[67]	,,	1 Tayel
16 Tayels	,,	1 Cate
100 Chinese Cates[68]	,,	1 Picol
3 Picols	,,	1 Bahar

Out of **Lockyer's statements** in *Trade in India*, **1711**, p. 42, can be gathered the following as a table for **Acheen** : —

A.

4 copong	are	1 mace
16 mace	,,	1 tale

B.

5 tale	are	1 buncall
20 buncalls	,,	1 catty Mallay
200 catty Mallay	,,	1 bahar = 3 Pecull China

And for **Malacca**, p. 70 : —

16 mace	are	1 buncall
(? 20 buncalls)	,,	1 catty
100 catties	,,	1 pecull ($137\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.)[69]
3 peculls	,,	1 bahar

From **Alexander Hamilton**, Appx. to Vol. II. pp. 8 f. of his *East Indies*, **1739**, we can make out the following statements :—

For **Acheen** weights : —

20 bankaals make 1 catty

For **Acheen** coins : —

1200-1600 cash	make	1 mace
16 mace	,,	1 tayel

For **Johore** coins : —

4 coupang make 1 macie (gold)

For **Java** and **Malacca**, Avoirdupois weights : —

40 pecul make 1 quoin (koyan)

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[64] *I. e.*, for metals and fine goods : 26 taels per catty for coarse goods, and 14 taels at Malacca.

[65] *Cati*, pp. 147, 157 : *cari*, p. 198 (? by a misprint).

[66] *Bar* on pp. 274, 281, 283, relating to the Second Voyage, 1598.

[67] In Bantam, 8 mace to a tael.

[68] "And $66\frac{2}{3}$ Malay catties."

[69] Lockyer always takes the "common China Pecull" at 132 lbs.

From **Stevens,** *Guide*, 1775, we get a variety of statements, and for **Acheen** the following table can be made out from p. 87[70] :—

4	copang	are	1 mace
16	mace	„	1 tael (of Acheen)
5	tael	„	1 buncal
20	buncal[71]	„	1 catty[72] (Chinese)
100	catties	„	1 picul
3	picul	„	1 bahar[73]

For **Malacca** we are given for avoirdupois weights, p. 127 :—

16	tales	are	1 catty
100	catties	„	1 pecul (135 lbs. av.)
3	pecul	„	1 bahar

And for gold weights :—

16	miams	are	1 buncal
20	buncals	„	1 catty

From the *Burma-Malayu Vocabulary*, **1810,** p. 129, we can extract the following tables :—

16	sagâ[74]	are	1 kûndarî
4	kûndarî	„	1 mâyam
4	mâyam	„	1 jampal
4	jampal[75]	„	1 bûngkal
20	bûngkal	„	1 katî
100	katî	„	1 pikûl

After stating in a footnote that "the *bûngkal* and *mâyam* differ in some degree from the words inserted as their synonyms," *viz.*, *tâel* and *mâs*, it goes on to say :—

10	mâs	are	1 tâel[76]
16	tâel	„	1 catty

[70] Stevens is here as puzzling and delightful with his Anglo-Indianisms as ever. Thus we have "A Dutch Dollar is 8 Tangoes or Schillings. A Tangoe is 6 Stivers or 3 double Keys or Cash." The tangoe is a form of our old friend the *tankâ*, *vide* p. 127 : — "Goa Coins : 80 Leader (? leaden) Rees (reis) are 1 Tango, 5 Tangos are 1 Pardao or Xeraphin." The "double Key" is a curious instance of "Hobson-Jobson," though not noted by Yule. It is the Dutch *dubbeltje* of 2 *stuyvers* (stivers) known to Oriental merchants as *doubleky* in various spellings : Stevens, *Guide*, p. 127 : Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 69 : Chalmers, *Colonial Currency*, p. 382 f. : Raffles, *Java*, Vol. II., Appx., p. clxvii.

[71] "The true Standard of a Buncall is 80 Mace or 5 Tale; although in Trade, Merchants make their Buncall heavier or lighter, as they please. . . . . *N. B.* — As the Buncall is bigger or less, so must the Catty be." — *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

[72] Stated at 1¼ lbs. At p. 123, we have the same statement, and then find Stevens practically copying Lockyer, *Trade in India*, 1711, p. 43, and saying : — "1½ Catty, Chinese Weight, is commonly reckoned 1 Malaya Catty, which makes 3 Chinese Peculls equal to 1 Malaya Bahar; in which there is a Loss to the Buyer of 2 Catties, the latter being but 396 lb. Care must be taken of this, it being an Imposition." Care by the merchant, that is; and to the student a warning that commercial swindling has at times to do with the reports as to bullion weights by travellers.

[73] Stated also to be 200 "Catty of Acheen" and then called "one Bohar Molay or 3 Pecul China." Also 240 catties at Salangore (p. 128), where Stevens tells us : — "The Malacca Bahar of 300 Catties is sometimes used in selling : and it is therefore necessary in Bargains to mention what Bahar you agree for."

[74] Here, I suspect, used in its proper sense of "rice-seed."

[75] Crawfurd, *Malay Dict.*, 1852, has "*Jampal.* Javanese. A weight and money, estimated at half a Spanish dollar, *i. e.*, a tickal." The Vocabulary defines it as "a rupee weight." Maxwell, *Malay Manual*, 1882, p. 142, says : —"Silver coins used in weighing gold : —

2 *penjuru* = 1 *piah* = weight 1 *mayam*
4 *piah* = 1 *jampal* = weight 4 *mayam*
2 *jampal* = 1 *real* = weight 8 *mayam*.

[76] Or *tial*, as it is written in English characters, but *tâel* in the vernacular.

The statements in **Marsden**, *Sumatra*, **1811**, p. 171,[77] afford the following table: —

2½	saga timbangan[78]	are	1 mas
12¼	saga puku[79]	„	do.
16	mas	„	1 tail (= here bangkal)

Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, **1813**, Vol. II. p. 329, as quoted by Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* mace, gives a very complete table for **Acheen**: —

4	copangs	are	1 mace
5	mace[80]	„	1 mayam
16	mayam	„	1 tale
5	tales	„	1 bancal
20	bancals	„	1 catty
200	catties	„	1 bahar

Raffles, *Java*, **1814**, Vol. II., Appx., p. clxv., gives us: —

100	Chinese kati	are	1 pikul
30	pikul[81]	„	1 koyan

Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, **1820**, Vol. I. p. 271,[82] has:—

10	bungkal (here tael)	are	1 kati
100	kati	„	1 pikul
30	pikul[83]	„	1 koyan[84]

In **Newbold**, *Account of Johole* (*J. A. S. B.*, **1836**, and in Moor, *Indian Archipelago*, Appx., p. 70), there is information which explains much that has gone before in this Section, and indeed in this Chapter. "After the adherent first particles of the sand have been removed, it **(gold dust)** is weighed into quantities, generally of **one tael each**,[85] which are carefully folded up in small pieces of cloth. **These packets constitute the Bunkals of commerce. . . . The Bunkals are, as in Sumatra, frequently used as currency instead of coin.** The weights . . . . are as follow: —

2	small saga (saga kechil)[86]	are	1 large saga (saga besar)[87]
8	saga besar	„	1 maiam
15	maiam	„	4 tael or bunkal
20	taels	„	1 catty"

77 In Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 172.

78 *Abrus precatorius.*

79 *Adenanthera pavonina.*

80 The confusion here is between the genuine Acheen scale: — 4 *kupongs* 1 mace, 16 mace 1 tael, 5 tael 1 *bûngkal*, 20 *bûngkal* 1 catty, ... and the Sino-Malayan scale: — 16 mace 1 tael, 20 tael 1 catty. Milburn has in fact stated two separate concurrent scales as parts of one, coming to grief over the fact that *mâyam* (mace) is used in each though not to mean the same intrinsic weight.

81 Also 27 and 28 *pikûls.*

82 In Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 170 f.

83 Also 20, 27, 28 and 40: but it is the commercial picul of 133⅓ lbs. av.

84 It is rather late in the day to point out that cash, candareen, mace, tael, catty and picul are not Chinese words, nor even of Chinese origin, and represent nothing that is indigenous to China. They are Indo-European commercial terms, partly of Indian and partly of Malay origin, adapted by traders and merchants to all the local weights they found it necessary to use and to reduce to common denominators for convenience of traffic. They are as purely international conventional terms in China as in the Malay Archipelago and elsewhere. In the days of Crawfurd, Marsden and contemporary and previous writers, it was no doubt thought that at any rate the most prominent standards, tael and catty, were Chinese; and the reason for my so strongly stating the facts in this note now is that I perceive that Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, 1892, accepts the former view and bases an argument on it at pp. 170 ff.

85 Crawfurd, *Malay Dict.*, 1852, describes *bûngkal* as "the same with *tâhil*." Raffles, *Java*, 1814, Vol. I. p. 204, speaks of *bengkals* or *tahils* in referring to remittances of gold bullion from Borneo.

86 *Abrus precatorius.*

87 *Adenanthera pavonina.*

Newbold adds "at **Malacca** 10 saga besar or 4 kupangs are equal to 1 maiam."

The existing tables are thus stated in the *Singapore and Straits Directory*,[88] **1883**, p. 34:—

A.—Bullion Weigths.

12 saga[89]	1 mayam	grs.	52
16 mayam	1 bongkal	,,	832
12 bongkal	1 kati	,,	9,984

B. — Commercial Weights.

16 tahil	1 kati	lbs. av.	$1\frac{1}{3}$
100 kati	1 pikul[90]	,, ,,	$133\frac{1}{3}$
3 pikul	1 bhara	,, ,,	400
40 pikul	1 koyan	,, ,,	$5,333\frac{1}{3}$

We have already seen, in this Section of this work, in the table culled from the First Dutch Voyage to the East Indies, **1595-7,** that those early traders gathered from the Malays they met with a **Chinese table of commercial weights as known to the Malays identical with that still in use.** We have also seen, from Stevens' Table of **1775** and the *Malayu Vocabulary*, footnote to its Table of 1810, notices of what may be called the Chinese scale in use in the Indian Archipelago, while **Chinese influence** crops up in the commercial scale just quoted as in use in the Straits Settlements in **1883.** So it will be of value here to trace further Chinese influence on commercial measures in the Archipelago generally.

In Yule's *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* candareen, is given **the general Chinese-Malay scale** thus, from Fryer, *East Indies*, for say **1673** as follows:—

10 Cash	is	1 Quandreen
10 Quandreens	,,	1 Mass (in silver)
10 Mass	,,	1 Teen (? Taie)
16 Taies	,,	1 Cattie

Again from a paper by **J. Hunt** on the **Sulo[91] Archipelago** in Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, Appx., p. 45, under date **c. 1814,** we are told that "the China weights are in universal use here; the catty is regulated at 23 Spanish dollars, but they have particular names for the subdivisions." We can also get from this source so essentially a Chinese table as this:—

10 muhuks[92]	= 1 chuchuk	=	1 candareen	
10 chuchuks	= 1 amas	=	1 mace	
10 amas[93]	= 1 tael			
16 taels	= 1 catty			
5 catties	= 1 babut			
10 babuts	= 1 laxa[94]	=	50 catties	
2 laxas	= 1 picul	=	(100 catties)	

Side by side with this there is given a table for capacities, which is Malay altogether:—

Half a cocoanut-shell	= 1 panchang	
8 panchangs	= 1 gantong	= 4 catties
10 gantongs	= 1 raga	
$2\frac{1}{2}$ ragas	= 1 picul	

[88] So also Swettenham, *Vocabulary*, 1881, Vol. II., Appx. on Currency, etc.: Maxwell, *Malay Manual*, 1882, p. 141.

[89] Therefore the *sagâ* = 3·25 grs., and so represents the local candareen.

[90] The influence so far may be, and would probably be generally called, Chinese, but strictly, I think, it is the general Far-Eastern commercial influence on China merchants that has brought about the 16 taels to the catty, rather than the other way round.

[91] Sala, Solo, Sulu; see Crawfurd, *Malay Dict., s. vv.*

[92] *I. e.*, cash.

[93] *I. e.*, *mâs* = mace.

[94] *I. e.*, a derivative of *laksha* = *lâkh*, not necessarily meaning 100,000 outside of India proper, but any large number from 1,000 to several millions.

To clinch this point and clear it up at the same time, in the *Straits Settlements Directory* for 1883, *loc. cit.*, the weights for opium are given in terms of the Sino-Cambodian (*ante*, pp. 14 ff., 34 ff.) scale thus: —

10 Tee	are	1	Hoon[95]
10 Hoon	,,	1	Chee
10 Chee	,,	1	Tahil

Lastly, there is a fine specimen of **mixed influence**, Spanish, Malay, Chinese and Commercial, in the statements for Manilla for 1775 by Stevens, *Guide*, p. 127, which run thus: —

Manilla Weights.

16	Ounces	are	1 lb.,[96] by which all sorts of Goods are weighed
10	,,	,,	1 Tale of Gold Weight[97]
11	,,	,,	1 Tale of Silk and other Things
9	,,	,,	1 Punto[97] of Gold and Silver Thread
22	,,	,,	1 Catty[98]
1	,,	,,	1 Mexico Dollar in Weight[99]

1 Manilla Pound[97] makes 1 lb. 03 dec. Avoirdupoise

8 Ounces are a Mark of Silver[99]

The existing British Colonial denominations for money, which differ radically in Penang from Singapore and Malacca (*vide* Swettenham, *Vocabulary*, Vol. II., Appx. on Currency, Weights and Measures), is a mixture of foreign adopted terms, modern newly-coined vernacular terms, and the real vernacular terms, — all applied to the dollar and its parts, — and of course is of no help to the present argument, thus: —

Singapore and Malacca.

4	duit (¼ cent)	are	1 sen (1 cent)
2½	sen	,,	1 wang (2½ cents)
10	wang	,,	1 suku (25 cents)
4	suku	,,	1 ringgit (1 dollar)

Penang and Province Wellesley.

10	duit (cent)	are	1 kupang (10 cents)
12½	duit	,,	1 tali (12½ cents)
2	tali	,,	1 suku (25 cents)
4	suku	,,	1 ringgit (dollar)

We have now followed the Malay and Far Eastern Commercial ponderary terminology from a mention of it by a Chinese author of the XVth Century step by step to the present day through all parts of the Archipelago and its surroundings occupied by the Malays. We have followed it also through the renderings of it by English, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish writers and observers, and despite the mistakes they are likely to have made and no doubt have made, and the naturally great variety caused by the conditions in the actual vernacular terms and their senses, it seems to me to be clear that **the main points** have remained the same throughout. These main points are just those that have been observed already in this Chapter in regard to the Far-Eastern Continental nations; *viz.*, **(i) that the Malayan and Far-Eastern Commercial Scales as such can be clearly separated from the concurrent modern Chinese Decimal Scale; (ii) that the Malayan Scale is virtually the same as the Far-Eastern Continental Scale; (iii) that the Indian and Far-Eastern Scales,**

95 Swettenham, *Vocabulary*, 1881, Vol. II., Appx. on Currency, etc., only gives *hun, chi, tahil.*

96 Spanish.

97 Chinese, *i. e.*, 10 ounces silver = 1 tael of gold; *i. e.*, gold is to silver as 10 to 1.

98 Malay.

99 Commercial.

including the Malayan, are all derived from one original source ; (iv) that all the Scales can be stated in terms generally of each other, thus : —

Ancient Chinese.	Siamese-Cambodian.	Burmese.	Indian.	Malayan.	Commercial.[100]
chu ...	hùn	ywê	raktikâ ...	kôndarî (sagû)	candareen
hwa ...	pê	pè	......	......	(paye)
che... ...	fûang ...	mû	......	kupong ...	(copang)
liang ...	salüng ...	màt	mâsha ...	mâyam ...	mace
kin... ..	bât	kyàt	kârsha[1] ...	tâhil, tâil ...	tickal
yuen ..	tamlüng[2] ...	bô(l)[2] ...	pala	bûngkal[3] ...	tael[3]
hwan ...	châng ...	pêkþâ[4] ...	vîsâ[4] ...	katî... ...	catty (viss)
......	hap	......	......	pikûl... ...	picul

We have seen already how it is that the Far-Eastern Continental System may be traced to **an Indian source**, and it will now be seen that the **Malayan System is traceable** in precisely the same way on its own account. The tracing of the connection between the Far-Eastern Continental Scale and the ancient Indian ordinary Scale was effected by shewing that the number of conventional standard seeds in the Burmese *bô(l)* was identical with that in the Indian *pala*, and that the *bo(l)* equalled the *pala* both in practice and by etymology.

The indigenous Malay scale is that of *kupong*, *mâyam*, *tâhil*, *bûngkal*, or *kôndarî* (*sagû*), *kupong*, *mâyam*, *bungkâl*, and we have seen how it was that the commercial tael (or *tâhil*) and the *bûngkal* became mixed up in certain cases. The *kupong* in the Acheen scales took the place of the *kôndarî* elsewhere and the *kôndarî* has always been the conventional standard seed of the Malays, being equal to the double *raktikâ* of the ancient Indian jewellers, which ran 320 to the *pala* and was equal to the seed of the *Adenanthera pavonina*, and this the *kôndarî* itself actually was.

Now throughout the mad muddle of the **Malay scales** above given it will be found, on close examination and separation from the concurrent and confusing Malayan versions of the Chinese Decimal Scale, that there is a **clear and distinct method** in the madness thereof. Confining ourselves strictly to the indigenous Malay scales, we find the Acheen scales of Lockyer, 1711, Steven's, 1775, Milburn, 1813, Prinsep, 1833, to be the same throughout, thus : —

Acheen Scale.

4 kupong are 1 mâyam
16 mâyam „ 1 tâhil
5 tâhil „ 1 bûngkal

∴ 320 kupong „ 1 bûngkal

[100] This extended to Japan ; *vide* Appx. on Japan Trade to Raffles, *Java*, Vol. II., p. xviii. : — "In the beginning the returns from Japan consisted of silver and copper ; and the former, being coined, was received according to current value in that country, where the coins and weights go by the same names as in China, *viz.*, *katis*, *tahils*, *mas*, and *kandarins*. Ten *mas* were worth a *tahil* and 16 *tahil* a *kati*." For the true relative positions of the intermediate denominations, see later on in the text.

[1] The *kârsha*, through the *kâsu*, *kâs*, *i. e.*, cash, has become degraded to a varying and indefinite amount below the candareen.

[2] The *tamlüng* represents the Shan *taung*, 4 tickals, and so does the *bûngkal*, while the *bô(l)* represents 5 tickals

[3] Tael represents both the *tâhil* and the *bûngkal*, and strictly nowadays the *bûngkal* of weight and the *tâhil*.

[4] *Pêkþâ* and *vîsâ* are strictly a little more than the *châng* and *katî* : about one fourth. *Copang* in the sense used in the table is confined to Malayan countries and is there only partially used.

For Malacca Nunes gives us in 1554 : —

Malacca Scale.

5 kôndarî	are	1	kupong
4 kupong	,,	1	mâyam
4 mâyam	,,	1	paual[5]
4 paual	,,	1	tael (bûngkal)
∴ 320 kôndarî	,,	1	bûngkal

Now we have seen (*ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 318) that the ancient Indian ordinary scale ran thus: —

5 raktikâs	are	1	mâsha
16 mâshas	,,	1	kârsha
4 kârshas	,,	1	pala
∴ 320 raktikâs	,,	1	pala

These *raktikâs* are double *raktikâs*, *i. e.*, *kôndarîs* in general Malay parlance and the *kupongs* of the Achinese scales.

The common basis of the ancient Indian and the old Malayan scales is thus even clearer than is that of the Burman and ancient Indian scales, and I do not think that I could more clearly **express the inter-relation and common origin of the Indian, Further-Indian and Malayan Scales** than by presenting them, on the above facts and those gathered in the previous Sections of this Chapter, **in the following form :** —

Scale of 320 Standard Seeds.[6]

(*Adenanthera pavonina* or double *Abrus precatorius.*)

Indian.	Further-Indian.		Malayan.
	Burmese.	Siamese-Cambodian.	
raktikâ[7]	ywêjî[8]	hùn[9]	kôndarî
....	4 pè	5 pê	....
....	2 mû	2 fûang	5 kupong
5 mâsha	2 màt	2 salüng	4 mâyam
16 kârsha	4 kyàt	4 bât	4 tâhil
4 pala	5 bô(l)	4 tamlüng	4 bûngkal
320	320	320	320

The above table shews the upper and lower denominations to be the same in all the scales, but the intermediate denominations to vary considerably. By shewing the scale in the following manner the **nominal relative place of each denomination** becomes at once apparent : —

India	raktikâ	} ... seeds	1
Burma	ywêjî		
Siam-Cambodia ...	hùn		
Malay	kôndarî		
Burma	pè	... ... ,,	4

[5] Is it possible that *paual* is a reminiscence of *pala* and *bô(l)*?

[6] Read this table thus : — raktikâs 5 × mâshas 16 × kârshas 4 = 1 pala = 320 seeds.

[7] *I. e.*, the double *raktikâ* : *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 318.

[8] *I. e.*, the double *ywê* = *Adenanthera pavonina* seed.

[9] See the French table given *ante*, p. 5 : the *hùn* is undoubtedly the candareen = *Adenanthera seed* : *vide ante*, p. 5, note 38.

India	mâsha	} ... seeds	5
Siam-Cambodia ...	pê		
Malay	kupong		
Burma	mû	... ... „	8
Siam-Cambodia ...	fûang	... ... „	10
Burma	màt	... ... „	16
Siam-Cambodia ...	salüng	} ... „	20
Malay	mâyam		
Burma	kyàt	... ... „	64
India	kârsha	} ... „	80
Siam-Cambodia ...	bât		
Malay	tâhil		
India	pala	} ... „	320
Burma	bô(l)		
Siam-Cambodia ...	tamlüng		
Malay	bûngkal		

As I have shewn the **ancient Chinese scale** concurrently on p. 46 with the other Far-Eastern scales, it will be of use here to note the places its denominations would take if included in the above table. The *chu* would be 1 seed and therefore rank with the *kôndarî*, etc. The *hwa* would be 6 seeds and would rank between the *mû* and *kupong*, etc. The *che*, 12 seeds, would rank between the *fûang* and the *màt*. The *liang* at 24 seeds and its double the *kin* at 48 seeds would rank between the *kyàt* and the *mâyam* (and *salüng*). Similarly the *yuen* would come before the *bô(l)*, etc., with 192 seeds.

There is, however, a point in the Malay scales, weich requires reconciliation with the above facts. **The Singapore existing scale** (*ante*, p. 44)[10] is stated to be: —

12 sagâ are 1 mâyam
16 mâyam „ 1 bûngkal
12 bûngkal „ 1 katî

By this, clearly only 192 standard seeds go to the *bûngkal* instead of 320. But assuming the *katî* to be constant, 12 of these *bûngkals* = 20 old *bûngkals*, 20 *bûngkals* (or taels) being the old recognised division of the *katî*. Therefore, on this assumption, 1 modern *bûngkal* would equal $1\frac{2}{3}$ old *bûngkal*, and $1\frac{2}{3}$ of 192 is 320. Therefore also, the existing 192 seeds represent the old 320 seeds. However, this is not what I apprehend has actually taken place, which is rather that the modern scale has been reduced to about three-fifths of the old scale. Thus, by the old scale, taking the standard seeds at $4\frac{1}{3}$ grs., as the modern one does, we get 1,387 grs. as the actual weight of the old *bûngkal* against 832 of the present one.[11] There is nothing surprising in such a local reduction in standards, and I put forward the above argument to shew the part played by continuity of thought and custom in the reduction of the *bûngkal* from the rate of 320 to the precise rate of 192 standard seeds. The commercial object of the reduction would seem to have been to make the *bûngkal* equal the weight of two Spanish dollars (*i. e.*, twice 416 grs.), instead of the weight of three or three and a third. The resultant standard of 192 seeds in place of the old 320 was found to be a convenient proportion.

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[10] So also Swettenham, *Vocabulary*, 1882, Vol. II., Appx. on Currency, etc.

[11] The old Burmese *bô(l)* (and ? also the old Malay *bûngkal* and Siamese *tamlüng*) must have weighed nearly 320 seeds of *c.* 4 grs. each = 1,280 grs., because that gives a *kyàt* or tickal of 226 grs. and the actual weight of the standard tickal (*bàt* and *kyàt*) was $225\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

As regards the Johole scale for 1836, given above at p. 43, as recorded by Newbold, I will re-state it here for clearness' sake:—

Johole Scale.

2 sagâ kâchil (*Abrus p.*)	are	1	sagâ bâsar[12] (*Adenanthera p.*)
8 sagâ bâsar	,,	1	mâyam
15 mâyam	,,	1	bûngkal

This makes 120 *kôndarî* = *bûngkal*, which last is said, however, to be equal to the tael and is shewn as 20 to the *katî*; so the subdivisions, if correctly reported, must have been some local eccentricity.

(*To be continued.*)

A LEGEND OF THE JAINA STUPA AT MATHURA.[1]

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

ONE of the most interesting pieces in Dr. Führer's splendid collection of **Jaina inscriptions from the Kankâli Tîla at Mathurâ** is that dated in the year 79, as the characters prove, of the **Kushana kings**, which records the consecration of one, or perhaps of two statues, at the '**Stûpa built by the gods**' (*thupê devanirmitê*), in accordance with the request of the preacher Vriddhahastin.[2] Taken together with the discovery of the remnants of a Stûpa, it furnished an irrefragable proof that the Jainas, as their sacred books assert, in early times really erected Stûpas in honour of their prophets, which fact, as has been shown of late by M. Sylvain Lévi,[3] even their rivals, the Bauddhas, admit for the time of Kanishka. The inscription also proved the great antiquity of the Jaina fanes at Mathurâ, which town their tradition declares to be one of the centres of their faith. For the epithet of the Stûpa 'built by the gods' makes it evident that in the year 79 of the Kushanas its real origin had been forgotten and a myth did duty for historical truth. Whatever the precise initial date of the era, used by Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudeva-Vâsushka, may be,[4] this year cannot fall later than about the middle of the second century A. D. At that time the legend had been formed and the Stûpa must have been erected several centuries earlier.

The exact shape of the myth regarding its origin, of course, cannot be ascertained from the inscription and hitherto no allusion to it or to the Stûpa has been made known from Jaina works. But recently, on going over **Jinaprabha's Tîrthakalpa**, called also **Râjaprasâda**, I have met with **a full account of 'the Stûpa built by the gods' at Mathurâ**, which gives us at least the story, as it was told between A. D. 1326/18 and 1331. The author of the *Tîrthakalpa* him-

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[12] Malay *kâchil*, *kechil* means small: *bâsar*, *besar* means great.

[1] Extract from a paper in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Imp. Academy of Vienna.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 204, 321 f.

[3] *Jour. Asiatique*, 1896, p. 458 ff.

[4] Since 1887 I have provisionally accepted the indentification of this era with the Śakasaṁvat. But, in doing so, I stated that I was by no means satisfied of its correctness and merely chose this, probably too late, starting point, lest I should be accused of placing the Kushanas too early, see the *Vienna Or. Jour.* Vol. I. p. 169. The reasons for my disbelief were then, as now, (1) that no early northern Indian inscriptions are distinctly dated according to the Śaka era, (2) that the later Indian writers declare the three Kushanas to be not Śakas, but Turushkas. Recent discoveries make the identification, upheld by Fergusson, Oldenberg and others, more and more improbable. And M. Sylvain Lévi (*Jour. Asiat.* 1897, p. 1 ff.), arguing from a new interpretation of the Chinese sources, and the identification of king Mizdeos with Vâsudeva-Bazdeo, has now proposed to fix the accession of Kanishka before the beginning of our era. I fear, however, that the vexed question cannot be fully settled without further new documents. In the meanwhile I shall adhere to the plan, which I have followed hitherto. For practical purposes it makes not much difference, whether Kanishka began to reign in A. D. 78 or eighty years earlier.

self furnishes us with the dates, on which several pieces of his compilation were composed The earliest date stands at the end of the 'Satrumjayakalpa, with which the work begins :

श्रीविक्रमाब्दे वर्णाष्टविश्वेदेवमिते शितौ।
सप्तम्यां तपसः काव्यप्रदेशोयं समर्थितः[5] ॥ १३३ ॥

'On the seventh day of the month of Mâgha (*Tapas*), in the dark half, in the year of illustrious Vikrama, measured by the *varṇas* (4) the eight and the Viśvêdêvas (13, or V. S. 1384) this portion of the poem was completed.'[6] The latest occurs at the end of the whole, fol. 120 b, l. 17:

नंदानेकपशाक्तिशीतगुमिते श्रीविक्रमोवर्पिते-
वर्षे भाद्रपदस्य मास्यवरजे सौम्ये दशम्यां तिथौ।
श्रीहम्मीरमहम्मद प्रतपति क्ष्मामंडलाखंडले
ग्रंथोयं परिपूर्णतां समभजच्छ्रीयोगिनीपत्तने ॥

'In the year of the illustrious king Vikrama measured by the *nandas* (9), the elephants (8), the *śaktis* (3) and the moon (1, or V. S. 1389), in the second (half) of the month of Bhâdrapada,[7] on the tenth day, a Wednesday,[8] while the illustrious Hammîra Mahammada (Mohammed Tughlak, A. D. 1325-1351) brilliantly shone as king of the earth, this book was completed in the town of the Yôginîs (Delhi).'

The *Tîrthakalpa*, which is written partly in faulty Sanskrit and partly in Jaina Mahârâshṭrî with many Gujaraticisms, gives descriptions of all the great sanctuaries of the sect, known to the author, and has been compiled, as he himself repeatedly indicates, from earlier works and from the traditions of those who know the past (*purâvidâm*). None of its numerous legends are therefore inventions of Jinaprabha. It also contains various, evidently accurate, statements regarding the history of his own time[9] and possesses some value for the ancient geography of India, on which account the late Dr. Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî recommended its study to me. **What it says regarding the Mathurâ Stûpa 'built by the gods,' is as follows : —**

1. "Adoring the seventh and the twenty-third Jina lords, the refuge of the world, I will declare the *Mathurâkalpa*, which gives luck to good men." 2. "When the teaching of Supârśvanâtha prevailed, there were two lion-like ascetics, devoid of worldly attachment, called Dharmaruchi and Dharmaghosha."

"And these men who performed austerities for one, two and three months by (partaking of every) six, eighth, tenth or twelfth (meal) or by fasting for half a month, and who awakened good people, once wandered to the town of Mathurâ. At that time Mathurâ, that is laved by the water of the neighbouring Yamunâ, extended over twelve *yojanas*, as adorned with an excellent rampart, was resplendent with white temples of the gods, oblong and round wells, tanks, mansions of the Jinas and markets, and contained a multitude of (Veda-)reciting Brahmans, belonging to various *châturvidyas*.[10] There the excellent ascetics remained during the four months of the rains fasting in a garden filled with various trees, flowers, fruits and

[5] The MS., which I have used, is Dr. Peterson's No. 1256 of the Bombay Collection of 1887/88. It reads in this verse erroneously, in the first line श्रीविरसमाष्टे वणाष्ट॰, and in the second काव्यदिशोयं.

[6] Dr. Peterson, *Fourth Report*, p. xxxvii., gives by a slip of the pen Saṁvat 1327 instead of A. D. 1329 as the date of the Apâpâbrihatkalpa and states that Jinaprabha's known dates range from S. 1349-1369. The MS. consulted has for the Apâpâbṛihatkalpa the date V. S. 1386.

[7] The wording of the text is here ungrammatical, because the correct expression भाद्रपदमासस्यावरजे did not suit the metre.

[8] According to Dr. Schram, who has kindly calculated the date, it corresponds to August 28, 1331, when the tenth Tithi of the dark half of Bhâdrapada ended at 20 h. 52 m.

[9] His account of the conquest of Gujarât by Ullâ Khân (Ulugh Kh.) younger brother of Allâvadîna (Allâuddîn Khiljî), which occurs in the *Satyapurakalpa*, has been separately published.

[10] "Corporations of Brahmans including adherents of all the four Vedas," which usually were formed and endowed with *vṛittis* on the foundation of Indian towns.

creepers, and called Bhûtaramaṇa after obtaining permission to take possession. By their study, performance of austerities, quietism and other virtues they gained the favour of the guardian goddess of the garden, Kubêrâ. Thereupon she appeared at night and said, 'Worshipful sirs, I am exceedingly pleased by your virtues; choose therefore a boon.' They answered, 'We are devoid of worldly attachment and do not ask for anything.' Then they preached the law to her and made her a lay-hearer. Once on the night of the eighth day of the bright half of Kârttika the excellent ascetics bade farewell to Kubêrâ as to their hostess[11] in this way, 'O lay-woman, be firm in correct conduct and diligent in honouring and worshipping the Jinas! Having kept the four-monthly retreat, we shall wander during the present combination of the stars to another place in order to perform the concluding ceremony.' She said, full of regret, 'Worshipful sirs, why do you not always remain in this garden?' The saints replied, 'The abode of monks, birds, bee-swarms and herds of cows is not fixed, nor is that of the autumnal clouds.' Thereupon she remarked, 'If it is so, then tell me of some religious work that I may accomplish it; not without result is the intercourse with the gods.' The saints spake, 'If thou art very eager, take us together with the congregation to mount Meru and let us worship the Chaityas.' She answered, 'I am ready to make you two worship the gods there. But if the congregation of Mathurâ is made to go, the heretical gods will perhaps raise obstacles on the way.' The saints replied, 'We have seen mount Meru through the power of the sacred books. If thou hast not power to take the congregation, then it is no use that we two should go there.' Then the goddess became ashamed and said, 'If it is so, I will cause to be built a Mêru-temple,[12] adorned with statues, you can worship there together with the congregation.' When the saints agreed, the goddess during the night caused to be erected a Stûpa, fashioned of gold, inlaid with precious stones, surrounded by many deities, adorned with arches, flags and garlands, carrying three parasols on its summit and beautified with three bands.[13] On each band were in all the four directions images of five-coloured precious stones and the image of the glorious lord Supârśva had been set up as the chief one. When the people awoke in the morning, they saw the Stûpa and began to quarrel. Some said, 'This is divine Svayambhû who has the serpent Vâsuki for his emblem.' Others asserted, 'This is Nârâyaṇa, extended on the (serpent) Śêsha, his couch.' Thus there was a disagreement with respect to Brahma, the lord Nara, the Sun, the Moon and other (deities). The Bauddhas said, 'This is a Stûpa, but (the image represents) the lord of the Buddhas.' Then impartial people spoke, 'Don't quarrel. This (monument) has been made by a god; hence even he will solve the doubt. Let each of you paint his god on a piece of cloth and come together with his congregation. Whose god it may be, even his cloth(-picture) alone will remain, the god will make the cloths of the others disappear.' But the Jaina congregation painted a cloth(-picture) of the lord Supârśva. Then all the sectarians painted cloth(-pictures), each of his god worshipped them with their congregations and stood singing on the night of the ninth (day) At midnight arose a mighty wind, carrying along leaves, gravel and stones. It destroyed all the cloth(-pictures) and took them away. Before its roar, which sounded like that at the destruction of the world, the people fled in all directions. Alone the cloth(-picture) of Śûpârśva remained. The people were astonished (and said), 'This is the divine Arhat.' That cloth(-picture) became resplendent in the whole town. A cloth(-picture) procession was instituted. Then the ablutions (of the Stûpa) began. To the Jaina laymen, who quarrelled about the first ablution, the old men [said], 'He whose name, (written) on (one of many) name-marked balls, first comes into the hand of a virgin, shall perform the first ablution, be he poor or rich.' This decision was given on the night of the tenth (of Kârttika). Then on the night of the eleventh, holding vessels in their hands, they washed (the Stûpa) with milk, sour milk, *ghî*, saffron, sandal and so forth out of thousands of vessels. The gods, remaining hidden, took

[11] This translation has been suggested to me by Prof. Jacobi.

[12] The Mêrû-temple is described in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, 53, 20.

[13] Compare with this description the Jaina Stûpa figured on the plate opposite pp. 314, 321, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., as well as that in the *Acts du sixième Congrès I. O.*, Vol. III. 2, opposite p. 142.

part in the ablutions. Even to-day they come in the same way to the procession. When all by turns had performed the ablutions, they placed (on the Stûpa) flowers, incense, cloth, great banners and ornaments. To the saints they gave clothes, Ghî, sugar and so forth. On the twelfth (night) garlands were put up. Thus those excellent ascetics gladdened the whole god-honoured congregation, and, having kept the four-monthly retreat, having performed the concluding ceremony elsewhere and having made the sacred lore resplendent, gradually shaking off (the effects of) their Karman, reached perfection. A 'field of perfection' arose there.[14] Then the goddess, who was sorrowful on account of the separation from the two ascetics and remained always strongly attached to the Jinas, enjoyed a life of half a Palyopama, afterwards fell (from her station), was born again as a human being and reached the highest abode. Each goddess, who arises in her place, is called Kubêrâ. Protected by her, the Stûpa remained for a long time open (to the view), until the Lord Pârśva was born. At that period the king of Mathurâ, being under the sway of grêed, called the people up and spoke, 'Take away this Stûpa, made of gold and precious stones, and throw it into my treasury.' Thereupon, when the people struck (the Stûpa) with steel pickaxes in order to take it away, the pickaxes did not take effect. The blows hit the limbs of those who struck. Then the king, who did not believe (that), even himself gave a blow. The pickaxe flew up and split the king's head. Thereupon the goddess appeared and said angrily, 'Fie, ye sinners, what have you begun there? You will die just like the king.' Then they, being afraid, asked the goddess for forgiveness, bringing censers ~~in~~ their hands. The goddess said, 'If you will worship the dwelling of the Jina, then you will be freed from the tribulation. If any one will worship an image of a Jina or a Jina temple, his house will stand for a long time; else it will fall.[15] Every year the cloth(-picture) of the Jina must be carried about and 'the sixth (day) of the pickaxes'[16] must be kept. He who becomes king here, must dine after having set up images of a Jina; otherwise he will not live. The people began to carry out exactly all the orders of the goddess."

"Once the lord Pârśva, wandering about as a Kêvalin, reached Mathurâ. At the solemn visit (to the Stûpa, *samôsaraṇa*) he preached the law and made known the future experience of the evil period (*dûsamâ*). Then, after the worshipful one had wandered elsewhere, Kubêrâ called the congregation and spoke as follows, 'The approaching evil time has been described by the lord. The people and the king will be eaten up with greed; and I shall become negligent and have not long to live. Hence I shall not be able to protect always this Stûpa, which is open (to the view). At the order of the congregation I will therefore cover it with bricks. But you must build outside a stone temple. Every other goddess that will come in my place will perform the worship inside.' Then the congregation, considering (the plan) excellent, gave their consent and the goddess did thus."

"Afterwards, thirteen hundred years after the lord Vîra had reached perfection, Bappabhaṭṭisûri was born. He also restored this sanctuary, caused the Jina Pârśva to be worshipped, and had made groves, wells and store-rooms in order to ensure the constant worship. Thinking that the bricks, placed by the congregation . . . . were being displaced, he began to put into order the Stûpa which was surrounded with stones. The goddess stopped him in a dream, saying to him, 'You must not open this.' So by the order of the goddess it was not opened. Well-made, surrounded by well-fashioned stones it is even to-day protected by the gods. Resplendent is this home of the Jina, which is connected with many thousands of images, chapels . . . . a charming *gandhakuṭi* as well as with (statues of) Chillaṇiâ, Ambâ and other (goddesses), (of the) Kshêtrapâlas and so forth."

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[14] Jinaprabha, I suppose, means, that Mathurâ became a place where men could obtain *siddhi*.

[15] I omit the next following sentence of the text, which I take to be an interpolation, as it interrupts the speech of the goddess.

[16] This seems to have been a festival, kept at Mathurâ in memory of the king's wicked attempt against the Stûpa.

In the course of some further remarks on various miracles or remarkable events, which happened at Mathurâ, the Stûpa is mentioned yet twice. The first note says that Jinabhadrakshamâśramaṇa, performing austerities at the Stûpa, built by the gods, pleased (its guardian) deity and restored the **Mahânisîtha Sûtra**, which had been broken and mutilated, because the leaves of its MSS. had been eaten by white ants. The second passage briefly recapitulates the history of the monument, adding that **Âmarâja, Bappabhaṭṭi's patron,** in reality made the restoration which above is attributed to that ascetic.

Like many other Jaina stories, Jinaprabha's legend of the Mathurâ Stûpa has so unreal and phantastic an appearance that, but for the note in the inscription, most Sanskritists would not hesitate to declare it to be a late or 'comparatively late' invention of the Yatis without any substantial basis. If we possessed the *Tîrthakalpa* alone, it most probably would be doubted, if not denied, that Mathurâ ever possessed an ancient Stûpa dedicated to a Jina. In the face of the inscription this is, of course, impossible and it must be admitted that a Jaina Stûpa really existed in Mathurâ as well as that a myth regarding its divine origin was current at least about twelve hundred years before Jinaprabha's time. The case of the *Mathurâkalpa*, therefore, furnishes another illustration for the correctness of the principle, proved of late years by various other discoveries, that it is dangerous to treat the Jaina tradition with absolute contempt. We see here that even a phantastic legend has a basis of real facts. A good deal of caution in the use of negative criticism seems therefore advisable.

It is, however, a very different question, if we may assume that the myth of the divine origin of the Stûpa, known to Vṛiddhahastin and his contemporaries, was exactly identical with Jinaprabha's tale. This, I think, is improbable at least in one point. The statement of the *Tîrthakalpa* that the original golden Stûpa bore on the *mêkhalâs*, or bands, various images, made of precious stones, the *mûlapaḍimâ* or chief image being that of Supârśva to whom the whole structure was dedicated, can hardly be so ancient. This description does not fit the ancient Jaina Stûpas, which on the few sculptures,[17] hitherto found, look very much like those of the Bauddhas, and like these are not adorned with statues. But it would suit the miniature Stûpas of the Bauddhas, which were manufactured in great numbers for devotional purposes and worshipped in the houses of the laymen. The inscriptions on the monuments of this kind, which I have seen in the London Museums and in private collections, mostly show characters of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, but, as far as I know, never ancient ones. The use of such Stûpas, which may have also occurred among the Jainas, is therefore probably not so old as the inscription of Vṛiddhahastin, and it is difficult to believe that their description could have stood in the legend of his time. The old legend perhaps may have spoken of a golden relic casket, possibly in the shape of a Stûpa, which the gods or the goddess Kubêrâ (who hitherto has not been traced in other Jaina works) brought to Mathurâ and which was first kept exposed to the view and later deposited in a brick Stûpa and finally encased in stone. The event may have been fixed in the time of Supârśva, as the Mathurâ incriptions furnish abundant proof that the legend of the twenty-four Tîrthaṁkaras did exist during the rule of the Kushana kings. The Stûpa may also have been dedicated to Supârśva. The Niglîva Edict has proved that the Bauddhas erected Stûpas to their mythical Buddhas even before the time of Aśôka, and there is no reason for denying that their rivals may have done so likewise. This point may possibly be settled by a thorough examination of the sculptures, found by Dr. Führer. With respect to the alleged restoration by Bappabhaṭṭi or by Âmarâja at Bappabhaṭṭi's request, it may be noted that Jinaprabha's date for Bappabhaṭṭi's birth, A. V. 1300, slightly differs from the more usual one, Vikrama Saṁvat 800,[18] and agrees better with that given in the Paṭṭâvalis for his death, A. V. 1365 or V. S. 895. The inscriptions in no way confirm Bappabhaṭṭi's and Âmarâja's traditional dates or the restoration ascribed to them. The Kankâlî Tîla has yielded only two documents later than the Kushana

17 See the Plates, mentioned in note 13 to this article.

18 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI. p. 253.

period, one from the reign of Kumâragupta, dated Guptasaṁvat 113 or A. D. 431/2, and one dated V. S. 1080.

If the note about the restoration of the *Mahânisîtha Sûtra* by the ancient Jinabhadra is meant to assert that he re-wrote the work with the help of old fragments, there may be some truth in it. For the present *Mahânisîtha* is a very curious book, for which no commentary exists and on which even some Jainas look with suspicion.[19]

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. F. D'PENHA.

No. 20. — The Crane and the Princess.

ONCE upon a time there lived a woman in very indigent circumstances. Every morning she would go into the neighbouring forest to gather firewood. After reserving a small quantity of the firewood for her own use, she would carry the remainder to the *bâzâr* and sell it for the highest price, and on this she lived. One day, when in the forest collecting firewood, she felt tired, and sat down on a large stony flat. Having seated herself, she thought she would chew *pân sôpârî*. So she pulled out her bag of betel-leaves and nuts and proceeded to eat it, when she found that her bag contained no *chûnâ*. She was at a loss to know what to do, but looking about, she saw something that appeared like *chûnâ*, and thinking it would answer the purpose of *chûnâ*, she took it, and, applying it to the betel-leaves, chewed her *pân sôpârî*. Having thus felt refreshed, she gathered more firewood, and soon returned home.

Now it happened that what the woman ate as a substitute for *chûnâ* turned out to be the dung of a baglâ (crane). The consequence of this was that the woman became pregnant. One month passed, two months passed, three months passed, and so on till nine months, at the end of which she gave birth to a male crane. The bird soon began to hop and fly about, and thus would find his own food, so that the woman, the mother of the crane, had only to follow her old occupation and maintain herself as before, and in this way passed many years.

One day the crane happened to fly to a tank, on the banks of which he saw the daughter of the king of that country, she having come there with her *baṭkinî* (maid-servants) to bathe. The crane, at the very first sight of the princess, fell desperately in love with her. Going home, he said to his mother that she must go and negotiate with the king on his marriage with the princess. Thought the woman to herself — "How can such a thing happen? In the first instance, my child is only a bird, and to propose a marriage between a bird and a princess is simply preposterous. Again, had my child at least been a human creature, I might have presented myself before the king with some presumption. Even then, we are as poor as poor can be, and it would be hopeless to attempt such a task."

Thus thinking, the woman told her son, for so we must call the crane, that it would be useless to go to the king. Indeed, she said, she would not have the audacity to make such a proposal even to an ordinary person, and therefore much less to a king. But the son was very importunate, and at last insisted on the mother to go to the palace.

At last the mother did go to the palace, and with fear and trembling stood before the king. The king, who had known her for years, thinking she had, perhaps, come to beg for alms, at first spoke to her mildly :—

"Why have you come here, my good woman? Do you come to ask for any help, or has any one done you harm, let me hear your complaint and I shall see you redressed."

[19] See A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, Vol. XVI. p. 456 ff. [It is right to add that Dr. Bühler, my personal friend for many years and the greatest friend and supporter that the *Indian Antiquary* ever possessed, had no opportunity of seeing this his last article through the Press.—ED.]

Upon this, the woman, still shaking with fear, but being partly encouraged by the kind speech of the king, with the greatest reluctance and with a faltering voice, informed the king of the object of her visit. No sooner the king heard what the woman had to say, his rage knew no bounds, and he thundered like a tiger:—

"How could you ever dream of making such an audacious and extremely stupid proposal? Get out of my presence at once, or in a minute you shall be no more a live person."

The poor woman ran away as fast as her legs would carry her before even the king had finished his words, and going home she told her son what kind of reception she had met with at the hands of the king, and with what result. The son, on his part, seemed to be even more offended at the refusal of the king than the king himself at the proposal of the woman, and thus gave vent to his feelings:—

"The king has rejected my proposal, has he? And, that is not all, he has insulted my mother, and driven her out of the palace, has he? I shall make him rue the moment in which he treated her thus brutally, and I shall see that he gives up his daughter in marriage to me!"

So saying, he went and covered up with his wings the only tank in the country, from which all, without exception, drew their water-supply. Now, when the women of the place came to fetch water, the crane would not allow any one to take water on any account. Thereupon, all the people went in a body to the king, and informed him of what had happened; and, as they had learnt what had transpired between the king and the mother of the crane, they suggested to the king that he should get one of the maid-servants richly dressed and given away in marriage to the crane, and thus avert their misfortune. The king fell in with the suggestion of his subjects, and immediately issued orders that one of the maid-servants of the princess be dressed in the clothes of the princess, and, wearing also her ornaments, go to the tank, and, offering herself in marriage, ask the crane to allow the people to take water without further hindrance. The order must be obeyed. So one of the maid-servants, having dressed herself and put on fine ornaments, went to the tank, and thus spoke (sang) to the crane:—

"*Sôṛâ, sôṛâ, Baglôjî, raitêchâ pâṇî kaṁ gâ,*
Hôtaiṁ tûmchî lagnâchî râṇî kaṁ gâ.
Let go, oh let go, Mr. Crane, the water of the subjects,
I will become your queen by marriage."

To which the crane replied (singing):—

"*Tûṁ tê hâis râṇîchî baṭkin kaṁ gô,*
Nahim sôriṁ raitêchâ pâṇî kaṁ gô.
You are only a maid-servant of the *râṇî* (princess),
I will not let go the water of the subjects."

Seeing that she was detected and that she could not prevail upon the crane to release the water-supply, the maid-servant went and reported the matter to the king. The king, thereupon ordered that another maid-servant, dressed better than the first, and wearing more ornaments, should go and offer herself as the princess in marriage to the crane in return for a free water-supply. So another maid-servant, without loss of time, dressed in very fine clothes and profusely decorated with ornaments, went and presented herself before the crane, and thus spoke (sang) to the crane:—

"*Sôṛâ, sôṛâ, Baglôjî, raitêchâ pâṇî kaṁ gâ,*
Hôtaiṁ tûmchî lagnâchî râṇî kaṁ gâ.
Let go, oh let go, Mr. Crane, the water of the subjects,
I will become your queen by marriage."

But the crane knew only too well that the person speaking to him was only a maid-servant, and would not give in. He, therefore, thus spoke (sang) to her :—

" *Tûṁ tê hâis râṇîchî baṭhin kaṁ gô,*
Nahin sôriṁ raitêchâ pâṇî kaṁ gô.
You are only a maid-servant of the *râṇî* (princess),
I will not let go the water of the subjects."

The second maid-servant, too, found that she could not deceive the crane, nor prevail upon him to let go the water of the tank, and so went and reported the matter to the king. The king now sent a third maid-servant, dressed and adorned still better than the first and second, but she also met with the same failure. In this way, seven maid-servants were sent, one after another, the last having been dressed in the princess' own best clothes and covered with all her jewellery, hoping to deceive the crane, but to no purpose.

At last the king saw no other alternative but to send the princess. But, although an extremely beautiful person, she was made to assume the ugliest appearance possible. She was clothed in rags, divested of her ornaments, and with dirty hands and feet and face, the princess was sent to the tank. When she came in the presence of the crane, she thus spoke (sang) to him :—

" *Sôṛâ, sôṛâ, Baglôjî, raitêchâ pâṇî kaṁ gâ,*
Hôtaiṁ tûmchî lagnâchî râṇî kaṁ gâ.
Let go, oh let go, Mr. Crane, the water of the subjects,
I will become your queen by marriage."

The princess had scarcely uttered these words, when the crane, recognising her in spite of her assumed ugly appearance, at once flew off, and thus left the tank free for the people to take their water from. The princess returned to the palace and communicated to the king the result of her errand. Of course, it was decided that the princess must be married to the crane, and so an early day was fixed for the celebration of the wedding.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HORNS AT TEMPLES.

A GOOD deal could be said on the subject of horns on temples, so I will make my remarks as brief as possible.

In the valley of the Chandrabhâgâ (the River Chenâb), on almost every shrine dedicated to Dêvî are found some splendid horns. The reason of their being there is this. In the winter months, when snow is down to about 6,000 ft., the animals, who usually live at 12,000 ft., come down to look for grass. The villagers, seeing them, rush out and drive them into a snow-drift, and knock the poor beasts on the head. A sacrifice is made at once, and the village temple smeared with the blood. When the heads have been cut off the horns are placed *upside down* on the pent-roof of the temple. By this means the hill people save their sheep and goats, *galbâ* or *nâr*, much to the detriment of sport in the uplands of India, as they eat the carcases of the slain animals instead of those of their own flocks.

MARMOT in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BIRTH CUSTOMS—MUSALMANS.

SOME time before the birth takes place the woman gives up her household duties if her means permit, but the poorer women do not do so. At this period, too, they are not particular as to food, eating whatever they can get hold of. When the delivery takes place no male can approach the mother, only a woman or midwife can attend her. On the birth of a male child the nurse congratulates the near relatives present, and barbers, etc., are sent to congratulate the distant relatives. Among the well-to-do classes all the domestic servants are rewarded by the master of the house. Those that have a first child very late in life make presents also to the various hangers-on (*lâgî*). In large cities and towns a public entertainment is given, including the relations and friends. On such occasions the parties invited do not make presents.

GULAB SINGH in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 49.)

6.

Southern Indian Weights.

IN Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, Thomas Ed., p. 110, there occurs a notable passage:—"As with the coins, so with the weights, Southern India retained most of the names and terms properly Hindu, *pala, tulá, vîsa, bhára, khárî (khânḍi ?), bâha.*" Just so, and as the old trade between South India and Indo-China is beyond all doubt, it is of value here to make some examination of South-Indian weights.

This subject is no less thorny than those which have preceded it in this Chapter. Indeed, so surrounded is it with difficulty and uncertainty that the local experts who wrote the article *niray*[13] in Vol. III. of the *Madras Manual of Administration* dared not go beyond such cautious statements as "the following is an attempt at Native avoirdupois standards," "average Troy tables," and "approximate actual values." I note also that the tables given under this article in Vol. III. do not quite coincide with those given by (? other) local experts in Vol. I. p. 616 ff., and Vol. II. p. 505 ff., nor with those given in Vol. III. itself under the names for the denominations.

It is from the article *niray* in Vol. III., however, that I have extracted for the present purposes the following tables of the "average weights" at present recognised in Southern India.

A. — General Southern Indian Denominations.

Average Troy.[14]			Average Avoirdupois.
Anglo-Indian Equivalents.	Musalmân.	Sanskrit.	Sanskrit.
mustard seed	zarra	sarshapa	......
barleycorn	6 jau	6 yava	......
rice in husk	2 dhân	......	......
abrus seed	4 gumchî	3 guñja	......
......	......	6 âṇaka	......
black gram	8 mâsha	2 mâsha	mâsha
......	4 misqâl	......	......
180 grs. Troy[15] ...	3 tôla	8 tôla	16 karsha
1,440 grs. Troy[15] ...	......	8 pala	4 pala
......	......	8 śarâva	......
......	......	......	100 tulâ
......	......	......	20 bhâra
......	......	......	10 âchita

The above table shews that the Avoirdupois and Troy denominations meet at the *pala* of 1,440 grs., and that the modern Muhammadan denominations are merely an effort to give a Musalmân form to indigenous denominations without interfering with the established South-Indian standards. It also works out the **guñja, gumchî or abrus seed** to an average of 1·876 grs. Troy: **in South India 96 to the tôla.**

[13] *Niray* is for the Tamil *nirai*, weight. Invaluable as the Article is, I may warn the enquirer that the transliteration adopted is such as will oblige him to go direct to Natives, or to look up every vernacular word in some work of reference, or to wander all over this huge third volume, in search of the true form thereof. *Experto crede.*

[14] Read "*zarra* 6 = *jau*: *jau* 2 = *dhân*:" and so on.

[15] As per statements in the Article quoted.

B. — South-Indian Modern Troy Weights.

Anglo-Indian Equivalents.	By Districts speaking			
	Tamil.	Telugu.	Canarese.	Malayâlam.
rice grains ...	......	......	vîsa[16]	......
abrus seeds ...	kunrimaṇi[17] ...	gurigiñja ...	4 hâga[18] ...	kunnikuru
adenanthera seeds	2 mañjâdi[19] ..	......	2 mañjâdi[20] ...	2 mañchâti[21]
fanam weight ...	2 paṇatukkam...	4 chinnamu ...	2 haṇa	2 paṇatûkam
pagoda weight ...	9 waragânidai..	9 warahâyettu .	9 warahatûka ...	......
dubb, rupee wt...	......	4 ḍabbu ...	......	30½ urrupiyatûkam
.. ...	......	16 taṅkamu ...	......	......

The standards of weight given in the article are the *pagoda* = 54 grs. Troy, and the *tôla* = 180 grs. Troy. This works out the above table thus in English Troy weight: —

Anglo-Indian Equivalents.		Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese Districts.	Malayâlam. Districts.
Abrus seed	equals ...	grs. 1·5	grs. 1·475
Adenanthera seed	,, ...	,, 3	,, 2·95
fanam	,, ...	,, 6	,, 5·9
pagoda	,, ...	,, 54	....
tola	,, ...	,, 180	,, 180
dubb	,, ...	,, 216	....
tanka	,, ...	,, 3,456	....

C. — South-Indian Modern Avoirdupois Weights.

Anglo-Indian Equivalents.	By Districts speaking[22]			
	Tamil.	Telugu.[23]	Canarese.	Malayâlam.
fanam weight ...	paṇatukkam ...	......	......	......
pagoda weight ...	9 (& 10) waragânidai.	warahâyettu ..	......	......
rupee weight ...	....	......	tôla	urrupiyatûkam
pollum	10 palam	10 palamu ...	......	10 palam
rattel	....	......	40 râtlu[24] ..	4 râttal[24]
viss[25]	40 vîsai	40 vîsamu ...	.. ...	......
....	....	......	6 dhâḍe ..	......
maund	8 manaṅgu	8 manugu...	4 maṇa ..	25 tulâm
candy, bahar ...	20 kaṇḍi	20 bharû ...	20 bhâra ...	20 bhâram

[16] *Viss, vîsai, vîsa*, etc., is defined in the *Madras Man. Admn.* Vol. III. p. 981, as "division, distribution, share: apportioned weight." It is defined as $\frac{1}{16}$ in Hodson, *Canarese Grammar*, 1864, p. 126, and also in Brown, *Telugu Grammar*, 1852, p. 346.

[17] Anglo-Indian *coondrimany* : *condoomany*.

[18] Synonym : *guñjitûka*.

[19] Also *mañjali*, whence the weight for precious stones, *mangelin* or carat: weighs in Madras 3¼, 4⅓, to 5⅓ grs.

[20] Synonym: *adda* = ? *arddha*, half.

[21] Pronounced apparently *mañjâdi*.

[22] Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 107, gives quite different scales for Madras and Malabar.

[23] For an elaborate disquisition on this subject see Brown, *Telugu Grammar*, p. 344 ff.

[24] This is the Arabic *raṭl*, رطل . Also *râtal* in Canarese; *vide* Kittel, *Canarese Dict.*, s. v.

[25] The *Madras Man. Admn.*, which may always be relied on for startling representations of vernacular words to be found nowhere else, has, Vol. III. p. 485, "8 visses 1 maund." By the way, in the prefatory note to Vol. III. (besides an elaborate dissertation in Vol. I. pp. 544-9), there is a remark too delicious to be passed over; — "Of late (in 1893!) a movement has taken place, which is likely in the end to prove successful, in the direction of abandon

The standards here given are: Tamiḻ and Telugu, *palam*, 540 grs.[26]; Tamiḻ and Telugu, maund, 25 lbs.;[27] and Canarese and Malayâḻam, *rattel*, 1 lb.

As in the case of the Troy weights, the South-Indian Muhammadans have done no more than use the indigenous Avoirdupois system, as will be seen from the **average South-Indian table of Muhammadan Avoirdupois weights** given in the same article [28]: —

3 tolâ	are	1 palam
8 palam	,,	1 kachâ sêr
5 kachâ sêr	,,	1 pañchsêr
2 pañchsêr	,,	1 dharâ
4 dharâ	,,	1 maṇ
20 maṇ	,,	1 kâṇḍî[29]

To shew how difficult it is to get clear ideas on this subject, and in what different ways its facts can be stated, I take from Vol. I. p. 616, of the same work, the following comparative statement: —

The Five Principal Tables of Weights in South India.

(1) Native Jewellers and Druggists.		(2) Ordinary Native Traders.	(3) Recognised by Government.	(4) European and Native Merchants.
Telugu Districts.	Tamiḻ Districts.			
chinnum ...	fanam ..	....	....	....
9 pagoda wt....	9 pagoda[30] wt..	pagoda wt. ...	....	....
4 dub... ...	....	....	....	....
⅚ tolah[31] ...	....	....	tolah ..	....
....	10 pollum ...	10 pollum (Rs. 3).	3 pollum ...	pollum
24 cutcha seer .	8 cutcha seer...	8 cutcha seer[32]...	....	....
....	....	5 viss[33]... ...	40 viss... ...	40 viss
....	....	8 maund ...	8 Madras md..	8 maund[34]
....	....	20 candy ..	20 candy[35] ..	20 candy[35]

ing altogether the attempt to express such (vernacular) words on English principles, and, instead of that, of employing a method of strict transliteration from the exact letters of the original combined with the use of the Continental, and especially the Italian, powers of the Roman Alphabet, to which accents and other signs are applied." I am not one of those who think the Madras Presidency to be in reality more "benighted" than other parts of India, but if authoritative officials choose to write like this, they have only themselves to thank for the contemptuous epithet. Indeed, this great *Manual* is a standing objective proof of the wisdom of Sir William Jones in 1784, when he proclaimed his system of transliteration, and of the ultimate wisdom of the Government of India in following it, so far as practicable, now many years ago. When will Madras officialdom learn that the movement for transliteration has been in progress for more than 100 years?

[26] The Malabar *palam* works out to 1,800 grs., being 100 to the maund of 25 lbs., while the Tamiḻ and Telugu *palams* are 320 to the maund.

[27] The Bombay maund is 28 lbs.: Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 117.

[28] There are long discursive statements of South-Indian Muhammadan weights in Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, 2nd Ed., 1863, Appx., p. v. ff., but it is quite impossible to work tables out of them.

[29] *I. e.*, 40 *palam* to the *pañchsêr* or viss, and 8 viss to the maund, 20 maunds to the *khâṇḍî*: *cf.* the South-Indian Tables above.

[30] Also 10.

[31] *I. e.*, 30 *chinnum*.

[32] *I. e.*, 24 rupees.

[33] *I. e.*, 40 *pollums*.

[34] *I. e.*, of 25 lbs.

[35] Synonym: *baurum*.

(5) Imperial Weights of the Government of India.

80 tolah are 1 seer
40 seer „ 1 Imperial maund (82$\frac{2}{7}$ lbs. av.)

From a note I have taken from Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 221 ff.,[36] I work out the following comparative tables for old North Indian weights[37]: —

A. — Old North Indian Scales.

Manu: cviii. § 134.		*Atharva Pariśishta.*
Silver.	Gold.	General.
raktikâ	raktikâ	raktikâ
2 mâsha	5 mâsha	5 mâsha
16 dharaṇa[38] ...	16 suvarṇa[39]	....
10 pala[40]	4 pala	64 pala
320	320	320

And from Thomas, *loc. cit.*, and Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbaree*, Vol. II, p. 156, I work out the following: —

B. — North Indian Muhammadan Scales.

Temp. Babar (1526-30 A.D.).	*Temp.* Akbar[41] (1556-1605 A. D.).
ratî	ratî
8 mâsha	6 mâsha (dâm)
4 tâng (tâṅk)	....
3 tôla	16 tôla
... ...	
96	96

Thomas' note to Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 21 ff., following Colonel Anderson, gives the table below for general Indian Muhammadan weights: —

C. — General Indian Muhammadan Weights.

Troy.	Avoirdupois.
ratî	......
8 mâsha	......
4 tânk	......
3 tôla	......
1$\frac{2}{3}$ dâm	dâm
......	30 sêr
......	40 maṇ
96 ratî to the tôla	

[36] I have cause to regret just now that, as is the case with many other books, some kind friend has forgotten to return the book to my library.

[37] Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 530.

[38] Also *purâṇa*.

[39] Also *karsha* and *tôlaka*.

[40] Also *śatamâṇa*.

[41] For Kashmîr.

The above tables shew that, in terms of the *ratî*, 3⅓ *tôla* = 1 *pala*, which is what the modern South Indian average scale states to be approximately the case. We have then here, as it seems to me, a reasonable explanation of the descent of the modern Muhammadan South Indian scale from that of North India, and from the tables already given in this Section it can be seen that the main points of the Muhammadan and Hindu scales of South India are identical at candy, maund, viss and pollum (to use the Anglo-Indian forms). One can then also say that **the whole modern South Indian scale is related to the North Indian through the scale of ratî, tôla and sêr, rather than through the scale of raktikâ, mâsha and pala.**

I think one can hardly doubt that there were for centuries **two separate concurrent scales in North India,** pretty much as I gather was also formerly the case in China,[42] *i. e.*, the recognised or literary and the popular. Thus, after giving a long series of scales from all sorts of books, working out generally to the **scale of** *raktikâ*, *mâsha* and *pala* **(320 raktikâs to the pala)** Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 531, states significantly: — "To these I do not add the *mâsha* of 8 *rakitkâs*, because it has been explained as (? being) measured by eight silver *ratti* weights, each twice as heavy as the seed. Yet as a practical denomination it must be noticed. Eight such *rattis* make one *mâsha*, but twelve *mâshas* compose one *tôla*. **This tôla is nowhere suggested by the Hindu legislators.**" That is, the **scale of** *ratî*, *tôla* and *sêr* **(96 ratîs to the tôla)** is not the old literary recognised scale, yet it is unquestionably the scale that the Muhammadan conquerors picked up, and is essentially that adopted by South India and modern India generally. One may safely argue that the Muhammadan conquerors would in the ordinary course of things be more likely to pick up and adopt a popular scale, than an orthodox and literary one, for their weights and measures, and I apprehend that this is what they did.[43] Hence my designation of the scale of 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala* as the literary scale and of the scale of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôla* as the popular scale, at any rate in the XVth and XVIth Centuries A. D., whence the modern coinages date.

With regard to the popular scale Colebrooke states, p. 536: — "The *Vṛihat-râjamârtaṇḍa* specifies measures which do not appear to have been noticed in other Sanskrit writings: —

24 tôlakas = 1 sêr (? sêtaka)
2 sêrs = 1 prabh (? prabhu)

It is mentioned in the *Ayîn-i-Akbarî* that the *sêr* formerly contained 18 *dâms* in some parts of Hindustân and 22 in others, but that it consisted of 28 at the commencement of the reign of Akbar, and was fixed at 5 *tânks* or 20 *mâshas*, or, as stated in one place, 20 *mâshas* 7 *rattîs*. The ancient *sêr* noticed in the *Ayîn-i-Akbarî* therefore coincided nearly with the *sêr* stated in the *Râjamârtaṇḍa*. The double *sêr* is still (1799) used in some places, but called by the same name *(pañcha-sêrî)*[44] as the weight of five *sêrs* employed in others."

Prinsep, after tracing (*Useful Tables*, p. 17) the Hindu system of South India at the time of the Muhammadan irruption, through North India, to the Græco-Bactrian coinage, the χρυσος and δίχρυσος of 120 grs., seems to find (p. 18) in the *Lilâvatî* table signs of its recognition in Sanskrit writings, on the faith of Colebrooke's *Essays* (see Vol. II. p. 532, Ed. 1873) :—

Lilâvatî.	Ikkeri Hûn.[45]	British Pagoda.
....	....	kâsu
paṇa	paṇam	8 fanam
16 dharaṇa	16 hûn	42 pagoda
16 nishka (pala)	....	....

[42] See *ante*, p. 29 ff.
[43] *Cf.* Lane-Poole, *Cat. Indian Coins, B. M., Moghul Emperors*, 1892, p. lxxvi.
[44] *I. e., vîsa.*
[45] *I. e.*, the earliest pagoda (1648 A. D.): *vide* Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. I., Appx., p. 2.

The pagoda having varied as much as 16, 14, 28, 42 fanams, and the *hûn* being the weight of the δραχμα.

Now Banerji's (1893) Ed. of Colebrooke's *Lilâvatî* (p. 1) affords the following table : —

varâṭaka (cowry)
20 kâkiṇî
4 paṇa
16 dramma
16 nishka

The text given runs as follows : —

varâṭakânâṁ daśakadvayaṁ yat sâ kâkiṇî taścha paṇaśchatasraḥ ı
tê shôḍaśadramma ihâvagamyô drammaistathâ shôḍaśabhiścha nishkaḥ ıı 2 ıı

And although Colebrooke, *Essays, loc. cit.*, says :— "The tale of shells, compared to weight of silver, may be taken on the authority of the *Lilâvatî*," — and then gives a table, the terminology of the table varies so much from the text of the *Lilâvatî* which he apparently used, that one wonders where it came from : — *E. g.*,

kaparḍaka (cowry)
20 kâkiṇî
4 paṇa, kârshâpaṇa, karshika (= purâṇa of shells)
16 bharma (of silver)
16 nishka (of silver)

However that may be, Banerji's Ed. of the **Lîlâvatî** is careful, v. 2, to call the scale just given "money by tale" and to give **Troy weights in three scales,** thus : —

yava	....	....
2 guñja	....	guñja
3 valla	valla	5 mâsha
8 dharaṇa	....	....
2 gadyânaka[46]	14 dhaṭaka	16 karsha (suvarṇa)
....	....	4 pala
48		320

The texts run as follow, vv. 3 and 4 :—

tulyâ yavâbhyâṁ kathitâtra guñjâ vallâstriguñjô dharaṇañcha tê 'shṭau ı
gadyânakastaddvayamindratulyai rvallaistathaikô dhaṭakaḥ pradishṭaḥ ıı 3 ıı
daśârddhaguñjaṁ pravadanti mâshaṁ mâshâhvayaiḥ shôḍaśabhiścha karshaṁ ı
karshaiśchaturbhiścha palaṁ tulâjñâḥ karshaṁ suvarṇasya suvarṇasaṁjñam ıı 4 ıı

Now these four statements of the **Lîlâvatî** are of the first value to the present argument. In the first place we get from them a **direct reference of the popular scale of money to the** δραχμα, **besides the concurrent Troy scales, popular and literary.**

After v. 8 Banerji says there is a spurious verse inserted in the text of the **Lîlâvatî**, giving

taṅka
14 sêra
40 maṇa,

[46] The existing Sûrat scale (*Gazetteer*, p. 208) is 3 *ratî* = *wâl*, 16 *wâl* = *gadiâṇâ*, 2 *gadiâṇâ* = *tôlâ*. I feel sure that I am right in taking the scale in the text as of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôla*.

the *taṅka* being $\frac{3}{4}$ *gadyâṇaka* and the *maṇa* being a (Av., that is) weight "in use among the Turushkas[47] for a weight of coin and like articles." This gives us that **rate of 36 guñja (ratî) to the uppermost Troy weight, which we find to be so constant in modern Madras scales.** Interpolation or not, it is an interesting statement to find in Sanskrit.

The **Lîlâvatî** is of course a modern work of the XIIth Century, A. D., but it is **contemporaneous with the first Muhammadan irruptions,** and its value therefore lies in its giving the Hindu views of bullion weights at the time of the early Indian Muhammadans, and consequently what the Muhammadans were likely to have found the scales to be amongst the people when they entered.

The whole argument, therefore, so far comes to this that there were concurrently of old in India an indigenous — or shall we say a very ancient? — scale, running 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala*, and another scale, traceable to the influence of the Greek irruption over part of North India and Western Asia, running 96 *ratîs* to the *tôla:* that it was this last scale which the Muhammadan conquerors of the XIth Century and onwards took up, superimposing on it some of the ponderary notions that they brought with them: and that it is the combined Græco-Indo-Muhammadan scale which has now, in infinite varieties of detail, spread itself all over modern India, becoming crystalised in one form of it (the North Indian) in the authorised general scale of the Imperial British Government; in other forms of it in the authorised scales of the Madras and Bombay Governments.

It will now be of interest to trace in some degree at least **the story of the weights onwards** from the Muhammadan irruption. In regard to this, the further one goes back the more do the terms for money and bullion weights become synonymous, and at no time up to the present day have they become completely separated. And so, in tracing out the history of the terms for weights, I have included those for money,[48] but I have given them separately, because, where money is mentioned, the question of alloy always influences the rates at which one denomination is compared with another. *E. g.*, the number of *fanams* to a *pagoda* is a conventional proportion in a statement of Troy weights: but the number of *fanams* to a *pagoda* will vary with the alloy in any particular sort of *fanam* or *pagoda* in a statement of current money.

Taking the Provinces or Divisions of India round the Coasts, as known to the traders and Europeans before the growth of the British Empire, the general tables may be given as follow for Gujarat, Bombay, Malabar, Madras and Bengal: —

A. — Gujarat.

(a) Money.

1638	1711	1775	1775
Mandelslô, *Travels*, p. 68.	Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 263.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 129.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 129.
kauret (cowry)[49]	....	....	....
....	pie	pecka[50]	....
80 peyse	....	2 pice[51]	....
....	....	4 fanam	....
....	16 ana	4 ana	ana
54 ropia	4 rupee	4 rupee	14 pagoda
13½ xeraphim[52] ..	....	2 crown	2 crown

[47] Turks, Mughals, Oriental foreigners from the West.

[48] There is a sketch of the history of South Indian coinage in the *Madras Man. Admn.*, Vol. I. p. 615 n. There is also a good note on the subject in Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. I., Appx., p. 1 ff.

[49] 36 almonds = 1 peyse: also are mentioned "brass and copper money called tacques."

[50] See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 556, *s. v.* pucka, and *s. v.* cutcha. [51] 5 pice = 1 viz. [52] *I. e.*, of gold.

(b) Troy Weights.

1638	1711	1736	c. 1833	1877
Mandelslö, *Travels*, p. 68.	Lockyer,[53] *Trade*, p. 263.	Stevens, *Guide*,[54] p. 48 f.	Prinsep, *Useful Tab.* p. 121.	*Bombay Gaz.* Vol. II. *Surat*, p. 208.
………	………	rati (2 grs.)	………	ratî
ropia[55] … …	vol …	3 vall	………	3 wâl
8 massa	………	………	mâsha …	………
………	………	………	………	16 gadiânâ
1½ theil[57] (silver)…	32 tola …	32 tola[56] …	12 tôla …	2 tôlâ
10 theil[58] (gold)	………	………	………	………

(c) Avoirdupois Weights.

1638	1711	1736[59]	c. 1833	1877
Mandelslö, *Travels*, p. 168.	Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 263.	Stevens, *Guide*,[54] p. 48 f.	Prinsep, *Useful Tab.* p. 121.	*Bombay Gaz.* Vol. II. *Surat*, p. 208
Peyses … …	………	tola… …	tôla … …	tôlâ
18 ceer … …	seer … …	35 seer… …	35 sêr … …	37½ sêr[60]
40 maon (30½ lbs.)…	40 maund (37¾ lbs.)	40 man[61] …	40 man (37½ lbs.)	40 man
………	20 candy … …	20 candy …	………	20 khâṇḍî

B. — Bombay.[62]

(a) Money.

1675	1739	1775	1775
Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Xerafine, quoting Fryer.	A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 6.	Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 51, 124, 129, for cash.	Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 51, 124, 129, for account.
………	………	………	budgrook
raie … …	raye … …	rae … …	2 rae
10 pice … …	………	5 pice[63] … …	5 pice
8 laree … …	………	5 ana … …	………
3 zeraphin … …	………	………	20 quarter[64]
………	400 rupee … …	16 rupee … …	4 rupee
………	………	15 gold rupee …	………

[53] See also A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 5.

[54] Stevens says that the weights here gave rise to much dispute.

[55] Also 11 and 13 *ropia* = 1 *theil* silver.

[56] Also 30 pice.

[57] Probably for *tole* (*tôla*), which he mixed up with the more familiar *theil* (tael). But Mandelslö seems here to have got "mixed" in a way very unusual with him: *ropia* and *massa* have become reversed.

[58] *I. e.*, gold is to silver as 10 to 1: *cf.* Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 5.

[59] 1739. A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 5, 20 to 32 pice to 1 sear, 40 sear 1 maund, 20 maunds 1 candy.

[60] So stated by scale: but 37½ Bengal rupees and 37 Sûrat rupees by statement.

[61] Also 37½, 42, 44, 42¼, 40, 40⅝, 45¼, 46. Really all weights between 37½ and 46 lbs.

[62] Included in Malabar by Stevens, p. 129.

[63] 16 pice = 1 laree; 24 pice = 1 xeraphin (silver pagoda).

[64] 14 quarters = 1 pagoda (gold), p. 129.

(b) Troy Weights.

1775	1775
Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 51, 124.	Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 51, 124.
....	chow[65]
gunze[66]	6 grs. (rutty)
2½ vall	2½ vall
40 tola (rupee)	40 tola

(c) Avoirdupois Weights.

1739	1775	c. 1833
A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 6.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 51.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 113.
....	....	tânk
....	pice	2⅓ pice
sear	30 seer	30 sêr
40 maund	40 man (28 lbs.)	40 man (28 lbs.)
20 candy	20 candy	20 khâṇḍî

C. — Malabar.

(a) Money.

1510	1520	1584	1598
Yule, *Hob.-Job.*, *s. v.* pardao, quoting Correa.[67]	Yule, *Hob.-Job.*, *s. v.* pardao, quoting Barbosa.	Yule, *Hob.-Job*, *s. v.* pardao, quoting Barret.[68]	Yule, *Hob.-Job*, *s. v.* pardao, quoting Linschoten.
cepayqua (sapèque).	....	....	....
2 rey	reis	....	....
2 bazaruco	....	vasarucho ...	....
....	20 damma[69]	15 vintin	....
90 pardao	....	6 tanga[70]	tanga[71] (larin)
....	....	5 seraphim	5 pardaw[72] (xeraphin)[73]
....	....	2 ducat	....

[65] No doubt for *jau*, barleycorn.

[66] This term is explained at p. 312 of Venkatsawmi Row's *Tanjore*, 1883, in the course of a rather interesting note on weights and measures :—" The theoretical unit of weight is the seed of the *abrus precatorus* (*sic*), called in Tamiḷ *kunrimani* and in Hindustani *gunz*, and of these seeds 32 are supposed to be equal to the ponderary value of a pagoda." *Gunze* is, therefore, *guñja*.

[67] 2 vinten = 1 barganym.

[68] Who copied Balbi.

[69] *I. e.*, vinten.

[70] Also 4 and 5. 10 and 9½ *tanghe* = 1 ducat.

[71] 7 and 8 *tanga* = 1 pagoda.

[72] Also 6.

[73] 3 testons = 1 *pardaw*.

c. 1600	c. 1600	1638	1775
Dutch Voyages to E. I., p. 245 f. ? silver.	*Dutch Voyages to E. I.,* p. 245 f. ? gold.	Mandelslö, *Travels,* p. 75.	Stevens, *Guide,* p. 129.
....	....	....	re
basaruco[74]	basaruco	basaruiques ..	2 bazaraco
....	....	....	2 pecka
18 and 15 vintin[75] ..	105 fano[76]	9 peise (peyse) ...	5 vintin
5 and 4 tanga (larin)..	....	18 lari	4 laree
4 pardao xeraffin ...	20 pardao xeraffin ...	10 pagoda[77]	3 xeraphim
....	2 sichino (venetian).	....	....

1775
Stevens, *Guide,* p. 129.
vintin
44 tangu (? gold)
4 paru
2 gold rupee

(b) Troy Weights.

1443	1504-5	c. 1833	1893
Yule, *Hob.-Job., s. v.* pardao, quoting Abdu'rrazzak.	Yule, *Hob.-Job , s. v.* pardao, quoting Varthema.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables,* p. 119.	*Madras Man. of Admn.* Vol. II. p. 514.
....	cas	....	....
jîtal (copper) ..	....	....	....
3 târ (silver) ..	16 tare	....	....
6 fanam (gold) ..	16 fanam	....	fanam
10 partâb	....	rupee[78]	31 rupee
2 varâha[79] (1 misqâl)	20 pardao	....	....
....	....	9 palam	....

(c) Avoirdupois Weights.

c. 1340	1638	c. 1833	1893
Yule, *Hob.-Job., s. v.* rottle, quoting Shahâbu' ddîn Dimishkî.	Mandelslö, *Travels,* p. 75.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables,* p. 119.	*Madras Man. of Admn.* Vol. II. p. 514.
misqal	....	....	rupee
....	....	....	10 pollum
70 ritl (sir)[80] ...	ceere	sêr	4 pound
40 mann	40 maon	40 tulâm ($23\frac{1}{5}$ lbs.)...	25 tulam (maund)
....	20 candy	....	20 candy (baurum)

74 375 and 300 *basaruco* to the *pardao* : here *basaruco* = *rey*.

75 8 *tanga* = 1 pagoda.

76 Also 108.

77 Also 8.

78 *I. e.*, of Pondicherry.

79 *Partâb* = ½ pagoda : *varâha* = 1 pagoda.

80 The *ritl* being 1 lb. av. ; this proves what the *sîr* then was.

D. — Madras.

(a) Money.

1775	1775	1775
Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 127, 129.	Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 124, 129.	Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 124, 129.
cash	cash	....
....	5 viz	....
....	2 pice	pice
80 fanam	6 pical	8 fanam
....	....	10 rupee
36 pagoda[81]	....	2 crown
4 gold rupee	....	....

(b) Troy Weight.

1775.

Stevens, *Guide*, p. 88.

	cash
10	doodee
8	fanam
36	pagoda (4 oz. Troy)

(c) Avoirdupois Weight.

1775	1778-1795	c. 1833	1852
Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 88, 127.	*Madras Man. of Admn.* Vol. II. p. 513.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 119.	*Madras Man. of Admn.* Vol. II. p. 514.
pagoda	pagoda	....	....
10 pollam	10 pollum	....	pollum
8 seer	8 seer	ser	....
5 viss	5 viss	5 viss	40 viss
8 maund (25 lbs.) ...	8 maund	8 man	8 maund
20 candy	20 candy	20 khandi	20 candy (baurum)

(*To be continued.*)

ON THE SOUTH-INDIAN RECENSION OF THE MAHABHARATA.

BY M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

THAT the South-Indian MSS. of the Mahâbhârata represent a distinct recension of the great Hindu epic has first been pointed out by A. C. Burnell in his *Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians* (1875), pp. 75-80, and again in his *Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore* (1880), p. 180 *sq*. He has shewn that especially the longer books, I -XV., in the Devanâgarî editions on the one hand and in the Grantha and Malayâlam MSS. on the other "differ to as great an extent as the two chief recensions of the *Râmâyaṇa*."

[81] Also 40 and 42.

The general result of a collation of the two recensions of the *Âdiparvan* is according to Dr. Burnell "that the Nâgarî recension has about ten per cent. more *ślokas* than the South-Indian recension; these *ślokas* generally form passages wanting in the last. Of the rest of the text, a considerable portion (numerous vv. ll. apart) is the same in both; the rest of the text presents *ślokas* found in the Devanâgarî recension, but with many vv. ll., and in a totally different order. The short chapters agree generally in both recensions." Dr. Burnell also states that the South-Indian recension of the *Mahâbhârata* is divided into 24 books, the *Âdiparvan* being divided into the *Âdi*, *Âstîka*, and *Sambhava Parvans*, the *Salya* into *Salya* and *Gadâ*, the *Sauptika* into *Sauptika*, *Aishîka*, and *Viśoka*, and the *Śântiparvan* into the *Râjadharma* and *Mokshadharma Parvans*. The single books, again, differ considerably in the number of their chapters.

The Tanjore library is extremely rich in *Mahâbhârata* MSS. — Dr. Burnell counted about 336 MSS. of the whole or parts of the poem — and it is very much to be regretted that all these treasures should be well nigh inaccessible to European scholars. An edition of the *Mahâbhârata* has been printed at Madras, in Telugu characters, which in a very few cases seems to represent the South-Indian recension, though on the whole it is based on the Calcutta edition and gives the text of Nîlakaṇṭha. I am indebted to Prof. Ludwig for some interesting communications about this edition. He has collated several thousand stanzas of the Madras edition with those of Calcutta and Bombay, and has come to the conclusion that the Madras text is essentially the same as that of the Calcutta edition. Even misprints in the latter edition have found their way into the Madras edition.[1] Yet, as Prof. Ludwig points out, we find occasionally better readings in the Madras edition, than in the Devanâgarî editions. Dr. Lüders has pointed out to me a few passages in the Madras edition where it agrees with the text of our South-Indian MSS., though in other places it follows the Calcutta edition as closely as possible. The edition will be scarcely of any use for a critical restoration of the text of the *Mahâbhârata*.

Another Telugu edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 122 *sq.*, but as it contains Nîlakaṇṭha's commentary it can hardly be expected to represent the South-Indian recension to any great extent. There are also a number of South-Indian *Mahâbhârata* MSS. in the India Office Library which, however, have not yet been examined.[2] As far as I am able to see from the published catalogues, the number of South-Indian MSS. in the Continental libraries can be but small, and even in the Tanjore Library the number of Devanâgarî MSS. is much larger than that of South-Indian MSS. proper.

Under these circumstances it is all the more satisfactory to know that the Royal Asiatic Society in London possesses a number of highly valuable Grantha and Malayâlam MSS. containing a considerable portion of the South-Indian recension of the *Mahâbhârata*.

I have examined these MSS. for my catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society collections which I am preparing, and I venture to think that a few remarks on the South-Indian recension of the *Mahâbhârata*, as represented by these MSS., may be welcome to scholars interested in *Mahâbhârata* criticism — which, after all, will never lead to satisfactory results, *as long as it is not based on sound text criticism.*

The MSS. in question all belong to the Whish Collection,[3] acquired by Mr. C. M. Whish in the early part of the present century.

[1] Prof. Jacobi who has also examined the Madras edition kindly informs me that he has come to the same conclusions as Prof. Ludwig. Prof. Jacobi has moreover made a concordance of the three editions from which it appears that the Madras edition agrees, almost everywhere, with the numbers of verses and chapters found in the Calcutta edition. From the Introduction to the Sabhâ Parvan (Vol. I. p. 276) it is evident that the Editor of the Madras edition looked upon Nîlakaṇṭha as his chief authority.

[2] Some of these MSS. are now being examined by Dr. Lüders.

[3] A rough list of these MSS. will be found in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1890, Vol. XXII. p. 805 *seqq.* My catalogue will, I hope, be finished in the course of this year.

Portions of the *Âdiparvan* are found in the Whish MSS. Nos. 65 and 158.

The Grantha MS. Whish No. 65 contains the *Paulomaparvan* (in 8 *Adhyâyas*) and the *Âstîkaparvan* (in 40 *Adhyâyas*), these 48 *Adhyâyas* corresponding to *Adhyâyas* 1-59 of the Nâgarî editions.

The difference in the number of *Adhyâyas* is *partly* due to the fact that two *Adhyâyas* are sometimes contracted into one, but partly also to omissions in the South-Indian MS.

In order to give some idea of the value of the South-Indian recension — as far as one single MS. can be said to represent a whole recension — for an eventual critical restoration of the text of the *Mahâbhârata*, I have given below a few extracts from this MS.[4] The passages which differ from the Devanâgarî recension[5] have been *underlined*, and the corresponding passages given opposite each line. The full text given in the left hand column is a fair specimen of what the South-Indian recension is like, while the *varietas lectionis* given in the right hand column will shew at a glance the relation of the two recensions to each other.

The first extract contains the beginning of the *Mahâbhârata*, verses 1-150 of the first *Adhyâya*.

A.

Âdiparvan.

I. 1-150.

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
ओं अभ्रश्यामः पिंगजटाबद्धकलापः		नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरञ्चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
प्रांशुर्दण्डी कृष्णमृगत्वक्परिधानस्		देवीं सरस्वतीञ्चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥
साक्षाल्लोकान्पावयमानः कविमुख्यः		
पाराशर्य्यः पर्वतरूपं विव्रुणोत्[6] ॥		
रोमहर्षणपुत्रः उग्रश्रवास्सूतः पौराणिको नैमिशारण्ये ।		लोम° सौतिः नैमिषा°
शौनकस्य कुलपतेर्द्वादशवार्षिके सत्रे वर्तमाने ॥	1	वर्तमाने deest.
समासीनानभ्यगच्छत् ब्रह्मर्षीन्संशितव्रतान् ।		सुखा°
विनयावनतो भूत्वा कदाचित्सूतनन्दनः ।	2	
तमाश्रममनुप्राप्तं नैमिशारण्यवासिनः ।		नैमिषारण्यवासिनाम्
चित्रा श्रोतुं कथास्तत्र परिवव्रुस्समन्ततः ।	3	°स्तपस्विनः
अभिवाद्य मुनींस्तांस्तु सर्वानेव कृताञ्जलिः ।		
अपृच्छत्स तपोवृद्धिं सद्भिश्चैवाभिनन्दितः ।	4	°पूजितः
अथ तेषूपविष्टेषु सर्वेष्वेव तपस्विषु ।		
निर्दिष्टमासनं भेजे विनयाद्रोमहर्षिणी[7] ।	5	°ल्लौमहर्षणिः
सुखासीनन्ततस्तन्तु विश्रान्तमुपलक्ष्य च ।		
अथापृच्छदृषिश्रेष्ठस्सम्यक् प्रस्तावयन् कथाः।	6	°स्तत्र कश्चित्
कुत आगम्यते सौते क्व वायं विहृतस्त्वया ।		चायं
कालः कलहपत्राक्ष शंसैतत् पृच्छतो मम ।	7	कमल°
Deest.		एवं पृष्टोऽब्रवीत् सम्यग्यथावल्लौमहर्षणिः ।
"		वाक्यं वचनसम्पन्नस्तेषाञ्च चरिताश्रयम् ॥
"	8	तस्मिन्सदसि विस्तीर्णे मुनीनां भावितात्मनाम् ।
सूतः ।		सौतिरुवाच ।

[4] In all the extracts given in this paper, I have retained the orthography of the South-Indian MSS. No attempt at correction has been made, except occasionally (see the foot-notes).

[5] I have used the Bombay edition with Nîlakaṇṭha's commentary, published Śake 1799.

[6] Read विवृणोतु.

[7] Read रौमहर्षणिः ?

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
जनमेजयस्य राजर्षेस्सर्पसत्रे महात्मनः ।		
समीपे पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य सम्यक् पारीक्षितस्य च ।		पारि°
कृष्णद्वैपायनप्रोक्तास्सुपुण्या विविधाः कथाः ।	10	
कथिताश्चापि विधिवद्या वैशंपायनेन च ।		वै
श्रुत्वाहन्ता विचित्रार्त्थे[8] महाभारतसंज्ञिताः ।	11	°संश्रिताः
बहूनि संपरिक्रम्य तीर्त्थान्यायतनानि च ।		
समन्तपञ्चकन्नाम पुण्यन्द्विजनिषेवितं ।	12	
गतवानस्मि तन्देशं युद्धं यत्राभवत् पुरा ।		
पाण्डवानां कुरूणाञ्च सर्वेषाञ्च महीक्षितां ।	13	कुरूणां पाण्डवानां च
दिदृक्षुरागतस्तस्मात् समीपं भवतामिह ।		
आयुष्मन्तस्सर्व एव ब्रह्मभूता हि मे मताः ।		
अस्मिन्यज्ञे महाभागास्सूर्य्यपावकवर्चसः ।	14	
कृतकृत्याश्च शुचयः कृतजप्या हुताग्नयः ।		कृताभिषेकाः
भवन्त आसते स्वस्था ब्रवीमि किमहन्द्विजाः ।	15	आसने
पुराणसंहिताः पुण्याः कथा वा समर्ति श्रिताः ।		धर्मार्थसंश्रिताः
इति वृत्तन्नरेन्द्राणामृषीणाञ्च महात्मनां ।	16	
ऋषय ऊचुः ।		
द्वैपायनेन यत् प्रोक्तं पुराणं परमर्षिणा ।		
सुरैर्ब्रह्मर्षिभिश्चैव श्रुत्वा यदभिपूजितं ।	17	
तस्याख्यानवरिष्ठस्य विचित्रपदपर्वणः ।		
सूक्ष्मार्त्थन्याययुक्तस्य वेदार्त्थै[9] भूषितस्य च ।	18	
भारतस्येतिहासस्य पुण्यग्रन्थार्त्थसंहितां ।		पुण्यां ग्रन्थार्थसंयुताम्
संस्कारोपगतां ब्राह्मी[10] नानाशास्त्रोपबृंहितां ।	19	
जनमेजयस्य यां राज्ञो वैशंपायन उक्तवान् ।		
यथावत् स मुनिः पृष्टस्सत्रे द्वैपायनाज्ञया ।	20	ऋषिस्तुष्ट्या सत्रे
वेदैश्चतुर्भिस्सहितां व्यासस्यात्भुतकर्म्मणः ।		संयुक्तां
संहितां श्रोतुमिच्छामो धर्म्म्यां पापभयापहां ।	21	°मः पुण्यां
सूतः ।		सौतिरुवाच ।
आद्यं पुरुषमीशानं पुरुहूतं पुरुष्टुतं ।		
ऋतमेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्यक्ताव्यक्तं सनातनं ।	22	ऋत°
असद्सच्चैव ततं विश्वं सदसतः परं ।		असच्च सदसच्चैव यद् °सत्परं
परावराणां स्रष्टारं पुराणं परमव्ययं ।	23	
मंगळ्यमंगळं विष्णुं वरेण्यमनघं शुचिं ।		मंगल्यं मंगलं
नमस्कृत्य हृषीकेशं चराचरगुरुं हरिं ।	24	
महर्षेस्सर्वलोकेषु पूजितस्य महात्मनः ।		°र्षेः पूजितस्येह सर्वलोकैः
प्रवक्ष्यामि मतं कृत्स्नं व्यासस्यामिततेजसः ।	25	पुण्यं °द्भुतकर्मणः
आचख्युः कवयः केचित् संप्रत्याचक्षते परे ।		
आख्यास्यन्ति तथैवान्ये इतिहासमिमं भुवि ।	26	
एतस्मिन्हि त्रिलोकेषु महत् ज्ञानं प्रतिष्ठितं ।		इदं तु त्रिषु
विस्तरैश्च समासैश्च साद्धयते यद्विजातिभिः ।	27	धार्यते
अलंकृतैश्शुभैश्शब्दैस्समयैर्दिव्यमानुषैः ।		अलंकृतं शु०
च्छन्दोवृत्तैश्च विविधैरन्वितं विदुषां प्रियं ।	28	
तपसा ब्रह्मचर्य्येण यस्य वेदं सनातनं ।		Deest.
संस्कारोपगतं ब्रह्म नानाशास्त्रोपबृंहितं ।		”

[8] Read °स्थां. [9] Read वेदार्त्थैर्भू°. [10] Read ब्राह्मीं.

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
पुण्ये हिमवतः पादे मद्धये गिरिगुहालये ।		Deest.
विशोध्य देहन्धर्म्मात्मा दर्भसंस्तरमाश्रितः।		„
शुचिस्सन्नियमो व्यासश्शान्तात्मा तपसि स्थितः।		„
भारतस्येतिहासस्य धर्म्मेणान्वीक्ष्य तां गतिं ।		„
प्रविश्य योगं ज्ञानेन सोपश्यत्सर्व्वमन्ततः ।		„
निष्प्रभेस्मिन्निरालोके सर्वतस्तमसा वृते ।		
बृहद्दण्ड[11]मभूदेकं प्रजानां बीजमक्षयं ।	29	°व्ययं
युगस्यादिनिमित्तन्तन्महद्दिव्यं प्रचक्षते ।		°स्यादौ °त्तं तन्म°
यस्मिंस्तच्छ्रूयते नित्यं ज्योतिर्व्र[12]ह्म सनातनं।	30	यस्मिन्संश्रूयते सत्यं
अद्भुतञ्चाप्यजातञ्च सर्वतस्समतां गतं ।		°श्चिन्त्यं च सर्वत्र स°
अव्यक्तं कारणं सूक्ष्मं क्षमं यत्तत् सदात्मकं।	31	यत्तत्सदसदा°
यस्मिन् पितामहो जज्ञे प्रभुरेकः प्रजापतिः ।		यस्मात्
ब्रह्मा सुरगुरु स्थाणुर्म्मनुश्च परमेष्ठिजः।	32	°नुः कः परमेष्ठ्यथ
प्रचेतसस्तथा दक्षो दक्षपुत्राश्च सुमये।		प्राचे° सप्त वै
ततः प्रजानां पतयः प्राभवन्नेकविंशतिः।	33	
पुरुषाश्च प्रमेयात्मा यं सर्वे ऋषयो विदुः।		पुरुषश्चाप्र°
विश्वे देवास्तथादित्या वसवो या[13]श्विनावपि।	34	
यक्षास्साद्ध्याः पिशाचाश्च गुह्यकाः पितरस्तथा।		
सप्तर्षयश्च विद्वांसश्शिष्टा ब्रह्मर्षयस्तथा।	35	ततः प्रसूता °र्षिसत्तमाः
राजर्षयश्च बहवस्संभूता भूरितेजसः।		सर्वैः समुदिता गुणैः
तथाद्यौ पृथिवी वायुरन्तरिक्षन्दिशस्तथा।	36	आपो द्यौः
संवत्सरस्ततो मासाः पक्षाहोरात्रयः क्रमात्।		°रर्तवो
यच्चान्यदपि तत्सर्वं संभूतं लोकसाक्षिकं ।	37	
यदिदन्दृश्यते किञ्चित् भूतं स्थावरजंगमं।		
पुनस्संक्षिप्यते सर्वं जगत् प्राप्ते युगक्षये।	38	
यथा षड्तुलिंगानि नानारूपाणि पर्य्यये।		यथर्त्तावृतु°
दृश्यन्ते तानि तान्येव तथा भावा युगादिषु।	39	
एवमेतदनाद्यन्तं भूतसंसारकारकं ।		°संहार°
अनादिनिधनं लोके चक्रं संपरिवर्त्तते।	40	
त्रयस्त्रिंशत्सहस्राणि त्रयस्त्रिंशच्छतानि च।		
त्रयस्त्रिंशच्च देवानां सृष्टिस्संक्षेपलक्षणा।	41	
दिवस्पुत्रो बृहद्भानुश्चक्षुरात्मा विभावसुः।		दिवःपुत्रो
सविता च ऋचीकोर्कौ भानुरावाहको रविः।	42	स °राशावहो
सुता विवस्वतस्सर्वे मह्यस्तेषामथापरः।		पुत्रा मह्यस्तेषां तथावरः
देवरस्तस्य तनयस्तस्मात् सुभ्राडिति स्मृतः।	43	देवभ्राट् तनयस्तस्य ततः स्मृतः
सुभ्राजस्तु त्रयः पुत्राः प्रजावन्तो बहुश्रुताः।		
दशज्योतिश्शतज्योतिस्सहस्रज्योतिरात्मवान्।	44	°रेव च
दशपुत्रसहस्राणि दशज्योतेर्म्महात्मनः।		
ततो दश गुणाश्चान्ये शतज्योतेरिहात्मजाः।	45	
भूयस्ततो दश गुणास्सहस्रज्योतिषस्सुताः।		
तेभ्योयं कुरुवंशश्च यदूनां भारतस्य च।	46	भरतस्य
ययातीक्ष्वाकुवंशश्च राजर्षीणाञ्च सर्वशः।		
संभूता बहवो वंश्या भूतसंघास्सुवर्चसः।	47	वंशा भूतसर्गाः सुविस्तराः

[11] Read बृहदण्ड.°

[12] Read ज्योतिर्ब्र.°

[13] Read °था°.

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
भूतस्थानानि सर्वाणि रहस्यन्त्रिविधञ्च यत् ।		
वेदयोगं सविज्ञानं धर्म्मार्त्थौ काममेव च ।	48	वेदा योगः सविज्ञानो धर्मोऽर्थः काम एव च
धर्म्मार्त्थकामशास्त्राणि शास्त्राणि विविधानि च ।		धर्मकामार्थयुक्तानि
लोकयात्रा विधानञ्च संभूतन्दृष्टवानृषिः ।	49	सर्वं तद्दृष्टवा°
नीतिर्भारतवंशस्य विस्तारश्चैव सर्वशः ।		Deest.
इतिहासास्सहव्याख्या विविधा श्रुतयोपि च ।		°वैयाख्या
इह सर्वमनुक्रान्तमुक्तं ग्रन्थस्य लक्षणं ।	50	
संक्षेपणेतिहासस्य ततो वक्ष्यति विस्तरं ।		Deest.
विस्तीर्य्यैतम्महात्मायमृषिस्संक्षिप्य चाब्रवीत् ।		°तन्महज्ज्ञानमृ°
इष्टं हि विदुषो लोके समासव्यासधारणं ।	51	विदुषां
मन्वादिभारतं केचिदास्तीकादि तथापरे ।		
तथोपरिचराद्यन्ये विप्रास्सम्यगधीयते ।	52	
त्रिविधं संहिताज्ञानन्दीपयन्ति मनीषिणः ।		विविधं
व्याख्यानकुशलाः केचित् केचित् ग्रन्थस्य धारणे ।	53	व्याख्यातुं ग्रन्थान्धारयितुं परे
तपसा ब्रह्मचर्य्येण व्यस्य वेदं सनातनं ।		
इतिहासमिमञ्चक्रे पुण्यं सत्यवतीसुतः ।	54	
पराशरात्मज श्रीमान् ब्रह्मर्षिस्संशितव्रतः ।	55*a*	°जो विद्वान्
मातुर्न्नियोगाद्धर्म्मात्मा गांगेयस्य च धीमतः ।		
क्षेत्रे विचित्रवीर्य्यस्य कृष्णद्वैपायनः पुरा ।	94	
त्रीनग्नीनिव कौरव्याञ्जनयामास वीर्य्यवान् ।		
उत्पाद्य धृतराष्ट्रञ्च पाण्डुं विदुरमेव च ।	95	उत्पाद्य
जगाम तपसे श्रीमान् पुनरेवाश्रमं प्रति ।		धीमान्
तेष्वात्मजेषु वृद्धेषु गतेषु च परां गतिं ।	96	तेषु जातेषु परमां
अब्रवीत् भारतं लोके मनुष्येस्मिन्महात्मनि ।		मानुषे °हानृषिः
जनमेजयेन पृष्टस्सन् ब्राह्मणैश्च सहस्रशः ।	97	
शशास शिष्यमासीनं वैशंपायनमन्तिके ।		
स सदस्यैस्समासीनं श्रावयामास भारतं ।	98	°हासीनः
कर्म्मान्तरेषु यज्ञस्य चोद्यमानः पुनःपुनः ।		
विस्तरं कुरुवंशस्य गान्धार्य्यास्सर्वशीलतां ।	99	°वंशस्य गान्धार्या धर्म°
क्षत्तुः प्रज्ञान्धृतिं कुन्त्यास्सम्यक् द्वैपायनोब्रवीत् ।		
वासुदेवस्य माहात्म्यं पाण्डवानाञ्च सत्यतां ।	100	
दुर्वृत्तं धार्त्तराष्ट्राणामुक्तवान् भगवानृषिः ।		
इदं शतसहस्राख्यं श्लोकानां पुण्यकर्म्मणः ।	101	°स्रं तु लोकानां पुण्यकर्मणां ज्ञेयमाद्यं } Deest in the Calcutta editions.
उपाख्यानैस्सह ज्ञेयं श्राव्यं भारतमुत्तमं ।		
चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रं चक्रे भारतसंहितां ।	102	°स्रीं
उपाख्यानैर्विना तावत् भारतं प्रोच्यते बुधैः ।		
ततो ह्यर्द्धशतं भूयो संक्षेपं कृतवानृषिः ।	103	ततोऽध्यर्ध° भूयः
तस्याख्यानवरिष्ठस्य कृष्णद्वैपायनः प्रभुः ।	55*b*	तदाख्यानवरिष्ठं स कृत्वा
कथमध्यापयामीह शिष्यानित्यभ्यचिन्तयत् ।		°यानीह °न्व°
तस्य चिन्तयमानस्य ऋषेर्द्वैपायनस्य च ।	56	तच्चिन्तितं ज्ञात्वा
स्मृत्वा जगाम भगवान् ब्रह्मा लोकगुरु स्वयं ।		तत्रा°
प्रियार्त्थं महर्षेश्चापि लोकानां हितकाम्यया ।	57	प्रीत्यर्थं तस्य चैवर्षेर्लो°
तन्दृष्ट्वा विस्मितो भूत्वा प्राञ्जलिः प्रणत स्थितः ।		
आसनं कल्पयामास सर्वदेवगणैर्वृतं ।	58	सर्वैर्मुनिगणैर्वृतः
हिरण्यगर्भमासीनं तस्मिंस्तु परमासने ।		

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
परिवृत्यासनाभ्याशे वासवेय स्थितो नतः ।	59	ऽभवत्
अनुज्ञातोथ कृतिना ब्रह्मणा परमेष्ठिना ।		कृष्णस्तु
Deest.		60 निषसादासनाभ्याशे प्रीयमाणः शुचि स्मितः ।
,,		उवाच स महातेजा ब्रह्माणं परमेष्ठिनं ।
कृतम्मयेदं भगवन् काव्यं परमपूजितं ।	61	
ब्रह्मन्वेदरहस्यञ्च यच्चाप्यभिमतम्मया ।		°न्यस्तस्थापित°
सांगोपनिषदाञ्चैव वेदानां विस्तरक्रिया ।	62	
इतिहासपुराणानामुन्मिषान्निमिषञ्च यत् ।		°न्मेषं निर्मितं च यत्
भूतं भव्यं भविष्यच्च त्रिविधं कालसंज्ञितं ।	63	°व्यं च
जरामृत्युभयं व्याधिभावाभावविनिश्चयं ।		°भय° °श्चयः
विविधस्य च धर्म्मस्य ह्याश्रमाणां हि लक्षणं ।	64	च
चातुर्वर्ण्यविधानाञ्च पुराणार्थञ्च कृत्स्नशः ।		°धानं च पुराणानां च
तपसो ब्रह्मचर्य्यस्य पृथिव्याश्चन्द्रसूर्य्ययोः ।	65	
ग्रहनक्षत्रताराणां प्रमाणञ्च युगैस्सह ।		
ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि वेदाध्यात्मन्तथैव च ।	66	
न्यायशिक्षा चिकित्सा च ज्ञानं पाशुपतन्तथा ।		ज्ञानं
इत्यनेकाश्रयं जन्म दिव्यमानुषसंश्रितं ।	67	हेतुनैव समं °संज्ञितं
तीर्थानाञ्चैव पुण्यानां देशानाञ्चैव कीर्त्तनं ।		
नदीनां पर्वतानाञ्च वनानां सागरस्य च ।	68	
पुराणाञ्चैव दिव्यानां कल्पानां युद्धकौशलं ।		
वाक्यजातिविशेषाश्च लोकयात्राक्रमश्च सः ।	69	यः
यच्चापि सर्वगं वाक्यन्तत् प्रभो क्षन्तुमर्हसि ।		वस्तु तच्चैव प्रतिपादितं
Deest.	70	परं न लेखकः कश्चिदेतस्य भुवि विद्यते ।
ब्रह्मा ।		ब्रह्मोवाच ।
तपोविशिष्टादपि वै वसिष्ठान्मुनिपुंगवात् ।		विशिष्टान्मुनिसंचयात्
मन्ये श्रेष्ठतमन्त्वाद्य रहस्यज्ञानवेदनात् ।	71	°तरं त्वां वै
जन्मप्रभृति सत्यान्ते विद्म गां ब्रह्मवादिनीं ।		वेद्मि
त्वया च काव्यमित्युक्तं तस्मात् काव्यं भविष्यति ।	72	
अस्य काव्यस्य कवयो न समर्था विशेषणे ।		
विशेषणे गृहस्थस्य शेषास्त्रय इवाश्रमाः ।	73	
Deest.		काव्यस्य लेखनार्थाय गणेशः स्मर्यतां मुने ।
,,		सौतिरुवाच ।
,,		74 एवमाभाष्य तं ब्रह्मा जगाम स्वं निवेशनं ।
,,		ततः सस्मार हेरंबं व्यासः सत्यवतीसुतः ।
,,		75 स्मृतमात्रो गणेशानो भक्तचिन्तितपूरकः ।
,,		तत्राजगाम विघ्नेशो वेदव्यासो यतः स्थितः ।
,,		76 पूजितश्चोपविष्टश्च व्यासेनोक्तस्तदानघ ।
,,		लेखको भारतस्यास्य भव त्वं गणनायक ।
,,		77 मयैव प्रोच्यमानस्य मनसा कल्पितस्य च ।
,,		श्रुत्वैतत्प्राह विघ्नेशो यदि मे लेखनी क्षणं ।
,,		78 लिखतो नावतिष्ठेत तदास्यां लेखको ह्यहं ।
,,		व्यासोऽप्युवाच तं देवमबुद्ध्वा मा लिख क्वचित् ।
,,		79 ओमित्युक्त्वा गणेशोऽपि बभूव किल लेखकः ।
,,		ग्रन्थग्रन्थिं तदा चक्रे मुनिर्गूढं कुतूहलात् ।
,,		80 यस्मिन् प्रतिज्ञया प्राह मुनिर्द्वैपायनास्त्विदं ।
,,		अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च ।
,,		81 अहं वेद्मि शुको वेत्ति संजयो वेत्ति वा न वा ।

South-Indian MS.		*Devanágarí edition (Bombay).*
Deest.		तच्छ्लोककूटमद्यापि ग्रथितं सुदृढं मुने ।
,,		82 भेत्तुं न शक्यतेऽर्थस्य गूढत्वात्प्रश्रितस्य च ।
,,		सर्वज्ञोपि गणेशो यत्क्षणमास्ते विचारयन् ।
,,		83 तावच्चकार व्यासोपि श्लोकानन्यान्बहूनपि ।
जडान्धबधिरोन्मत्तन्तमोभूतं जगत् भवेत् ।		Deest.
यदि ज्ञानहुताशेन त्वया नोज्ज्वलितं भवेत् ।		,,
तमसान्धस्य लोकस्य चेष्टितस्य स्वकर्म्मभिः ।		अज्ञानतिमिरान्धस्य लोकस्य तु विचेष्टतः ।
ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकाभिर्बुद्धिनेत्रोत्सवः कृतः ।	84	°नेत्रोन्मीलनकारकं
धर्म्मार्त्थकाममोक्षार्त्थैः समासव्यासकीर्त्तनैः ।		
त्वया भारतसूर्य्येण नृणां विनिहतन्तमः ।	85	तथा
पुराणपूर्णचन्द्रेण श्रुतिज्योत्स्ना प्रकाशिना ।		°त्स्नाः प्रकाशिताः
नृणां कुमुदसौम्यानां कृतं बुद्धिप्रबोधनं ।	86	नृबुद्धिकैरवाणां च कृतमेतत्प्रकाशनं ।
इतिहासप्रदीपेन मोहावरणघातिनां ।		
लोकगर्भगृहं कृत्स्नं यथावत्संप्रकाशितं ।	87	
स महाद्ध्यायबीजो वै पौलोमास्तीकमूलवान् ।		संग्र°
संभवस्कन्धविस्तारस्सभारण्यविटंकवान् ।	88	
अरणीपर्वरूपाख्यो विराटोद्योगसारवान् ।		°ढ्यो
भीष्मपर्व महाशाखो द्रोणपर्व पलाशवान् ।	89	
कर्णपर्वचितैः पुष्पैः शल्यपर्व सुगन्धिभिः ।		°सितैः
स्त्रीपर्वैषीकविश्रामश्शान्तिपर्वमहाबलः ।	90	°फलः
आश्वमेधामृतरसस्त्वाश्रमस्थानसंश्रयः ।		अश्व°
मौसलश्रुतिसंक्षेपश्शिष्टद्विजनिषेवितः ।	91	
सर्वेषां कविमुख्यानामुपजीव्यो भविष्यति ।		
पर्जन्य इव भूतानामाश्रयो भारतद्रुमः ।	92	°मक्षयो
एवमाभाष्य तं ब्रह्मा जगाम स्वन्निवेशनं ।		Deest. But see above, v. 74.
भगवान् स जगत्स्रष्टा ऋषिदेवगणैस्सह ।		,,
सूतः ।		सौतिरुवाच ।
तस्य भूक्षस्य वक्ष्यामि शाखापुष्पफलोदयं ।		वृक्षस्य शश्वत्°
स्वादुमेद्ध्यरसोपेतमच्छेद्यममरैरपि ।	93	[94-103, see above.
अनुक्रामिणमद्ध्यायं वृत्तान्तानां सपर्वणां ।		अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायं
इदं द्वैपायनः पूर्वं पुत्रमद्ध्यापयच्छुकं ।	104	
अतोन्येभ्योभिरूपेभ्यो शिष्येभ्यः प्रददौ प्रभुः ।	105*a*	ततो °नु° °भ्यः विभुः
Deest.		105*b* षष्टिं शतसहस्राणि चकारान्यां स संहितां ।
,,		त्रिंशच्छतसहस्रं च देवलोके प्रतिष्ठितं ।
,,		106 पित्र्ये पञ्चदश प्रोक्तं गन्धर्वेषु चतुर्दश ।
,,		107*a* एकं शतसहस्रं तु मानुषेषु प्रतिष्ठितं ।
नारदोश्रावयद्देवानासितो देवलः पितॄन् ।	107*b*	
गन्धर्वयक्षरक्षांसि श्रावयामास वै शुकः ।	108*a*	
Deest.		108*b* अस्मिंस्तु मानुषे लोके वैशंपायन उक्तवान् ।
,,		109*a* शिष्यो व्यासस्य धर्मात्मा सर्ववेदविदां वरः ।
,,		109*b* एकं शतसहस्रं तु मयोक्तं वै निबोधत ।
वैशंपायनविप्रर्षिः श्रावयामास पार्त्थिवं ।		Deest.
पारीक्षितम्महाबाहुन्नाम्ना तु जनमेजयं ।		,,
दुर्य्योधनो मन्युमयो महाद्रुमः स्कन्धः कर्णश्शकुनिस्तस्य शाखाः ।		
दुश्शासनः पुष्पफले समृद्धे मूलं राजा धृतराष्ट्रोम्बिकेयः ।	110	फलपुष्पे °ष्ट्रोऽमनीषी

South-Indian MS.		*Devanágarí edition (Bombay).*
युधिष्ठिरो धर्म्ममयो महाद्रुम स्कन्धोर्ज्जुनो भीमसेनोस्य शाखाः ।		
माद्रीसुतौ पुष्पफले समृद्धे मूलं कृष्णो ब्रह्म च ब्राह्मणाश्च ।	111	
पाण्डुजित्वा[14] बहून्देशान् युधा विक्रमणेन च ।		बुद्ध्या
अरण्ये मृगयाशीलो न्यवसत्स जनस्तदा ।	112	°सन्मुनिभिः सह
मृगव्यवायनिधने कृच्छ्रां प्राप स आपदं ।		°निधनात्
जन्मप्रभृति पार्त्थानान्तत्राचारविधिक्रमः ।	113	
मातुरभ्यवपत्तिश्च धर्म्मोपनिषदं प्रति ।		मात्रोरभ्युपपत्तिश्च
धर्म्मस्य वायोश्शक्रस्य देवयोश्च ततोश्विनोः ।	114	तथा°
ततो धर्म्मोपनिषदं भूत्वा भर्त्तुः प्रिया पृथा ।		Deest.
धर्म्मानिलेन्द्रांस्ताभिस्सा जुहाव सुतवाञ्छया ।		,,
तत्तोपनिषदम्माद्री चाश्विनावाजुहाव च ।		,,
जाताः पार्त्थास्ततस्सर्वे कुन्त्या माद्र्याश्च मन्त्रतः ।		,,
तापसैस्सह संवृद्धा मातृभ्यां परिरक्षिताः ।		
मेद्ध्यारण्येषु पुण्येषु महतामाश्रमेषु च ।	115	
तेषु जातेषु सर्व्वेषु वासवेषु महात्मसु ।		Deest.
माद्र्या तु सह संगम्य ऋषिशापप्रभावतः ।		,,
मृतः पाण्डुर्म्महारण्ये शतश्रिंगे महागिरौ ।		,,
मेद्ध्यारण्येषु पुण्येषु महतामाश्रमेषु च ।		,,
मुनिभिश्च समानीता धार्त्तराष्ट्रान् प्रति स्वयं ।		ऋषिभिर्यत्तदानीता
शिशवश्चाभिरूपाश्च जटिला ब्रह्मचारिणः ।	116	
पुत्राश्च भारताश्चेमे शिष्याश्च सुहृदश्च वः ।		भ्रातरश्चेमे
पाण्डवाश्चैत इत्युक्त्वा मुनयोन्तर्हितास्ततः ।	117	°वा एत
तैस्तान्निवेदितां श्रुत्वा पाण्डवान् कौरवास्तदा ।		तांस्तैर्निवेदिताञ्दृष्ट्वा
शिष्टाश्च वर्णाः पौरा ये ते हर्षाच्चुक्रुशुर्भृशं ।	118	
आहुः केचिन्न तस्यैते तस्यैत इति चापरे ।		
Deest.	119	यदा चिरमृतः पाण्डुः कथं तस्येति चापरे ।
स्वागतं सर्वथा दिष्ट्या पाण्डोः पश्याम सन्ततिं ।		
उच्यतां स्वागतमिति वाचो श्रूयत सर्वशः ।	120	°यन्त
तस्मिन्नुपरते शब्दे दिशस्सर्वा विनादयन् ।		नि°
अन्तर्हितानां भूतानां निस्वनस्तुमुलोभवत् ।	121	
पुष्पवृष्टिश्शुभा गन्धा शंखदुन्दुभिनिस्वनाः ।		गन्धाः
आसन् प्रवेशे पार्त्थानान्तदद्भुतमिवाभवत् ।	122	
तत्प्रीत्या चैव सर्व्वेषां पौराणां हर्षसंभवः ।		
शब्द आसीन्महांस्तत्र दिविस्पृक् कीर्त्तिवर्द्धनः ।	123	दिव°
तेधीत्य सकलान्वेदान् शास्त्राणि विविधानि च ।		निखि°
न्यवसन् पाण्डवास्तत्र पूजिता अकुतोभयाः ।	124	
युधिष्ठिरस्य शौचेन प्रीताः प्रकृतयोभवन् ।		
धृत्या च भीमसेनस्य विक्रमेणार्ज्जुनस्य च ।	125	
गुरुशुश्रूषया कुन्त्या यमयोर्विनयेन च ।		क्षान्त्या
तुतोष लोकस्सकलस्तेषां वीर्य्यगुणेन च ।	126	शौर्य°
समवाये तदा राज्ञां कन्यान्तत्र स्वयंवरात् ।		ततो कन्यां भर्तृस्वयंवरां
प्राप्तवानर्ज्जुनः कृष्णां कृत्वा कर्म्म सुदुष्करं ।	127	

[14] Read पाण्डुर्जि°

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
तदाप्रभृति लोकेऽस्मिन् पूज्यस्सर्वधनुष्मतां ।		ततः
आदित्य इव दुष्प्रेक्ष्यस्समरेष्वपि चाभवत् ।	128	
स सर्वान् पार्थिवाञ्जित्वा सर्वांश्च महतो गुणान् ।		गणान्
आजहाराऽर्जुनो राज्ञे राजसूयम्महाक्रतुं ।	129	राज्ञो
अन्नवान्दक्षिणावांश्च सर्वैस्समुदितो गुणैः ।		
युधिष्ठिरेण संप्राप्तो राजसूयो महाक्रतुः ।	130	
सुनयाद्वासुदेवस्य भीमार्जुनबलेन च ।		
घातयित्वा जरासन्धञ्चैद्यञ्च बलदर्पितं ।	131	°गर्वितं
दुर्योधनं विना गच्छन्न समानि ततस्ततः ।		समागच्छन्नर्हणानि
माणिकाञ्चनरत्नानि गोहस्त्यश्वधनानि च ।	132	
Deest.		विचित्राणि च वासांसि प्रावारावरणानि च ।
,,		133 कंबलाजिनरत्नानि रांकवास्तरणानि च ॥
समृद्धान्तान्ततो दृष्ट्वा पाण्डवानान्तदा श्रियं ।		°द्धां तां तथा
ईर्ष्यासमुत्थस्सुमहान् तस्य मन्युरजायत ।	134	
विमानप्रतिमाञ्चापि मयेन सुकृतं सभां ।		°मां तत्र °तां
पाण्डवानामुपसृतां स दृष्ट्वा पर्य्यतप्यत ।	135	°हतां
यत्रापहसितश्चास्मिन् प्रस्कन्दन्निव संभ्रमात् ।		तत्रावहसितश्चासीत्
प्रत्यक्षं वासुदेवस्य भीमेनानभिजातवान् ।	136	°वत्
स भोगान्विविधान् भुञ्जन् रत्नानि विविधानि च ।		
व्यथितो धृतराष्ट्रस्य विवर्णोऽथ शशंस च ।	137	कथितो हरिणः कृशः
अन्वजानात्ततो द्यूतन्धृतराष्ट्रस्सुतप्रियः ।		°ष्टः
तच्छ्रुत्वा वासुदेवस्य कोपस्समभवन्महान् ।	138	
नातिप्रीतमनाश्चासीद्विषादञ्चाप्युपेक्षते ।		°द्विवादांश्चान्वमोदत
द्यूतातीतनयान् घोरान् प्रवृद्धांश्चाप्युपेक्षते ।	139	°दीनन° विविधांश्चाप्युपेक्षत
निरस्य विदुरन्द्रोणं भीष्मं शारद्वतं कृपं ।		°रं भीष्मं द्रोणं
विग्रहे तुमुले तस्मिन्नहन् क्षत्रान् परस्परं ।	140	°न्दहन् क्षत्रं
जयत्सु पाण्डुपुत्रेषु श्रुत्वा सुमहदप्रियं ।		
दुर्योधनवधं श्रुत्वा कर्णस्य शकुनेस्तथा ।	141	°मतं ज्ञात्वा
धृतराष्ट्रश्चिरन्ध्यात्वा सञ्जयं वाक्यमब्रवीत् ।		
श्रुणु सञ्जय मे सर्वान्नाभ्यसूयितुमर्हति ।	142	शृणु सर्वं मे न चासूयितुमर्हसि
श्रुतवानसि मेधावी बुद्धिमान् प्राज्ञ सत्तम ।		संमतः
विग्रहे मम पुत्राणां पाण्डूनाञ्च तथा सति ।	143	न विग्रहे मम मतिर्न च प्रीये कुलक्षये ।
न मे विशेषः पुत्रेषु स्वेषु पाण्डुसुतेषु वा ।		
वृद्धम्मामभ्यसूयन्ते पुत्रा मन्युपरायणाः ।	144	°यन्ति
अहन्त्वचक्षुः कार्पण्यात् पुत्रप्रीत्या सहामि तत् ।		
मुह्यन्तञ्चानुमुह्यामि दुर्योधनमचेतसं ।	145	°मुह्यामि °नं
राजसूये श्रियन्दृष्ट्वा पाण्डवस्य महौजसः ।		
तच्चापहसनं प्राप्य सभारोहणदर्शने ।	146	तच्चाव°
अमर्षित स्वयञ्जेतुमशक्तः पाण्डवान्नृपे ।		अमर्षणः °वान् रणे
निरुत्साहश्श्रियं प्राप्तुं श्रियन्तां क्षत्रियो यथा ।	147	°श्च संप्राप्तुं सुश्रियं ऽपि सन्
गान्धारराजसहितश्छद्मद्यूतममन्त्रयत् ।		
तत्र यद्यद्यथाज्ञातम्मया सञ्जय तच्छृणु ।	148	तच्छृ°
श्रुत्वा तु मम वाक्यानि बुध्या युक्तानि तत्वतः ।		बुद्धि°
ततो ज्ञास्यसि मां सौते प्रज्ञाचक्षुषमित्युत ।	149	
यदाश्रौषन्धनुरायम्य चित्रं विद्धं लक्षं पतितं वै		लक्ष्यं पातितं
पृथिव्यां ।		
कृष्णां हृतां पश्यतां सर्वराज्ञान्तदा नाशंसे विज-		प्रेक्षतां
याय सञ्जय ।	150	

I do not propose to enter into a full discussion of all the various readings found in the above extract, but will only draw the attention of scholars to the most striking points.

The MS. is quite consistent in writing Romaharshaṇa for Lomaharshaṇa,[15] Naimiśa for Naimisha, and almost consistent in giving the name Sûta instead of Sauti.

The most important divergence between the two recensions begins with verse 55, and the most characteristic fact is the omission of the story of Gaṇeśa who undertakes to write down the *Mahâbhârata*. The order of the verses 55-109 differs entirely in the two recensions, but this different arrangement in the South-Indian recension is by no means necessitated by the omission of the story of Gaṇeśa. If the author of the South-Indian version had simply wished to shorten the narrative by omitting this story, he might have achieved his end with much less trouble. Nor is it probable, that the author or compiler of this version had any scruples about the mention of writing in the story, and on this account omitted every allusion to Gaṇeśa's acting as a scribe for Vyâsa. In order to enable the reader to decide, in this special case, which of the two versions is preferable, and whether it is more likely that the legend of Gaṇeśa is an interpolation in the Northern recension, or that it has been omitted by the compiler of the Southern recension though he knew it to be part of the *Mahâbhârata* — I give below, in parallel columns, a short sketch of the contents of verses 55-111, (*a*) according to the Bombay edition, and (*b*) according to our Grantha MS.

	(*a*) *Devanâgarî* (*Bombay*) *edition.*	(*b*) *South-Indian MS.*
54.	(1) Vyâsa, the son of Satyavatî and Parâśara, composed the *Mahâbhârata.*	(1) Vyâsa, the son of Satyavatî and Parâśara, composed the *Mahâbhârata.*
55-56*a*.	(2) Having composed it, he considered how he might teach it to his disciples.	(2) Vyâsa, by Niyoga, becomes the father of the Kauravas.
56-60*b*.	(3) Brahman, knowing the thoughts of Vyâsa, appears and is received by Vyâsa with due respect.	(3) His sons having grown up, etc., Vyâsa proclaimed the *Mahâbhârata*, teaching Vaiśampâyana and reciting the poem during intervals of the sacrifice.
61.	(4) Vyâsa addresses Brahman, telling him that he has composed that great poem,	(4) Brief summary of the contents of the poem.
62-70*a*.	(5) giving a list of all the subjects treated of in this poem,	(5) This *Bhârata* contains 100,000 verses, including the *Upâkhyânas.*
70*b*.	(6) and winding up with the words: 'However, no writer (*lekhaka*) of this work is found on earth.'	(6) Vyâsa made the *Bhârata* of 24,000 verses, without the *Upâkhyânas.*
71-73*b*.	(7) Brahman replies praising Vyâsa as a great poet and sage,	(7) Afterwards the Ṛishi composed another epitome in 150 (?) verses *of this most excellent of stories.*
73*c*.	(8) and finally advising him to think (with an inward prayer) of Gaṇeśa for the purpose of writing down the poem.	(8) And he considered how he might teach it to his disciples.
74*a*.	(9) Then Brahman returns to his abode.	(9) Brahman, knowing the thoughts of Vyâsa, appears and is received by Vyâsa with due respect.

[15] So also Romapâda for Lomapâda in the *Vanaparvan.*

	(a) *Devanâgari (Bombay) edition.*	(b) *South-Indian MS.*
74*b*-80.	(10) Vyâsa directs his devotional thoughts to Gaṇeśa who as soon as thought of, appears, and writes down the *Mahâbhârata* which Vyâsa dictates to him.	(10) Vyâsa addresses Brahman, telling him that he has composed that great poem,[16]
81.	(11) I (Sauti ?) know 8,800 verses, so does Śuka, Sañjaya may know them or not.	(11) giving a list of all the subjects treated of in this poem.
82.	(12) The hidden meaning of the *Mahâbhârata* no one is able to penetrate.	(12) Brahman replies praising Vyâsa as a great poet and sage,
83*a*.	(13) Even omniscient Gaṇeśa took a moment to consider.	(13) extolling the *Mahâbhârata* as the best of poems,
83*b*.	(14) Vyâsa also composed many other verses.	(14) and describing the *Mahâbhârata* as a tree of which the *Parvans* are seed, root, etc.
84-87.	(15) The *Mahâbhârata* extolled as the best of poems.	(15) Then Brahman returns to his abode.
88-92.	(16) The *Mahâbhârata* is a tree, of which the *Parvans* are seed, root, etc.	(16) Sûta says : 'I will now speak of the branches, flowers, fruits, etc., of that tree.'
93.	(17) Sauti says : 'I will now speak of the flowers and fruits, etc., of that tree.'	(17) The *Anukramaṇikâdhyâya* and *Parvasaṁgraha* (?),
94-96*a*.	(18) Vyâsa, by Niyoga, becomes the father of the Kauravas.	(18) This it was what Vyâsa first taught to his son Śuka, then to other fit pupils.
96*b*-99*a*.	(19) His sons having grown up, etc., Vyâsa proclaimed the *Mahâbhârata*, teaching *Vaiśampâyana* and reciting the poem during intervals of the sacrifice.	(19) Nârada recited it to the Devas, Asita Devala to the Pitṛis, Śuka to the Gandharvas, Yakshas and Rakshas, Vaiśampâyana to Janamejaya.
99*b*-101*a*.	(20) Brief summary of the contents of the poem.	(20) Duryodhana and Yudhiṣṭhira represented as trees.
101*b*-102.	(21) This (*first*) *Bhârata* contains 100,000 verses, including the *Upâkhyânas*.	
102*b*-103*a*.	(22) Vyâsa made the *Bhârata* of 24,000 verses, without the *Upâkhyânas*.	
103*b*.	(23) Afterwards the Ṛishi composed another epitome in 150 verses,	

[16] The two lines 60*b* and 61*a* are clearly omitted by a scribe's carelessness, the omission being easily accounted for by परमेष्ठिना in line 60*a* and परमेष्ठिनं in 61*a*.

(a) *Devanâgarî (Bombay) edition.*	(b) *South-Indian MS.*
104*a*. (24) consisting of *Anukramaṇikâdhyâya* and *Parvasaṁgraha* (?).	
104*b*-105*a*. (25) This Vyâsa first taught to his son 'Suka, then to other fit pupils.	
105*b*-107*a*. (26) Then he composed another *Saṁhitâ* for the gods, another for the Pitṛis, one for the Gandharvas, besides the one for men.	
107*b*-109*a*. (27) Nârada recited them to the Devas, Asita Devala to the Pitṛis, 'Suka to the Gandharvas, Yakshas, and Rakshas, Vaiśampâyana to men.	
109*b*. (28) I (Sauti ?) recited 100,000 ślokas.	
110-111. (29) Duryodhana and Yudhiṣṭhira represented as trees.	

It will be admitted at once that neither of the two versions sketched above is quite satisfactory.

In both versions Vyâsa considers how he might teach the *Mahâbhârata* to his disciples, whereupon the god Brahman appears. The Northern recension here introduces Gaṇeśa who, on Brahman's suggestion, is charged with writing down the *Mahâbhârata.* But we are not told that this copy made by Gaṇeśa was ever used by Vyâsa as a means of instructing his disciples. On the contrary, it is pretty clear from vv. 80-83 that the legend of Gaṇeśa was chiefly invented in order to enhance the vastness of the *Mahâbhârata*, and the profoundness of its teaching, and to shew the skill of Vyâsa in dictating the poem without a stop. The statement in v. 81 about Sauti, 'Suka, and Sañjaya knowing 8,800 verses comes in quite abruptly and contradicts the statements of v. 109. Even more abrupt is the transition from v. 93 to vv. 94 *seqq.* Sauti says that he is going to speak about the flowering and the production of fruit of the tree called *Mahâbhârata.* Then follows the story of Vyâsa's *Niyoga*, his instructing Vaiśampâyana, and reciting the poem at Janamejaya's sacrifice (vv. 96*b*-99*a*). It is just possible, though not probable, that the summary in vv. 99*b*-101 was intended to be the description of the 'flowering and production of fruit' of the *Mahâbhârata* tree. But it seems to me more probable that vv. 110 *sqq.*, if not 112 *sqq.*, should follow immediately after v. 93.

In the South-Indian recension, the allusion to Vyâsa's Niyoga (vv. 96*b* *seqq.*) follows, more properly, after v. 54. But we meet with the same difficulty in the Southern, as in the Northern recension, when Vyâsa begins to consider as to the best method of teaching the *Mahâbhârata*, and Brahman appears. It is by no means clear how Vyâsa derives any help from the god in his perplexity, unless it be by Brahman's describing the *Mahâbhârata* as a tree, of which the eighteen *Parvans* are root, branches, etc.

There is, in the Southern version too, a hiatus after the words of Sûta or Sauti, "I will speak of the branches, flowers, fruits, etc., of that tree (*viz.*, the *Mahâbhârata*)," but this hiatus is, at any rate, not so great as in the Northern recension.

I am puzzled by the two lines : —

अनुक्रामिणमद्ध्यायं वृत्तान्तानां सपर्वणां ।
इदं द्वैपायनः पूर्वं पुत्रमद्ध्यापयच्छुकं ॥

The neuter इदं seems odd. But I prefer the Southern recension, when it omits vv. 105*b*-107*a*. This story of Vyâsa's having composed special *Saṁhitâs* for the gods, the Pitṛis, and the Gandharvas is probably an after-thought suggested by vv. 107*b*, 108*a*, relating merely that Nârada recited the *Mahâbhârata* to the gods, Asita Devala to the Pitṛis, and Śuka to the Gandharvas, Yakshas, and Rakshas.

There is nothing in the Southern recension that would justify us in assuming that its compiler knew the legend of Gaṇeśa. Even the editor of the Telugu edition of the *Mahâbhârata* gives the legend *in brackets*. If, in addition to this evidence, we remember that Kshemendra, in his *Bhâratamañjarî*, does not allude to the legend of Gaṇeśa, we are, I believe, justified in suspecting this legend of a more recent origin than the rest of the introductory story of the Mahâbhârata.

It is true[17] that the legend of Gaṇeśa acting as a scribe for Vyâsa must have been known to *Râjaśekhara*, ca. 900 A. D. For in his *Prachaṇḍapâṇḍava Nâṭaka* this poet introduces Vyâsa speaking to Vâlmîki about the progress of his great work, and telling him how he had succeeded in outwitting the god Gaṇeśa and compelling him to act as his scribe. I give the passage according to the edition of the work in the *Kâvyamâlâ*, (p. 5). Vyâsa says : —

विनायको यः शिवयोरपत्यमर्धं पुमानर्धमिभश्च देवः ।
स वर्तते भारतसंहितायां वृतस्तपोभिर्मम लेखकोऽत्र ॥

तेन च च्छलयितुमहमुपक्रान्तः । यदुत बाढमहं ते लिपिकारः । किं पुनर्येन रंहसा लिखेयं तेन यदि न संवृभसे तत्ते विघ्नः स्यात् । ततो मयापि प्रतिच्छलितः । ओमित्यस्तु । किं पुनर्भवता भावयता लिखितव्यमिति । अतः काव्यकष्टे ऽभिनिविष्टोऽस्मि ॥

This is, no doubt, the same legend as that told in the *Mahâbhârata* (I. 1, 74-80), although there is no mention of *Brahman*, who according to the *Mahâbhârata* advised Vyâsa to address himself to Gaṇeśa, in the drama of Râjaśekhara, who only says that Vyâsa obtained Gaṇeśa's help by means of austerities (*tapobhiḥ*). On the other hand, the words of Vyâsa *om ity astu* in the *Prachaṇḍapâṇḍava* look almost like a reminiscence of the phrase (used however of Gaṇeśa) *om ity uktvâ* in the *Mahâbhârata*, I. 1, 79.

But if Râjaśekhara knew the legend of Gaṇeśa — even if there should be a *slight* verbal agreement between the two narratives — does this prove that he knew it *from* the *Mahâbhârata ?* Such a legend must have been current for a long time before it was inserted in the *Mahâbhârata*. Râjaśekhara may have known it as an independent Itihâsa, or he may have taken it from some Paurâṇic source. It must be remembered that the story occurs not in the body of Râjaśekhara's work, which is mainly an epitome of certain *Parvans* of the *Mahâbhârata*, but in an introductory scene — shewing us Vâlmîki, the renowned poet of the *Râmâyaṇa*, and Vyâsa, the author of the *Mahâbhârata*, engaged in a pleasant conversation — which is entirely

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[17] I am indebted to Dr. Bühler for drawing my attention to this fact. [Since this was written, Indian studies have suffered the severest loss that could have befallen them, by the untimely death of my revered Guru. It was at his request that I wrote some notes on the *Gaṇeśa* legend in the *Mahâbhârata* for the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* — see April number 1898, pp. 380-84 — to which (as he wrote to me in his last letter) he intended to add a '*ṭîkâ*' of his own in the next following number of the *Journal*. The *Gaṇeśa* legend discussed above had a peculiar interest for the departed scholar on account of its bearing on the history of writing in India, and I ought to state that it was his opinion that *Râjaśekhara* knew the *Gaṇeśa* legend from the Devanâgarî version of the *Mahâbhârata*, as found in our editions. To the omission of the story in *Kshemendra's Bhâratamañjarî* he attached little importance. "There are (he wrote to me) even more characteristic features of the *Mahâbhârata* which are omitted by *Kshemendra*, omissions which can easily be explained by his desire " to measure the elephant with the closed fist."

No doubt in the world that the *ṭîkâ* to my notes on *Gaṇeśa* which the departed intended to give would have been far more valuable than anything I have said on the subject. Alas, the history of the *Mahâbhârata* is one of the many points in the history of Indian literature on which Bühler's vast scholarship was likely to shed new and unexpected light — and in this respect also the loss of our great Guru who was the most enthusiastic student as well as the truest lover of India, is simply irreparable.]

Râjaśekhara's own invention. And in *this* scene he might well have inserted the legend of Gaṇeśa, in order to enhance the greatness of Vyâsa and his work. It is not necessary that he found it in his version of the *Mahâbhârata.*

For the present, at any rate, I should prefer to say that the legend of Gaṇeśa was *known* already about . 00 A. D., but that even in Kshemendra's time — about 150 years later — it was not yet a part of the *Mahâbhârata.* It seems to me highly improbable that Kshemendra should have omitted such a characteristic story, if he had found it in *his* Mahâbhârata, especially as he could easily have condensed the whole story into one or two stanzas. We shall see below that this is not the only instance in which Kshemendra agrees with the South-Indian recension of the *Mahâbhârata.*

From a mythological point of view our passage is also of some importance. For it is remarkable that **our legend is the only legend of Gaṇeśa found in the epic literature.** I am not aware that Gaṇeśa is even mentioned in any other passage either of the *Râmâyaṇa* or of the *Mahâbhârata*, and it may well be doubted whether he has any claim to a place in the Epic Pantheon. He is certainly not a *Vedic* deity in any sense of the word. He is not mentioned in the Smṛitis, not even in Manu.[18] In the *Yâjñavalkya-Smṛiti* we meet with him (it seems) for the first time. Here the worship of Gaṇeśa has been ingrafted on an older *Vinâyakaśânti.* The Vinâyakas are a class of evil spirits (who are the cause of evil dreams) for whose propitiation a *Vinâyakaśânti* is prescribed in the *Mânavagṛihyasûtra.* As the late Dr. von Bradke has shewn, Yâjñavalkya's description of the *Gaṇapatihoma* is based on the *Vinâyakaśânti* of the *Mânavagṛihyasûtra.*[19] But originally the Vinâyakas — who are also mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*[20] by the side of Râkshasas, Piśâchas and Bhûtas—have nothing in common with Gaṇeśa, except the name *Vinâyaka* which happens to be one of the common designations of the elephant-headed god. An actual worship of Gaṇeśa occurs only in such late *Smṛitis* as the *Kâtyâyana-Smṛiti* (I. 11, 14) where Gaṇeśa is worshipped together with the Mothers.

But in the older literature we look in vain for any of the legends connected with Gaṇeśa's birth, or his elephant head, or his one tooth, or his rat, such as we find them in the *Purâṇas.* On the other hand, I have not been able to find our Gaṇeśa legend in any of the Paurâṇic treatises devoted to Gaṇeśa.[21] But that a deity who has become so popular in later times should occur in the epic literature only in *one* passage, makes this one passage very suspicious. It seems, therefore, also on mythological grounds, that in this instance the South-Indian recension has preserved a less interpolated text of the *Mahâbhârata* than that found in our editions.

Of course, it does not follow by any means that the Southern recension represents *the* original *Mahâbhârata.*

(To be continued.)

[18] That the *gaṇânâm yôjaka*, who according to Manu, III. 164 is excluded from a Śrâddha feast is (as the commentators will have it) a performer of the *Vinâyaka* or *Gaṇeśahoma* seems to me utterly improbable. The most probable explanation seems that suggested by Dr. Bühler in the note to his translation of Manu (S. B. E. Vol. XXV. p. 106) that it refers to the *Gaṇahomas* of Baudhâyana Dharmas. IV. 8, 1.

[19] See *Yâjñavalkya-Smṛiti*, I. 271-294; *Mânava-gṛihyasûtra*, II. 14; Bradke in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, Vol. 36, pp. 426-432; Stenzler, *Yâjñavalkya*, p. IX.; Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* (Bühler's *Grundriss*, II. 8), p. 20. The *Mânavagṛihyasûtra* mentions four *Vinâyakas* whose names are given. Yâjñavalkya has only one *Vinâyaka* whom he identifies with *Gaṇapati.*

[20] *Mahâbhârata*, XII. 284, 131; *Harivaṁśa*, 184 (10697).

[21] I have not been able to trace it in the *Gaṇeśa-Khaṇḍa* of the *Brahmavaivarta-purâṇa*, nor in the *Gaṇeśa-Upapurâṇa*, nor in the *Gaṇeśa-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-purâṇa.* For the latter I could only compare an Index of the work found in the Bodleian MS. Mill 79. But my acquaintance with these works is too superficial to allow me to say definitely that the legend does not occur in them.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. F. D'PENHA.

(*Concluded from p. 56.*)

IN due course, the wedding-day came, and the marriage took place with all possible *éclat*. The relations and friends of the king were feasted for several days. The bridegroom, the crane, hopped about the palace and the large compound and in the adjoining garden, causing much amusement to all. During meals, too, he would stretch his long neck and pick what he would desire from the table.

After thus spending some time at the king's palace, the crane one day expressed, to his father-in-law, his desire to go home with his bride. The king could not object to this, and so his son-in-law, after bidding everyone adieu, took his royal bride home.

Now in the nights, after supper, while the princess lay down to sleep, the crane would keep hopping about. As soon as he observed that his wife had fallen asleep, he would remove his crane-skin, and assuming the form of a man, would take his place at the side of the princess. A few days passed this way. At last the princess began to entertain some doubts about her husband, the crane. To find out the realities about him, she one night went to bed, but kept awake, snoring all the while to make believe that she was fast asleep. Her husband, little thinking of the dodge, having no cause to suspect her action, divested himself of his crane-skin, and, as usual, lay down beside the wife. The princess thus found out that her husband was not really a crane as he appeared to be, but a human being like herself, and, therefore, she had no reason to regret her marriage, although he was very poor, for her father could give her what she might want, being the king's only child.

The princess's next thought was how to make her husband remain in his human form, and she hit upon the following stratagem. She pretended that she had a strong fever, and that she was feeling very cold. She asked her mother-in-law, therefore, to keep a good fire under her cot, to keep her warm during the night, as she said. The mother-in-law, too, did not suspect what was really in her daughter-in-law's mind, and, thinking what she stated might be true, kept a brisk fire burning under the cot of the princess. Night soon came, and supper over, the princess not eating anything that night on the pretence that she had no taste nor any appetite for food, they all retired to bed. That night, too, the princess kept awake, pretending to be asleep. Her husband, the crane, after a good while, thinking his wife was asleep, removed his crane-skin, and, assuming the form of a man, lay down beside the princess, and was soon fast asleep. The princess left the bed without making the slightest noise, and, getting hold of the crane-covering of her husband, threw it on the fire, which soon reduced it to ashes. Having done this the princess again lay down quietly and went to sleep. When, at the usual time, the husband woke up, he searched in vain for his covering, but, looking at the fire under the bed, he soon discovered the trick which his wife had played upon him. He questioned the princess, who frankly confessed what she had done, and craved forgiveness, which he granted with all his heart.

The news of the metamorphosis of the crane soon spread in the country, and reached the ears of the king, who came and saw for himself that it was only too true, and learnt from the princess what she had observed for several nights, and how she had brought about the transformation.

As they were very poor, the king invited them all to live with him, and on his death his son-in-law succeeded him to the throne. They then lived happily to a good old age, loved and respected by all.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MORE IDIOMS FROM PORT BLAIR.

1. **Tôtal.** — In common use among the convicts, who are constantly being counted for all sorts of reasons. Petty Officers are told off to count them in batches, and as each finishes his batch he brings up his "total." **Tôtal karnâ,** to compare the totals.

2. **Dipâtmant** for Department: means the Forest Department, that being the first separate department created at Port Blair. **Dipâtmant Sâḥib,** Forest Officer. **Dipâtmantwâlâ,** a convict told off to work in the Forest Department.

3. **Shêr Sâḥib**: *shêr* shortened from 'overseer' from its likeness to the common Indian word *shêr*, a tiger. An overseer of convicts.

4. **Singal,** for signal = a semagram. There is an elaborate system of semagraph signals at Port Blair worked by the Military Police.

5. **Tikaṭ, tikaṭlîv,** a ticket of leave, also its holder. **Tikaṭwâlâ,** a man with a ticket of leave: a self-supporter. **Tikaṭ** is also used for the wooden "neck-ticket" worn by labouring convicts.

6. **Parmôsh, promotion.** — This is in common use amongst the Military Police, and also amongst the convicts, who are constantly being transferred from class to class on "promotion."

7. **Kilâs, class.** — The convicts are arranged in classes.

8. **Sikmân, sick-man,** used for a convict when in hospital: hence for any human being in the "sick-list:" hence again for any Government animal on the "sick-list," *e. g.*, an elephant, pony, bullock.

9. **Rêl = rail,** originally a railing, now any kind of hedge or fence.

10. **Râshan, ration.** — The labouring convicts are all rationed. **Râshan-mêṭ,** ration mate: *i. e.*, the convicts told off to help the cooks to keep and distribute the rations.

11. **Chûnâ-bhaṭṭâ,** *i. e.*, **a lime kiln,** used for any place where one has once been set up. The name sticks, however much the use of the place may change in the course of time. Half a dozen spots are already so named.

12. **Chauldârî** for **shuldârî,** a native tent. — This is the name of two separate places in the Penal Settlement, because at one time convicts were encamped at each for a while.

13. **Dûdh-lain,** *lit.*, the Milk-lines, *i. e.*, a place where milch-cattle have once been kept. Two or more places are so named.

14. **Namûnaghar,** *lit.*, Pattern-house. — The name of a village, a convict-station and some quarries, because a sample (*namûna*) house (*ghar*) for convicts, according to which men on ticket-of-leave must build their huts, was here set up by the Government.

15. **Hâthî-Ghâṭ,** *Anglice*, **Elephant Point,** so called, because some Government elephants were once kept there.

16. **Nimak-bhaṭṭa, salt-pans.** — More than one place is so called because of a former salt manufactory on the spot from sea-water.

R. C. TEMPLE.

DAGON AND KIACKIACK.

HERE is a quaint and valuable contribution from Alexander Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, 1739, Vol. II. p. 29, towards the history of this difficult word, which has been already discussed, *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 27 f. After explaining how Shâh Shujâ' of Bengal was killed and plundered by the ruler of Arakan, he goes on to say:— "So much Treasure never had been seen in Arackan before, but to whom it should belong caused some Disturbance. The King thought that all belonged to him, those that fought claimed a Share, and the Princes of the Blood wanted some fine large Diamonds for their Ladies, but the Tribe of Levi found a way to make up the Difference, and perswaded the King and the other Pretenders, to dedicate it to the God **Dagun,** who was the titular God of the Kingdom, and to depositate it in his Temple, which all agreed to; now whether this be the same Dagon of Ashdod, mentioned on the first Book and fifth Chapter of Samuel, I do not certainly know, but **Dagun** has a large Temple in Arackan, that I have heard of, and another in Pegu that I have seen."

At p. 56, there is given one of those useless illustrations of the period of "A prospect of the Temple of **Kiakeck or Dagunn.**"

Again at p. 58 f. we are told that "there are two large Temples near Syrian, so like one another in Structure, that they seem to be built by one Model. One stands about six Miles to the Southward, called **Kiackiack,** or, God of Gods Temple. In it is an Image of twenty Yards long, lying in a sleeping Posture, and, by their Tradition, has lien in that Posture 6000 Years . . . . The other stands in a low Plain, North of Syrian, about the same Distance called **Dagun** . . . . Assoon as **Kiackiack** dissolves the Being and Frame of the World, **Dagun or Dagon** will gather up the Fragments and make a new one."

Hamilton in the above curious narration, has, of course, mistaken the building for the object of its dedication, but so far as the word Dagun is concerned, we may arrive at its pronunciation from the spelling Dagunn.

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The impossible-looking word **Kiackiack**, with its variant spellings, is nothing but the Talaing **kyaik**, any object of worship or veneration, a pagoda, equals the Burmese and Siamese phrâ and phayâ. See *ante*, Vol. XXII p. 334 f., and Haswell's **Talaing Vocabulary**, pp. xiii. ff., 40. There is, moroever, the well-known **Kyaik-kauk** Pagoda, that described by Hamilton, near Syriam; which, probably accounts for the reduplicated forms Kiackiack and Kiakeck used by him.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE SIKSHASAMUCHCHAYA.[1]

A WORD of congratulation must be offered to the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St Petersburg, for its successful inauguration of the new series of Buddhist Texts, entitled the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, and to Prof. Bendall for having the honour of leading it off with the first number of his edition of the *Śikshâsamuchchaya*. Philology owes much to the Academy for what it has done for Sanskrit. The monumental Dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth issued from its doors, and is a familiar example of its more recent achievements in this department of research. But in publishing it, the Academy has only carried on traditions which dated from the first volume of its *Transactions* for the year 1728. Amongst the learned men who were the original members of the Academy was the celebrated Bayer, whose letters to LaCroze form the most interesting portion of the *Thesaurus Epistolicus*. It was Bayer who had the honour of being the first European scholar to decipher a Buddhist inscription in the Pali language, and to bring a knowledge of the Sanskrit alphabet to the West. These were first described by him in the *Transactions* of the Academy for 1728 and 1729. Before that time the only specimens of Indian alphabets which appear to have reached Europe had been published in 1715 in a collection of translations of the Lord's Prayer contained in Chamberlayne's *Sylloge*. This was an unsatisfactory work, and contained some extraordinary blunders, so that the Academy may fairly claim to be the official who introduced Oriental Philology into the western world, to have taken the promising child into her hospitable arms, and to have nursed it till it was fit to go abroad into foreign countries. Nor did its care stop here. A hundred and thirty years later, when the child had become a youth (learning ever has a long childhood), it endowed it with the great lexicon for a capital which has lasted so many years, and which is still bearing liberal interest. Now, in his full-grown manhood, she has not abandoned her loving interest in her *protegé*, and, under the general direction of Prof. d'Oldenburg, is forwarding his interests with this projected series of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*.

The inscription read by Bayer was the now familar *Oṁ maṇi padmê huṁ*, and his knowledge of Sanskrit, such as it was, was obtained chiefly from Tibetan sources So, also, it is from Central Asia that Sanskrit learning in St. Petersburg has on more than one other occasion received its inspirations. Witness, for instance, the Kharôshṭhî Manuscript exhibited by Prof. d'Oldenburg at the last Oriental Congress; and so it is but appropriate that the Imperial Academy should be the body to step forward and to offer to supply a want which has long been felt by Buddhist scholars. Buddhistic works of the Southern school we have in plenty, but the examples of works of the Northern, *Mahâyâna*, school which have been printed are few in number, and with the exception of one or two wellknown volumes, are almost confined to the publications of the lately founded, Indian, Buddhist Text Society. In addition to the *Śikshâsamuchchaya*, we may now shortly expect in the same series, the *Râshṭrapâla-paripṛichchhâ*, edited by M. Finot, the *Daśabhûmîśvara*, edited by M. de Blonay, the *Abhidharma-kôśa-vyâkhyâ*, edited from Chinese sources by Prof. S. Lévi, and the *Suvarṇa-prabhâsa*, edited by M. Finot The first of these is in the press, and the others are under preparation.

The present edition contains the first third of the work edited by Prof. Bendall. It has the disadvantage of being based on a single MS, an ancient one, now forming a portion of the Wright collection in Cambridge. Mr. Bendall has, however, been able to supplement this by a comparison with a Tibetan version in the Hodgson collections of the India Office, and the result is a text which, considering the difficulties under which the Editor laboured, is remarkably free from doubtful passages. The work is an important one, and is, as the Title-page informs us, a compendium of Buddhist teaching of the *Mahâyâna* school. Mr. Bendall reserves remarks regarding the text and its contents for the completion of its publication, and for a translation which he has under preparation. All scholars will await them with interest.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

[1] *Śikshâsamuchchaya*, a Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching, compiled by Śântidêva, chiefly from earlier *Mahâyâna-sûtras*. Edited by C. Bendall, M. A. Fasciculus I. St. Petersburg, 1897.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 67.*)

E. — Bengal.[82]

(a) Money.

1590	1638	1739	1775	1775	1835
Âîn Akbarî, Blochmann Ed., p. 31 ff.	Mandelslö, *Travels*, p. 37.	A. Hamilton, *East Indies*. Vol. II., Appx., p. 7.	Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 90, 129.	Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 90, 129.	Act XXI., Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 77.
jêtal	......	couries ...	......	......	pie
25 dâm (paisâ) ...	peyse ...	80 poan ...	pice ...	pice ..	3 pice
......	......	.. ...	......	4 fanam ...	2 double pice
......	......	......	......	1½ viz	......
......	......	......	12 annoe ...	2 ana[83] ...	2 anna
40 rupee (silver).	30 ropia[84] ...	......	16 rupee ...	16 rupee[85] ...	16 rupee
......	2 crown ...	......	......	2 crown (ecu).	......
9 mohar (gold).	......	32 to 36 rupee	......	......	......

(b) Troy Weights.

1833	c. 1833	c. 1833
Bengal Regulation.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 93 f.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 96 f.
punko	....	....
4 dhan	dhân	....
4 ruttee	4 ratî (carat)	pâî
18 masha	8 mâsha	12 ânâ
2 tola	12 tôla	16 tôlâ (180 grs.)

(c) Avoirdupois Weight.

1833	c. 1833	1897
Bengal Regulation.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, pp. 96, 112.	Calcutta Bazaar Weights.
....	....	sicki
tola	tôlâ	5 kancha (1¼ tola)
5 chittack	5 chhatâk	4 chittack
....	....	4 powah
16 seer	16 sêr	4 seer
....	5 pansêrî (vîsâ)	5 passeree
40 maund (82⅐ lbs.)	8 man[86]	8 maund
....	20 khâṇḍî (mâṇî)	....

[82] Stevens, or his printer, oddly enough (p. 129) mixes up "Callicut and Callicutta" under Bengal, an indication perhaps of the relative value of Bengal as a possession on those days.

[83] Also 10 *ana* = 1 *fano*.

[84] Also called *tole*.

[85] 3½ rupees = 1 pagoda.

[86] The "Bengal Factory maund," 1787, was 10 °/₀ higher than the modern British Indian maund; 3 factory maunds being made to equal 2 cwt. to save calculations in remittances to England: p. 104.

I will now proceed to note the evidence I have as regards particular Factories along the West Coast of India, premising that information regarding the main Factories of Sûrat, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta has been already given under the major heads of Gujarât, Bombay, Madras, and Bengal. I take the selected Factories or places from North to South thus: — Aurangabandar, abandoned in 1775, in Sindh; Goa, Carwar, Calicut and Tellicherry, Cochin, all on the Malabar Coast; and Anjengo and Onor further South in Travancore.

F. — Aurangabandar.

(a) Money.

No evidence available.

(b) Troy Weights.

1775	c. 1833
Stevens, *Guide*, p. 67.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*,[87] p. 115.
moon	... .
24 ruttee	ratî
6 massa	6 mâsha
12 tola	12 tôlâ

(c) Avoirdupois Weights.

1739	1775	c. 1833
A. Hamilton,[88] *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 4.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 67.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 115.
....	pice...	pice
....	4 anna	....
sear	16 pucca seer	64 sêr
40 maund — pucah (75 lbs.)...	40 maund ($74\frac{2}{3}$ lbs.)	40 man ($74\frac{2}{3}$ lbs.)

G. — Goa.

(a) Money.

1639	1675	1711	1739	1775
Mandelslö, *Travels*, p. 86.	Yule, *Hob.-Job.*, *s. v.* xerafine, quoting Fryer.	Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 269.	Alex. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 6.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 127.
reis	basrook ...	ray	budgerook ...	leader[89] rees
$1\frac{1}{2}$ basaruque ...	$1\frac{1}{4}$ rees ...	......	......	......
8 vintin ...	12 vinten ...	......	15 vintin ...	......
5 tanghe ...	5 tango ...	80 tango (silver)	5 tango ...	80 tango
6 & 5 serafin[90] (silver)	5 zeraphin ...	5 pardao zeraphin	5 xerephin (pardoa)	5 pardao xeraphin
....	......	$1\frac{1}{2}$ rupee ...	5 St. Thomae...	......
3 pagoda ...	......	......	......	......
....	12 cruzado (gold)	......	... ..	......

[87] Prinsep probably meant Shâhbandar, as Aurangabandar was dissolved in 1775, the year in which Stevens published his book: see Hughes, *Gaz. of Sindh*, p. 767.

[88] "Weights used at Sindy."

[89] ? leaden *rees.*

[90] Also 14 to 16 *tanghe* = 1 pagoda.

(b) Troy Weight.

No evidence available.

(c) Avoirdupois Weight.

1673	1711	1739	1775	c. 1833
Yule, *Hob.-Job.*, s. v. rottle, quoting Fryer.	Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 269.	A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 6.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 127.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 116.
rotola (1 lb.) ...	rattle ...	rotulla ...	rattle ...	......
32 arobel[91] (rovel).	24 maund[92] ...	24 maund ...	24 maund[92] ...	aroba
4 kintal	......	......	......	4 quintal
3½ bahar	20 candy ...	20 candil[93] ...	20 candy ...	......

c. 1833

Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 116.

maund[92]

20 candy

H. — Carwar.

(a) Money.

1711	1775
Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 269.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 125.
budgrook	budgrook
6 pice	3 pice
4½ juttal	6 settle (jetta)[94]
1⅓ fanam	1⅓ fanam
....	1⅕ tarr
36 pagoda	20 pagoda

(b) Troy Weights.

No evidence available.

(c) Avoirdupois Weights.

1711	1775	c. 1833
Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 269.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 125.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 115.
ser	....	sêr
42 maund	maund (26 lb.)	42 man (26 lb.)
20 candy	20 candy	....

[91] *I. e.*, a *man* of 32 lbs.

[92] All these maunds are 24⅞ lbs.

[93] 520 lbs. Av.

[94] *I. e.*, *jital*.

I. — Calicut and Tellicherry.

(a) Money.

1711	1711	1739
Lockyer, *Trade*, pp. 275, 280, for Tellicherry.	Lockyer, *Trade*, pp. 275, 280, for Calicut.	A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 7, for Calicut.
....	tare (silver)	tar
fanham (gold)	16 fanham (gold)	10 fanam
5½ rupee[95]	4⅛ rupee	4½ rupee
4 ducat	....	....

(b) Troy Weights.

1775	1775
Stevens, *Guide*, p. 98.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 125.
vis	tarr or vis
16 fanam	16 fanam (gallee)
5 & 4½ rupee	5 rupee

(c) Avoirdupois Weights.

1711	1775	c. 1833
Lockyer,[96] *Trade*, pp. 275, 280.	Stevens, *Guide*, pp. 98, 125.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, pp. 116, 121.
....	....	rupees
pollam[97]	pool[98]	20 sêr
20 maund (28 lbs.)	100 maund (30 lbs.)	64 & 68 man[99]
20 candy	20 candy	....

J. — Cochin.

(a) Money.

1711	1775
Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 275.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 127.
fanham (gold)	fanam
18 rupee	9 pagoda

[95] 3 rupees equal 1 chequeen.

[96] Same information for 1739 in A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 7.

[97] 3⅛ *pollam* = *rattle*.

[98] Probably *pollam*.

[99] 32¾ to 34¾ lbs.

(b) Troy Weights.

1775

Stevens, *Guide*, p. 127.

fanam

$9\frac{1}{3}$ chequin weight

10 rupee

(c) Avoirdupois Weight.

1711	1775	c. 1833
Lockyer, *Trade*, p. 275.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 127.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 117.
pollam	....	sêr
20 maund (28 lbs.)	maund ($27\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.)	$42\frac{1}{2}$ man ($27\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.)[100]
20 candy	20 candy	....

K. — Anjengo and Onor.

(a) Money.

1775	1775
Stevens, *Guide*, p. 123.	Stevens, *Guide*, p. 123.
	budgrook
vis	4 pice
16 fanam (gallion)	12 fanam
5, 7 and 6 rupee	....
....	18 pagoda

(b) Troy Weight.

No evidence available.

(c) Avoirdupois Weight.

1775	c. 1833	c. 1833
Stevens, *Guide*, p. 123.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 115, for Anjengo.	Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 120, for Onor.
....	....	sêr
	telong (tulâm)	....
maund (28 lbs.)	$1\frac{3}{4}$ man (28 lbs.)	40 to 44 man (25 lbs.)
20 candy	20 khâṇḍî	....

[100] Nominally 25 lbs.

The tables just given appear at the first glance to contain merely a hopeless muddle of facts, but the more closely they are studied in the light of the facts elicited from the *Lilávatî*, the *Âîn Akbarî*, and the Muhammadan Indian coinage, and of the existing Indian scales, the more clearly do they appear to me to prove that **the existing Indian scales are the direct descendants of that popular Indian scale of 96 ratîs to the tôlâ** already described: and that, too, despite the queer diction of travellers and traders, and the various dates and places at which they recorded their observations for three and four centuries and more. The existing scales are, moreover, substantially what they were in the days of the early Muhammadan conquerors.

These tables therefore confirm the conclusion that the general South-Indian scale must be referred to the popular scale of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôla* and not to what I have called the old Indian literary scale of 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala*. But, as may be seen from the preceding sections of this Chapter, it is this very **literary scale of 320 raktikâs to the pala that became extended to the Far East.**

Now, however conventional and unreal the literary scale may have become by the XIIth Century A. D., it must have been real enough at some time previously, and no doubt it spread to the Far East whilst it was a practical method of computation :— say, **at some period long anterior to the XIIth Century.** The general inference from this argument is that the Far Eastern scales, as we find them now, have been adopted from India at a time when the old literary scale of 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala* was still in practical use, which time was anterior to the adoption in India of the popular scale of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôla.*

How old the Indian popular scale is, or when the Indian literary scale spread Eastwards, I do not pretend to discuss here, but I would point out that **the ancient Chinese scale**, as opposed to the existing decimal scale, **seems to bear some reference to the popular scale.** Thus, taking the *ratî* to be half the candareen and the candareen to be the old Chinese *chu*,[1] we get :—

Indian Popular scale.	Lilâvatî Popular scale.	Ancient Chinese scale.
ratî	guñja (ratî)	chu
8 mâsha	3 valla	6 hwa
....	8 dharaṇa	2 che
4 tânk...	2 gadyânaka	2 liang
3 tôla	(2 tôla, see *ante*, p. 62) ...	2 kin
96	96	48 (= 96 ratî)

Taking the *tôla* to have been actually 174·180 grs., the *kin c.* 195 grs., and the *tickal c.* 225 grs. Troy, we get at the actual relative values which the upper Troy denominations assumed; and this places the ancient *kin* between the modern *tôla* and *tickal*. So far as I can gather, in modern India the old general upper Troy denomination has become assimilated to the *tôla* and in Indo-China to the *tickal.*

There is also a curious **coinage in Nêpâl**, which has long had a great vogue far into **Central Asia, through Tibetan trade**, the weights of which should apparently, and, in view of what will be later on explained as to the Maṇipûrî coinage and Troy scales, almost certainly,

[1] *Ante*, p. 30, and the argument in the Section on Chinese weights.

be referred to the scale of 96 ratîs to the tôla. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 32,[2] gives the weights of it thus:—

Nepalese Troy Weight and Coinage.

5 dâm	are	1	paisâ
5 paisâ	„	1	ânî
4 ânî	„	1	sûkâ
2 sûkâ	„	1	mohar
2 mohar	„	1	takkâ (= tôla or rupee weight of 174 grs.)
400 dâms to the tôla			

The whole scale is directly and purely Indian, and should more than probably be referred to the coins represented by the gold and silver *jalâlas* of Akbar, which were respectively worth 400 and 40 *dâms* (gold being then to silver as 10 to 1, or nearly so), and weighing practically the same amount, *i. e.*, about a tôla. The gold *jalâla*, — *la'l-i-jalâlî*, or at least one form of it — was in weight or value equal to two round *mohars*.[3]

To the scale of 96 ratîs to the tôla should also be referred, I think, the isolated Burmese denomination viss (pêkbâ, spelt pissa) and its Talaing and Shân equivalents, *p'sâ* (*w'sâ*) and *soi*, both no doubt representing the word *vîsa* etymologically as well. The South-Indian *viss* (*vîsai*), as the eighth part of the South-Indian maund of 25 lbs., has practically always been 3·125 lbs., or thereabouts, and the weight of 100 tickals, being 3·652 lbs., or thereabouts, has been given its name by the Peguan and Burmese traders.

Besides the viss, no Far Eastern commercial weight can be traced in the vernaculars to South India, so far as present information goes, with the doubtful exception of the candareen. The Malay equivalent is *kôndarî* or *kûndarî* and the Tamil is *kunrimaṇi* (vulgarly *kundrimaṇi*), but it would require a good deal of proving to settle which (if either) came from the other.

That the modern commercial terms, mace and tael, can be traced as far as a Malay origin there can be no doubt, but the further clear reference of them to *mâsha* and *tôla*, to my mind, demands still further research to carry conviction.

As regards the ultimate reference of the commercial term *cash* to *karsha*, or better to *kârshâpaṇa*, there is the evidence collected by Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* And so long as one is content to remain in the realm of conjecture, with a view to research in definite directions, the following probabilities may be put forward:—

Table of Probable Derivations.

Sanskrit or Prakrit.	Burmese.	Malay.	Talaing.	Far Eastern, Commercial.
kârshâpaṇa ...	....	....	....	cash[4]
mâsha	màt	mâs	....	mace
karsha	kyàt	....	....	....
tôla	....	tâhil, tâil ...	....	tael
taka	....	....	t'kê, h'kî, h'kò ...	tickal
pala	bô(l)	....	....	pollam
vîsa	pêkbâ	....	w'sâ, p'sâ[5] ...	viss

[2] The scales given in Wright's *Nepal*, p. 297, do not seem to be correct. At any rate they do not work out.

[3] See Blochmann, *Aîn Akbarî*, Vol. I. pp. 29 to 33. Gladwin, *Ayeen Akbery*, Vol. I. pp. 20 to 27. For the reference of the scale of 400 *dâms* to the *tôlâ* to the scale of 400 cowries to the *âṇâ*, *vide ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 290 ff.

[4] South-Indian *kâsu*.

[5] Shân, *soi*.

ON THE SOUTH-INDIAN RECENSION OF THE MAHABHARATA.

BY M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

(*Continued from p.* 81.)

I now proceed to give some more extracts from our Grantha MS. I am obliged to omit, for the present, the highly interesting first *Anukramaṇikâ* or Table of Contents, but I give the end of the first *Adhyâya*, the *Parvasaṁgraha* and the second Table of Contents for the first three *Parvans*, and the end of the second *Adhyâya*.

B.

Âdiparvan,

1, 252-275.

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî Edition (Bombay).*
सूतः ।		सौतिरुवाच ।
इत्येवं पुत्रशोकार्त्तन्धृतराष्ट्रं जनेश्वरं ।		
आश्वास्य स्वस्थमकरोत् सूतो गावत्गणिस्तदा ।	252	गावल्गणिस्
अत्रोपनिषदं पुण्यां कृष्णद्वैपायनोऽब्रवीत् ।		
Deest.		253 विद्वद्भिः कथ्यते लोके पुराणे कविसत्तमैः ॥
भारताद्ध्ययनात् पुण्यादपि पादमधीयतः ।		°यनं पुण्यमपि
श्रद्दधानस्य यूयन्ते सर्वपापान्यशेषतः ।	254	पूयन्ते
देवर्षयो ह्यत्र पुण्या ब्रह्मराजर्षयस्तथा ।		देवा देवर्षयो ह्यत्र तथा ब्रह्मर्षयोऽमलाः ।
कीर्त्यते[22] शुभकर्म्माणस्तथा यक्षमहोरगाः ।	255	यक्षा
भगवान् वासुदेवश्च कीर्त्यतेत्र सनातनः ।		
स हि सत्यमृतञ्चैव पवित्रं पुण्यमेव च ।	256	
शाश्वतं परमं ब्रह्म परञ्ज्योतिस्सनातनं ।		ब्रह्म परमं ध्रुवं
यस्य दिव्यानि कर्म्माणि कथयान्ति मनीषिणः ।	257	
असत्सत् सदसश्चैव यस्मादेव प्रवर्त्तते ।		असच्च सदसच्चैव यस्माद्विश्वं
सन्ततिश्च प्रवृत्तिश्च जन्म मृत्युः पुनर्भवः ।	258	°मृत्युपुनर्भवाः
अद्ध्यात्मं श्रूयते यत्र पञ्चभूतगणात्मकं ।		यच्च °गुणा°
अव्यक्तापि परन्तच्च स एव परिगीयते ।	259	°दि परं यच्च
यन्तं द्ध्यायन्ति परामुक्ताद्ध्यानयोगबलान्विताः ।		यत्तद्यतिवरा मुक्ता
प्रतिबिंबामिवादर्शे पश्यन्त्यात्मन्यवस्थितं ।	260	
श्रद्धावस्सदायुक्तास्सत्यधर्म्मपरायणाः ।		श्रद्दधानः सदा युक्तः सदा धर्मपरायणः ।
कथयन्निममद्ध्यायं नरः पापात् प्रमुच्यते ।	261	आसेवन्निम°
अनुक्रामिणमद्ध्यायं भारतस्यैवमादितः ।		अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायं °स्येममा°
आस्तीकस्सततं श्रिण्वन् न कृच्छ्रेष्ववसीदति ।	262	आस्तिक° शृण्वन्
सहामद्ध्ये जपन् कश्चित् सद्यो मुच्येत किल्बिषात् ।		उभे संध्ये किंचित्
अनुक्रामिण्याञ्च तत्र स्यादिवा रात्र्या च सञ्चितं		अनुक्रमण्या यावत्स्यादह्ना रा°
भारतस्य व पुण्ये तत् सत्यञ्चानृतमेव च ।		वपुर्ह्येतत्
नवनीतं यथा दध्नो द्विपदां ब्राह्मणो यथा ।	264	
आरणञ्चापि वेदेभ्य ओषधीभ्यो यथामृतं ।		आरण्यकं च ओषधिभ्योऽमृतं यथा
Deest.		265 ह्रदानामुदधिः श्रेष्ठो गौर्वरिष्ठा चतुष्पदां ।
”		यथैतानीतिहासानां तथा भारतमुच्यते ।
यश्चेदं श्रावयेत् श्राद्धे ब्राह्मणान् पादमन्ततः ।	266	यश्चैनं
अक्षय्यमन्नदानन्तत् पितॄंस्तस्योपतिष्ठति ।		°पानं वै °तिष्ठते

[22] Read कीर्त्यन्ते.

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî Edition (Bombay).*
इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदार्थमुपबृंहयेत् ।	267	वेदं समुपबृं°
बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रतरिष्यति ।		प्रहरि°
कृत्स्नं वेदमिमं विद्वान् श्रावयित्वार्थमश्नुते ।	268	कार्ष्णं
भ्रूणहत्या कृतञ्चापि पापन्दह्यान्न संशयः ।		°दिकं चापि पापं जह्यादसंशयं
य इमं शुचिरध्यायं पठन् पर्वणिपर्वणि ।	269	पठेत्
अधीतं भारतन्तेन कृत्स्नं स्यादिति मे मतिः ।		
यश्चेदं शृणुयान्नित्यमार्षं श्रद्धासमन्वितः।	270	यश्चैनं शृ°
स दीर्घमायुर्दीर्घाञ्च स्वर्गतिञ्चाप्नुयान्नरः ।		°युः कीर्तिं च
चत्वार एकतो वेदा भारतञ्चैकमेकतः ।	271	एकतश्चतुरो वेदान् °तदे°
समागतैस्सुरर्षिभिस्तुलामारोपितं पुरा ।		पुरा किल सुरैः सर्वैः समेत्य तुलया धृतं ।
Deest.		272 चतुर्भ्यः सरहस्येभ्यो वेदेभ्यो ह्यधिकं यदा ।
,,		तदाप्रभृति लोकेऽस्मिन् महाभारतमुच्यते ।
महत्वे च गुरुत्वे च ध्रूयमाण[23] यतोऽधिकं ।	273	
महत्वात् भारतत्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते ।		भारवत्त्वाच्च
निरुक्तमस्य यो वेद सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ।	274	वेद
तपो न कल्कोऽध्ययनन्न कल्कस्स्वाभाविको वेदविधिर्न कल्कः।	275	
प्रसह्य वित्ताहरणन्न कल्कस्तान्येव भावोपनतानि कल्कः ॥		°हतानि
इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसहस्रिकायां संहितायामादिपर्वणि पौलोमे पदार्थानुक्रमो नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥		आदिप° अनुक्रमणिकाप° प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥ अनुक्रमणीपर्व समाप्तं ॥

The verses in which the etymology of *Mahâbhârata* is given seem to be better in the South-Indian recension, for the two lines 272*b*, 273*a* are quite superfluous. It is interesting to see that our MS. supports the reading भारतत्वाच्च in v. 274*a*, which is also found in Kumârila's *Tantravârttika* where this line is quoted. The appropriateness of this reading has been proved by Dr. Bühler.[24]

C.

Âdiparvan,

2, 33-205.

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî Edition (Bombay).*
तत्तु शौनक सत्रे ते भारताख्यानविस्तरं ।	33*a*	यत्तु °मुत्तमं
Deest.	33*b*	जनमेजयस्य तत्सत्रे व्यासशिष्येण धीमता ॥
,,	34*a*	कथितं विस्तरार्थं च यशो वीर्यं महीक्षितां ।
,,	34*b*	पौष्यं तत्र च पौलोममास्तीकं चादितः स्मृतं
आख्यास्ये तत्र पौलोममास्तीकञ्च ततः परं ।		Deest.
विचित्रार्थपदाख्यानमनेकसमयान्वितं ।		
प्रतिपन्नन्नरैः प्राज्ञैर्वैराग्यमिव मोक्षिभिः ।	35	
आत्मेव वेदितव्येषु प्रियेष्वपि च जीवितं ।		आत्मैव °ष्विव हि
इतिहासः प्रधानार्थश्रेष्ठस्सर्वागमेष्वयं ।	36	
Deest.		अनाश्रित्यैतदाख्यानं कथा भुवि न विद्यते ।
,,	37	आहारमनपाश्रित्य शरीरस्येव धारणं ॥
,,		तदेतद्भारतं नाम कविभिस्तूपजीव्यते ।
,,	38	उदयप्रेप्सुभिर्भृत्यैरभिजात इवेश्वरः ॥

23 Read ध्रियमाण.

24 See *Indian Studies*, By G. Bühler and J. Kirste. No. II., Contributions to the History of the *Mahâbhârata*, Wien, 1892, p. 9 *seq*

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî Edition (Bombay).*
इतिहासोत्तमे ह्यस्मिन्नर्पिता बुद्धिरुत्तमा ।		यस्मिन्°
स्वरव्यञ्जनयोः कृत्स्ना लोकवेदाश्रयेव वाक् ।	39	
अस्य प्राज्ञाभिपन्नस्य विचित्रपदपर्वणः ।	40a	तस्य प्रज्ञा°
Deest.		40b सूक्ष्मार्थन्याययुक्तस्य वेदार्थैर्भूषितस्य च ।
भारतस्येतिहासस्य श्रूयतां पर्वसंग्रहः ।		
सर्वानुक्रमणं पूर्वं द्वितीयं पर्वसंग्रहः ।	41	पर्वानुक्रमणी द्वितीयः
पौष्यं पौलोममास्तीकमादिवंशावतारणं ।		
ततस्संभवपर्वोक्तमद्भुतन्देवनिर्मितं ।	42	°द्भुतं रोमहर्षणं
अथो जतुगृहस्यात्र हैडिंबं पर्व चोच्यते ।		दाहो
ततो बकवधः पर्व पर्व चैत्ररथन्तथा ।	43	°थं ततः
तत स्वायंवरन्देव्याः पाञ्चाल्याः पर्व चोच्यते ।		ततः स्वयंवरो देव्याः
क्षत्रधर्मेण निर्जित्य ततो वैवाहिकं स्मृतं ।	44	क्षात्र°
विदुरागमनं पर्व राज्यलाभस्तथैव च ।		°लंभ°
अर्जुनस्य वने वासं सुभद्राहरणन्तथा ।	45	वासः °णं ततः
सुभद्राहरणादूर्ध्वं ज्ञेयं हरणहारितं ।		ज्ञेया हरणहारिका
ततः खाण्डवदाहाख्यं तत्रैव मयदर्शनं ।	46	
सभापर्व ततः प्रोक्तं मन्त्रपर्व ततःपरं ।		
जरासन्धविधः पर्व पर्व दिग्विजयन्तथा ।	47	°वधः
पर्वन्दिग्विजयादूर्ध्वं राजसूयकमुच्यते ।		पर्व दि° °यिकमु°
ततश्चार्घ्याभिहरणं शिशुपालवधन्ततः ।	48	°र्घा° °धस्ततः
द्यूतपर्व ततः प्रोक्तमनुद्यूतमतः परं ।		
तत आरण्यकं पर्व किमीरवध एव च ।	49	किर्मीरवध उच्यते
Deest.		50a अर्जुनस्याभिगमनं पर्व ज्ञेयमतः परं ।
ईश्वरार्जुनयोर्युद्धं पर्व कैरातमुच्यते ।	50b	°संज्ञितं
इन्द्रलोकाभिगमनं पर्व ज्ञेयमतः परं ।	51a	
Deest.		51b नलोपाख्यानमपि च धार्मिकं करुणोदयं ।
तीर्थयात्रा ततः पर्व कुरुराजस्य धीमतः ।		
जटासुरवधः पर्व यक्षयुद्धमतः परं ।	52	
तथैवाजगरं पर्व विज्ञेयन्तदनन्तरं ।		निवातकवचयुद्धं पर्व चाजगरं ततः ।
मार्कण्डेयसमाख्या च पर्वोक्तन्तदनन्तरं ।	53	°समास्या च पर्वानन्तरमुच्यते
संवादश्च ततः पर्व द्रौपदीसत्यभामयोः ।		
घोषयात्रा ततः पर्व पर्व प्रायोपवेशनं ।	54	मृगस्वप्नोद्भवं ततः
व्रीहिद्रोणकमाख्यानन्ततोनन्तरमुच्यते ।		°द्रौणिकमाख्यानमैन्द्रद्युम्नं तथैव च ।
द्रौपदीहरणं पर्व सैन्धवेन वनात्ततः ।	55	जयद्रथविमोक्षणं
Deest.		पतिव्रताया माहात्म्यं सावित्र्याश्चैवमद्भुतं ।
”		56 रामोपाख्यानमत्रैव पर्व ज्ञेयमतः परं ।
कुण्डलाहरणं पर्व ततःपरमिहोच्यते ।	57a	
आरणेयन्ततः पर्व वैराटन्तदनन्तरं ।	57b	
Deest.		57c पाण्डवानां प्रवेशश्च समयस्य च पालनं ।
कीचकानान्ततः पर्व पर्व गोग्रहणन्ततः ।	58a	°नां वधः
अभिमन्युना च वैराट्याः पर्व वैवाहिकं स्मृतं ।	58b	अभिमन्योश्च
उद्योगं पर्व विज्ञेयमत ऊर्द्ध्वम्महाद्भुतं ।		उद्योग°
ततस्सञ्जययानाख्यन्तदनन्तरमुच्यते ।	59	°ख्यं पर्व ज्ञेयमतः परं
प्रजागरन्ततः पर्व धृतराष्ट्रस्य चिन्तया ।		°रं तथा
पर्व सानत्सुजातञ्च गुह्यमद्ध्यात्मदर्शनं ।	60	°तं वै

South-Indian MS.		*Devanágarí Edition (Bombay).*
यानसन्धिस्ततः पर्व भगवद्यानमेव च ।	61*a*	
Deest.		61*b* मातलीयमुपाख्यानं चरितं गालवस्य च ।
”		62*a* सावित्रं वामदेव्यं च वैन्योपाख्यानमेव च ।
”		62*b* जामदग्न्यमुपाख्यानं पर्व षोडशराजकं ।
”		63*a* सभाप्रवेशः कृष्णस्य विदुलापुत्रशासनं ।
”		63*b* उद्योगः सैन्यनिर्याणं विश्वोपाख्यानमेव च
ज्ञेयं विवादपर्वात्र कर्णस्य च महात्मनः ।	64*a*	°स्यापि
मन्त्रस्य निश्चयं कृत्वा कार्य्यं समभिचिन्तयत् ।		Deest.
कीर्त्यते चाप्युपाख्यानं सेनापत्येभिषेचनं[25] ।		”
श्वेतस्य वासुदेवेन चित्रं बहुकथाश्रयं ।		”
भीष्माभिषेचनं पर्व ततश्चाद्भुतमुच्यते ।	66*b*	
निर्य्याणपर्व च ततः कुरुपाण्डवसेनयोः ।	64*b*	निर्याणं च ततः पर्व
रथादिरथसंख्या च पर्वोक्तन्तदनन्तरं ।	65*a*	रथाति°
उलूकदूतागमनं पर्व रोषविवर्द्धनं ।	65*b*	पर्वामर्ष°
अंबोपाख्यानमथ च पर्व ज्ञेयमतः परं ।	66*a*	°मत्रैव
जंबूषण्डविनिर्म्माणं पर्वोक्तन्तदनन्तरं ।	67*a*	°खण्ड°
भूमिपर्व ततो ज्ञेयं द्वीपविस्तारकीर्त्तनं ।	67*b*	ततः प्रोक्तं
दिव्यञ्चक्षुर्ददौ यत्र सञ्जयाय महानृषिः ।		Deest.
पर्वोक्तं भगवत्गीता पर्व भीष्मवधस्ततः ।	68*a*	°षेचनं पर्व °स्ततः
द्रोणाभिषिक्तः पर्वोक्तं संशप्तकवधस्तथा ।	68*b*	
अभिमन्युवधः पर्व प्रतिज्ञापर्व चोच्यते ।		
जयद्रथवधः पर्व घटोत्कचवधस्ततः ।	69	
ततो द्रोणवधः पर्व विज्ञेयन्तदनन्तरं ।		°ज्ञेयं लोमहर्षणं
मोक्षो नारायणास्त्रस्य पर्वानन्तरमुच्यते ।	70	
Deest.		कर्णपर्व ततो ज्ञेयं शल्यपर्व ततः परं ।
”		71 ह्रदप्रवेशनं पर्व गदायुद्धमतः परं ।
”		सारस्वतं ततः पर्व तीर्थवंशानुकीर्तनं ।
”		72 अत ऊर्ध्वं सुबीभत्सं पर्व सौप्तिकमुच्यते ।
ऐषीकं पर्व निर्दिष्टमत ऊर्द्ध्वं सुदारुणं ।	73*a*	चोद्दिष्ट°
जलप्रादानिकं पर्व स्त्रीपर्व च ततः परं ।	73*b*	°प्र° स्त्रीविलापस्त°
श्राद्धपर्व ततो ज्ञेयं कुरूणामौर्द्ध्वदेहिकं ।	74*a*	
आभिषेचनिकं पर्व धर्म्मराजस्य धीमतः ।	75*a*	
चार्वाकनिग्रहः पर्व रक्षसो ब्रह्मरूपिणः ।	74*b*	
प्रविभागो गृहाणाञ्च पर्वोक्तन्तदनन्तरं ।	75*b*	
शान्तिपर्व ततो यत्र राजधर्म्मानुकीर्त्तनं ।	76*a*	°शासनं
आपद्धर्म्मश्च पर्वोक्तम्मोक्षधर्म्मस्ततः परं ।	76*b*	
Deest.		शुक्रप्रश्नाभिगमनं ब्रह्मप्रश्नानुशासनं ।
”	77	प्रादुर्भावश्च दुर्वासः संवादश्चैव मायया ।
ततः पर्व वरं ज्ञेयमानुशासनिकं परं ।	78*a*	परि°
स्वर्गारोहणकं पर्व ततो भीष्मस्य धीमतः ।	78*b*	°हणिकं चैव
ततोश्वमेधिकं पर्व सर्वपापप्रणाशनं ।	79*a*	
अनुगीता ततः पर्व ज्ञेयमध्यात्मवाचकं ।	79*b*	
पर्व चाश्रमवासाख्यं पुत्रदर्शनमेव च ।		
नारदागमनं पर्व ततः परमिहोच्यते ।	80	
मौसलं पर्व च ततो घोरं समनुवर्ण्यते ।		चोद्दिष्टं ततो घोरं सुदारुणं

[25] Read °पत्यभि°.

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî Edition (Bombay).*
महाप्रस्थानकं पर्व्व स्वर्गारोहणकन्ततः ।	81	°निकं °णिक्रं
हरिवंशस्ततः पर्व्व पुराणं खिलसंज्ञितं ।	82a	
Deest.	82b	विष्णुपर्व्व शिशोश्चर्या विष्णोः कंसवधस्तथा ।
भविष्यत्पर्व्व चाप्युक्तं खिलेष्वेवात्भुतम्महत् ।		भविष्यपर्व्व
एतत् पर्व्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तम्महात्मना ।	83	
यथा तु सूतपुत्रेण रोमहर्षिणिना पुनः ।		यथावत् लौमहर्षणिना ततः
कथितन्नैमिशारण्ये पर्व्वाण्यष्टादशैव तु ।	84	उक्तानि नैमिषारण्ये
समासो भारतस्यायन्तत्रोक्तः पर्व्वसंग्रहे ।	85a	°मन्त्रोक्तः पर्व्वसंग्रहः
Deest.		85b पौष्यं पौलोममास्तीकमादिवंशावतारणं ।
,,		संभवो जतुवेश्माख्यं हिडिंबबकयोर्वधः ।
,,		86 तथा चैत्ररथं देव्याः पाञ्चाल्याश्च स्वयंवरः ।
,,		क्षात्रधर्मेण निर्जित्य ततो वैवाहिकं स्मृतं ।
,,		87 विदुरागमनं चैव राज्यलंभस्तथैव च ।
,,		वनवासोऽर्ज्जुनस्यापि सुभद्राहरणं ततः ।
,,		88 हरणाहरणं चैव दहनं खाण्डवस्य च ।
,,		89a मयस्य दर्शनं चैव आदिपर्व्वणि कथ्यते ।
पौष्ये पर्व्वणि माहात्म्यमुदंकस्योपवर्णितं ।	89b	°मुत्तंक°
पौलोमे भृगुवंशस्य विस्तारः परिकीर्त्तितः ।	90a	
श्लोकाग्रञ्च सहस्रञ्च पञ्चाशच्छतमेव च ।		Deest.
अद्ध्यायानान्तथाष्टौ च पर्व्वण्यस्मिन् प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।		
आस्तीके सर्व्वनागानां गरुडस्य च संभवः ।	90b	,,
क्षीरोदमथनञ्चैव जन्मोच्चैश्रवसस्तथा ।		
यजतस्सर्पसत्रेण राज्ञः पारीक्षितस्य ह ।	91	परिक्षितस्य च
कथेयमभिनिर्वृत्ता भारतानाम्महात्मनां ।	92a	भर°
श्लोकाग्रञ्च सहस्रञ्च त्रिशतञ्चोत्तरन्तथा ।		Deest.
श्लोकाश्च चतुराशीतिः पर्व्वण्यस्मिन्तथैव च ।		,,
अद्ध्यायानान्तथा प्रोक्तः चत्वारिंशन्महार्षिणा ।		,,
विविधास्संभवा राज्ञामुक्तास्संभवपर्व्वणि ।	92b	
अन्येषाञ्चैव विप्राणामृषे द्वैपायनस्य च ।		पुराणामृषेर्द्वै°
अंशावतारणञ्चात्र देवानां परिकीर्त्तितं ।	93	
दैत्यानान्दानवानाञ्च यक्षाणाञ्च महौजसां ।		
नागानामथ सर्पाणां गन्धर्व्वाणां पतत्रिणां ।	94	
अन्येषाञ्चैव भूतानां विविधानां समुत्भवः ।	95a	
Deest.		
		95b महर्षेराश्रमपदे कण्वस्य च तपस्विनः ।
,,		शकुन्तलायां दुष्यन्ताद्भरतश्चापि जज्ञिवान् ।
,,		96 यस्य लोकेषु नाम्नेदं प्रथितं भारतं कुलं ।
वसूनां पुनरुत्पत्तिर्भागीरथ्याम्महात्मनां ।	97a	
शन्तनो वेश्मनि पुनस्तेषाञ्चारोहणान्दिवि ।	97b	शान्तनोर्वै°
तेजोंशानाञ्च संयोगात् भीष्मस्याप्यत्र संभवः ।		संपातो
राज्यान्निवर्त्तनञ्चैव ब्रह्मचर्य्यव्रते स्थितिः ।	98	°नं तस्य
प्रतिज्ञापालनञ्चैव रक्षा चित्रांगदस्य च ।		
हते चित्रांगदे चैव यक्ष्मा भ्रातुर्य्यवीयसः ।	99	रक्षा
विचित्रवीर्य्यस्य तथा राज्ये संप्रतिपादनं ।		
धर्म्मस्य नृषु संभूतिराणि माण्डव्यशापजा ।	100	°रणी°
कृष्णद्वैपायनाच्चैव प्रसूतिर्व्वरदानजा ।		
धृतराष्ट्रस्य पाण्डोश्च पाण्डवानाञ्च संभवः ।	101	

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वारणावतयात्रा च मन्त्रो दुर्य्योधनस्य च ।	102*a*		°यात्रायां
Deest.		102*b*	कूटस्य धार्तराष्ट्रेण प्रेषणं पाण्डवान्प्रति ।
,,		103*a*	हितोपदेशश्च पथि धर्मराजस्य धीमतः ।
,,		103*b*	विदुरेण कृतो यत्र हितार्थं म्लेच्छभाषया ।
विदुरस्य च वाक्येन सुरुंगावगमक्रिया ।	104*a*		°गोपक्रम°
Deest.		104*b*	निषाद्याः पञ्चपुत्रायाः सुप्ताया जतुवेश्मनि ।
,,		105*a*	पुरोचनस्य चात्रैव दहनं संप्रकीर्तितं ।
पाण्डवानां वने घोरे हिडिंबायाश्च दर्शनं ।	105*b*		
Deest.		106*a*	तत्रैव च हिडिंबस्य वधो भीमान्महाबलात् ।
घटोत्कचस्य चोत्पत्तिरत्रैव परिकीर्त्तिता ।	106*b*		
Deest.		107*a*	महर्षेर्दर्शनं चैव व्यासस्यामिततेजसः ।
,,		107*b*	तदाज्ञयैकचक्रायां ब्राह्मणस्य निवेशने ।
अज्ञातचर्य्या पार्त्थानां वासो ब्राह्मणवेश्मनि ।	108*a*		°चर्यया वासो यत्र तेषां प्रकीर्तितः
बकस्य निधनञ्चैव ब्राह्मणानाञ्च विस्मयः ।	108*b*		नागराणां च
Deest.		109*a*	संभवश्चैव कृष्णाया धृष्टद्युम्नस्य चैव ह ।
,,		109*b*	ब्राह्मणात्समुपश्रुत्य व्यासवाक्यप्रचोदिताः ।
,,		110*a*	द्रौपदीं प्रार्थयन्तस्ते स्वयंवरदिदृक्षया ।
,,		110*b*	पञ्चालानभितो जग्मुर्यत्र.कौतूहलान्विताः ।
अंगारवर्णिन्निर्जित्य गंगाकूलेऽर्जुनस्तदा ।	111*a*		°पर्णं नि° °कूले
Deest.		111*b*	सख्यं कृत्वा ततस्तेन तस्मादेव च शुश्रुवे ।
भ्रातृभिस्सहितस्सर्वैः पाञ्चालानभितो ययौ ।	112*b*		
तापत्यमथ वासिष्ठमौर्वोपाख्यानमेव च ।	112*a*		°मौर्वं चाख्यानमुत्तमं
Deest.		113*a*	पाञ्चालनगरे चापि लक्ष्यं भित्त्वा धनञ्जयः ।
,,		113*b*	द्रौपदीं लब्धवानत्र मध्ये सर्वमहीक्षितां ।
,,		114*a*	भीमसेनार्जुनौ यत्र संरब्धान्पृथिवीपतीन् ।
,,		114*b*	शल्यकर्णौ च तरसा जितवन्तौ महामृधे ।
,,		115*a*	दृष्ट्वा तयोश्च तद्वीर्यमप्रमेयममानुषं ।
,,		115*b*	शङ्कमानौ पाण्डवांस्तान् रामकृष्णौ महामती ।
,,		116*a*	जग्मतुस्तैः समागन्तुं शालां भार्गववेश्मनि ।
पञ्चेन्द्राणामुपाख्यानमत्रैवात्भुतमुच्यते ।	117*a*		
पञ्चानाञ्चैकपत्नीत्वे विमर्शो द्रुपदस्य च ।	116*b*		°नामिक°
द्रौपद्या देवविहितो विवाहश्चाप्यमानुषः ।	117*b*		
Deest.		118*a*	क्षत्तुश्च धार्तराष्ट्रेण प्रेषणं पाण्डवान्प्रति ।
विदुरस्य च संप्राप्तिर्दर्शनं केशवस्य च ।	118*b*		
खाण्डवप्रस्थवासश्च ततो राज्यार्द्धशासनं ।	119*a*		तथा °सर्जनं
नारदस्य च वाक्येन द्रौपद्यास्समयाक्रिया ।	119*b*		°स्याज्ञया चैव
सुन्दोपसुन्दयोस्तत्र ह्युपाख्यानं प्रकीर्त्तितं ।	120*a*		°स्तद्वदाख्यानं परि°
Deest.		120*b*	अनन्तरं च द्रौपद्या सहासीनं युधिष्ठिरं ।
,,		121	अनुप्रविश्य विप्रार्थे फाल्गुनो गृह्य चायुधं ।
,,		122*a*	मोक्षयित्वा गृहं गत्वा विप्रार्थं कृतनिश्चयः ।
पार्त्थस्य वनवासश्च उलूप्या सह संगमः ।	122*b*		वनवासे च पथि
पुण्यतीर्थानुसंयानं बभ्रुवाहनजन्म च ।	123*a*		
Deest.		123*b*	तत्रैव मोक्षयामास पञ्च सोऽप्सरसः शुभाः ।
,,		124*a*	शापाद्ग्राहत्वमापन्ना ब्राह्मणस्य तपस्विनः ।
,,		124*b*	प्रभासतीर्थे पार्थेन कृष्णस्य च समागमः ।
द्वारकायां सुभद्रा च कामयानेन कामिनी ।	125*a*		भामिनी
वासुदेवस्यानुमते प्राप्तात्रैव किरीटिना ।	125*b*		चैव
हरणं गृह्य संप्राप्ते कृष्णे देवकीनन्दने ।	126*a*		गृहीत्वा हरणं प्राप्ते देवकि°

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अभिमन्योस्सुभद्रायां जन्म चोत्तमतेजसः।	126*b*	
Deest.		127*a* द्रौपद्यास्तनयानां च संभवोनुप्रकीर्तितः।
,,		127*b* विहारार्थं च गतयोः कृष्णयोर्यमुनामनु।
संप्राप्तिश्चक्रधनुषः खाण्डवस्य च दाहनं।	128*a*	°धनुषोः
मयस्य मोक्षो ज्वलनात् भुजगस्य च मोक्षणं।	128*b*	भुजं°
महर्षेर्मन्दपालस्य शार्ग्यान्तनयसंभवः।	129*a*	शार्ङ्ग्यां त°
इत्येवमादिपर्वोक्तं प्रथमं भुवि विस्तरं।	129*b*	इत्येतदा° बहु
अद्ध्यायानां शते द्वे तु संख्याते परमर्षिणा।	130*a*	
अष्टादशैव चाद्ध्याया व्यासेनोत्तमतेजसा।	130*b*	सप्तविंशतिरध्याया
अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि शतान्यष्टौ तथैव च।	131*a*	अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च
श्लोकाश्च चतुराशीति दृष्टो ग्रन्थो महात्मनः।	131*b*	°तिर्मुनिनोक्ता महात्मना
द्वितीयन्तु सभापर्व बहुवृत्तान्तमुच्यते।		
सभाक्रिया पाण्डवानां किंकराणाञ्च दर्शनं।	132	
लोकपालसभाख्यानं नारदाद्देवदर्शनात्।		°दर्शिनः .
राजसूयस्य चारंभो जरासन्धवधस्तथा।	133	
गिरिव्रजे निरुद्धानां राज्ञां कृष्णेन मोक्षणं।	134*a*	
Deest.		134*b* तथा दिग्विजयोऽत्रैव पाण्डवानां प्रकीर्तितः।
,,		135*a* राज्ञामागमनं चैव सार्हणानां महाक्रतौ।
राजसूयेर्घ्यसंवादे शिशुपालवधस्तथा।	135*b*	°र्घ°
यज्ञे विभूतिन्दृष्ट्वा तान्दुःखामर्षान्वितस्य च।	136*a*	तां दृष्ट्वा
दुर्य्योधनस्यापहासो भीमेन च सभातले।	136*b*	°स्याव°
यत्रास्य मन्युरभवद्येन द्यूतमकल्पयत्।		°रुद्भूतो येन द्यूतमकारयत्
यत्र धर्मसुतद्यूते शकुनिः कितवोजयत्।	137	°सुतं
यत्र द्यूतार्णवे मग्ना द्रौपदी नौरिवार्णवे।	138*a*	मग्नां द्रौपदीं °वात्
Deest.		138*b* धृतराष्ट्रो महाप्राज्ञः स्नुषां परमदुःखितां।
गच्छतश्चातिरुष्टांस्तान् ज्ञात्वा दुर्य्योधनो नृपः।	139*a*	तारयामास तांस्तीर्णान्
पुनरेव ततो द्यूते समाह्वयत पाण्डवान्।	139*b*	
Deest.		140*a* जित्वा स वनवासाय प्रेषयामास तांस्ततः।
एतत्सर्वं सभापर्व व्याख्यातं परमर्षिणा।	140*b*	समाख्यातं महात्मना
अद्ध्यायास्सप्तति ज्ञेया द्वौ चात्र परिसंख्यया।	141*a*	°ज्ञेयास्तथा चाष्टौ प्रसंख्यया
चतुश्श्लोकसहस्राणि पञ्चश्लोकशतानि च।	141*b*	श्लोकानां द्वे सहस्रे तु
श्लोकाश्चैकादश ज्ञेयाः पर्वण्यस्मिन् प्रकीर्त्तिताः।		द्विजोत्तमाः
अतः परन्तृतीयन्तु ज्ञेयमारण्यकं परं।	142	महत्
वनवासं प्रयातेषु पाण्डवेषु महात्मसु।		
पौरानुकंपा व्रजतो धर्म्मराजस्य धर्म्मतः।	143	°गमनं चैव धर्मपुत्रस्य धीमतः
Deest.		144*a* अन्नौषधीनां च कृते पाण्डवेन महात्मना।
,,		144*b* द्विजानां भरणार्थं च कृतमाराधनं रवेः।
धौम्योपदेशात्तिग्मांशुप्रसादादन्नसंभवः।	145*a*	
Deest.		145*b* हितं च ब्रुवतः क्षत्तुः परित्यागोऽम्बिकासुतात्।
,,		146*a* त्यक्तस्य पाण्डुपुत्राणां समीपगमनं तथा।
,,		146*b* पुनरागमनं चैव धृतराष्ट्रस्य शासनात्।
,,		147*a* कर्णप्रोत्साहनाच्चैव धार्तराष्ट्रस्य दुर्मतेः।
,,		147*b* वनस्थान्पाण्डवान्हन्तुं मन्त्रो दुर्योधनस्य च।
,,		148*a* तं दुष्टभावं विज्ञाय व्यासस्यागमनं द्रुतं।
,,		148*b* निर्याणप्रतिषेधश्च सुरभ्याख्यानमेव च।
,,		149*a* मैत्रेयागमनं चात्र राज्ञश्चैवानुशासनं।

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî Edition (Bombay).*
चैयशापोत्सर्गश्च विदुरस्य प्रवासनं।		149*b* शापोत्सर्गश्च तेनैव राज्ञो दुर्योधनस्य च।
किर्मीरवधाख्यानं वृष्णीनामागमस्तथा।		150*a* किर्मीरस्य वधश्चात्र भीमसेनेन संयुगे।
पाण्डवानाञ्च सर्वेषां सौभाख्यानन्तथैव च।		150*b* वृष्णीनामागमश्चात्र पञ्चालानां च सर्वशः।
पाञ्चालागमनञ्चैव द्रौपद्याश्चाश्रुमोक्षणं।		151*a* श्रुत्वा शकुनिना द्यूते निकृत्या निर्जितांश्च तान्
Deest.		151*b* क्रुद्धस्यानुप्रशमनं हरेश्चैव किरीटिना।
,,		152*a* परिदेवनं च पाञ्चाल्या वासुदेवस्य संनिधौ।
,,		152*b* आश्वासनं च कृष्णेन दुःखार्तायाः प्रकीर्तितं।
,,		153*a* तथा सौभवधाख्यानमत्रैवोक्तं महर्षिणा।
,,		153*b* सुभद्रायाः सपुत्रायाः कृष्णेन द्वारकां पुरीं।
,,		154*a* नयनं द्रौपदेयानां धृष्टद्युम्नेन चैव ह।
,,		154*b* प्रवेशः पाण्डवेयानां रम्ये द्वैतवने ततः।
,,		155*a* धर्मराजस्य चात्रैव संवादः कृष्णया सह।
,,		155*b* संवादश्च तथा राज्ञा भीमस्यापि प्रकीर्तितः।
,,		156*a* समीपं पाण्डुपुत्राणां व्यासस्यागमनं तथा।
,,		156*b* प्रतिस्मृत्यथ विद्याया दानं राज्ञो महर्षिणा।
,,		157*a* गमनं काम्यके चापि व्यासे प्रतिगते ततः।
अस्त्रहेतोर्विवासश्च पार्थस्यामिततेजसः।	157*b*	
महादेवेन युद्धञ्च किरातवपुषा सह।	158*a*	
दर्शनं लोकपालानां स्वर्गारोहणमेव च।	158*b*	°नामस्त्रप्राप्तिस्तथैव च
Deest.		159*a* महेन्द्रलोकगमनमस्त्रार्थं च किरीटिनः।
,,		159*b* यत्र चिन्ता समुत्पन्ना धृतराष्ट्रस्य भूयसी।
दर्शनं बृहदश्वस्य महर्षेर्भावितात्मनः।	160*a*	
युधिष्ठिरस्य चार्त्तस्य व्यसने परिदेवनं।	160*b*	व्यसनं
नळोपाख्यानमत्रैव धर्म्मिष्ठकरुणोदयं।	161*a*	नलो° °ष्ठं
दमयन्त्या स्थितिर्य्यत्र नळस्य व्यसनागमे।	161*b*	नलस्य चरितं तथा
Deest.		162*a* तथाक्षहृदयप्राप्तिस्तस्मादेवमहर्षितः।
,,		162*b* लोमशस्यागमस्तत्र स्वर्गात्पाण्डुसुतान्प्रति।
वनवासगतानाञ्च पाण्डवानाम्महात्मनां।	163*a*	
स्वर्गे प्रवृत्तिराख्याता रोमशेनार्जुनस्य च।	163*b*	लोम° वै
Deest.		164*a* संदेशादर्जुनस्यात्र तीर्थाभिगमनक्रिया।
,,		164*b* तीर्थानां च फलप्राप्तिः पुण्यत्वं चापि कीर्तितं।
,,		165*a* पुलस्त्यतीर्थयात्रा च नारदेन महर्षिणा।
तीर्थयात्रा तथैवात्र पाण्डवानाम्महात्मनां।	165*b*	च तत्रैव
Deest.		166*b* तथा यज्ञविभूतिश्च गयस्यात्र प्रकीर्तिता।
आगस्त्यमपि चाख्यानं यत्र वातापिभक्षणं।	167*a*	
लोपामुद्राभिगमनमपत्यार्थमृषेरपि।	167*b*	°मृषेस्तथा
ततश्येनकपोतीयमुपाख्यानमनन्तरं।	173*a*	°मनुत्तमं
इन्द्रोग्निर्य्यत्र धर्म्मस्य जिज्ञासार्थं शिबिनृप।	173*b*	इन्द्राग्नी यत्र धर्मश्चाप्यजिज्ञासच्छिबिं नृपं।
ऋश्यशृङ्गस्य चरितं कौमारि ब्रह्मचारिणः।	168*a*	ऋष्य° कौमार
जामदग्न्यस्य रामस्य चरितं भूरितेजसः।	168*b*	
कार्त्तवीर्य्यवधो यत्र हेहयानाञ्च वर्ण्यते।	169*a*	हैह°
Deest.		169*b* प्रभासतीर्थे पाण्डूनां वृष्णिभिश्च समागमः।
,,		171*b* मान्धातुश्चाप्युपाख्यानं राज्ञोऽत्रैव प्रकीर्तितं।
तीर्थयात्रा तथैवात्र पाण्डवानाम्महात्मनां।	165*b*	repeated, occurred already above after 163*b*.
कर्णस्य परिमोक्षोत्र कुण्डलाभ्यां पुरन्दरात्।	166*a*	
नियुक्तो भीमसेनश्च द्रौपद्या गन्धमादने।	177*a*	
यत्र मन्दारपुष्पार्थं नळिनीन्तामधर्षयत्।	178*b*	सौगन्धिकार्थेऽसौ नलि°

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî Edition (Bombay).*
यत्रास्य सुमहद्युद्धमभवद्राक्षसैस्सह ।	179*a*	युद्धमभवत्सुमहद्रा°
यक्षैश्चापि महावीर्य्यैर्म्मणिमत्प्रमुखैस्तथा ।	179*b*	°श्चैव
सौकंन्यमपि चाख्यानञ्च्यवनो यत्र भार्गवः ।	170*a*	सौक°
शय्यातियज्ञेनासत्यौ कृतवान् सोमपीथिनौ ।	170*b*	शर्याति° °पीतिनौ
ताभ्याञ्च यत्र स मुनिर्य्यौवनं प्रतिपादितः ।	171*a*	
जन्तूपाख्यानमत्रैव वधस्समुपवर्ण्यते । पुत्रेण सोमकः ।	172*a*	यत्र पुत्रेण सोमकः
पुत्रार्त्थमयजद्राजा लेभे पुत्रशतञ्च सः ।	172*b*	
अष्टावक्रीयमत्रैव विवादे यत्र वन्दिनं ।	174*a*	विवादो यत्र बन्दिना
विजित्य सागरं प्राप्तं पितरं लब्धवानृषिः ।	176*a*	
Deest.		174*b* अष्टावक्रस्य विप्रर्षेर्जनकस्याध्वरेऽभवत् ।
”		175*a* नैयायिकानां मुख्येन वरुणस्यात्मजेन च ।
”		175*b* पराजितो यत्र बन्दी विवादेन महात्मना ।
”		176*b* गन्धमादनयात्रा च वासो नारायणाश्रमे ।
”		177*b* व्रजन्पथि महाबाहुर्दृष्टवान्पवनात्मजं ।
”		178*a* कदलीषण्डमध्यस्थं हनूमन्तं महाबलं ।
जटासुरस्य चात्रैव वधस्समुपवर्ण्यते ।	180*a*	च वधो राक्षसस्य वृकोदरात्
अवाप्य दिव्यान्यस्त्राणि गुर्वर्त्थे सव्यसाचिना ।	184*a*	गुर्वर्थे
निवातकवचैर्य्युद्धं हिरण्यपुरवासिभिः ।	185*a*	°घोरैर्दानवैः सुरशत्रुभिः
समागमश्च पार्त्थस्य भ्रातृभिर्गन्धमादने ।	183*b*	°श्चार्जुनस्य तत्रैव भ्रातृभिः सह
Deest.		180*b* वृषपर्वणो राजर्षेस्ततोऽभिगमनं स्मृतं ।
”		181*a* आर्ष्टिषेणाश्रमे चैषां गमनं वास एव च ।
”		181*b* प्रोत्साहनं च पाञ्चाल्या भीमस्यात्र महात्मनः ।
”		182*a* कैलासारोहणं प्रोक्तं यत्र यक्षैर्बलोत्कटैः ।
”		182*b* युद्धमासीन्महाघोरं मणिमत्प्रमुखैः सह ।
”		183*a* समागमश्च पाण्डूनां यत्र वैश्रवणेन च ।
”		184*b* निवातकवचैर्युद्धं हिरण्यपुरवासिभिः ।
”		185*b* पौलोमैः कालकेयैश्च यत्र युद्धं किरीटिनः ।
”		186*a* वधश्चैषां समाख्यातो राज्ञस्तेनैव धीमता ।
”		186*b* अस्त्रसंदर्शनारम्भो धर्मराजस्य संनिधौ ।
”		187*a* पार्थस्य प्रतिषेधश्च नारदेन सुरर्षिणा ।
”		187*b* अवरोहणं पुनश्चैव पाण्डूनां गन्धमादनात् ।
”		188*a* भीमस्य ग्रहणं चात्र पर्वताभोगवर्ष्मणा ।
”		188*b* भुजगेन्द्रेण बलिना तस्मिन्सुगहने वने ।
”		189*a* अमोक्षयद्यत्र चैनं प्रश्नानुक्त्वा युधिष्ठिरः ।
”		189*b* काम्यकागमनं चैव पुनस्तेषां महात्मनां ।
”		190*a* तत्रस्थांश्च पुनर्द्रष्टुं पाण्डवान्पुरुषर्षभान् ।
”		190*b* वासुदेवस्यागमनमत्रैव परिकीर्तितं ।
”		191*a* मार्कण्डेयसमास्यायामुपाख्यानानि सर्वशः ।
”		191*b* पृथोर्वैन्यस्य यत्रोक्तमाख्यानं परमर्षिणा ।
”		192*b* मत्स्योपाख्यानमत्रैव प्रोच्यते तदनन्तरं ।
”		193*b* ऐन्द्रद्युम्नमुपाख्यानं धौन्धुमारं तथैव च ।
”		194*a* पतिव्रतायाश्चाख्यानं तथैवाङ्गिरसं स्मृतं ।
”		194*b* द्रौपद्याः कीर्तितश्चात्र संवादः सत्यभामया ।
घोषयात्रा च गन्धर्वैर्यत्र युद्धं किरीटिना ।	195*b*	बद्धः सुयोधनः
जयद्रथेनापहारो द्रौपद्याश्चाश्रमान्तरात् ।	198*b*	
यत्रैनमन्वगात् भीमो वातवेगसमो जवे ।	199*a*	°यात् वायु°
मार्क्कण्डेयसमाख्यायामुपाख्यानानि सर्वशः ।	193*a*	°समास्या च पुराणं परिकीर्त्यते

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî Edition (Bombay).*
सन्दर्शनञ्च कृष्णस्य संवादश्चापि सत्यया ।	192*a*	संवादश्च सरस्वत्यास्तार्क्ष्यर्षेः सुमहात्मनः ।
द्रौहिद्रोणकमाख्यानमैन्द्रद्युम्नन्तथैव च ।	197*b*	°द्रौणि° °मत्रैव बहुविस्तरं
सावित्र्यौद्दालकीये च वैन्योपाख्यानमेव च ।	201*a*	सावित्र्याश्चाप्युपाख्यानमत्रैव परिकीर्तितं ।
रामायणमुपाख्यानमत्रैव बहुविस्तरं ।	200*a*	
पुनरागमनञ्चैव तेषान्द्वैतवनेसरः ।	195*a*	पुनर्द्वैतवनं चैव पाण्डवाः समुपागताः ।
Deest.		196*a* ह्रियमाणस्तु मन्दात्मा मोक्षितोऽसौ किरीटिना ।
,,		196*b* धर्मराजस्य चात्रैव मृगस्वप्ननिदर्शनात् ।
,,		197*a* काम्यके काननश्रेष्ठे पुनर्गमनमुच्यते ।
,,		198*a* दुर्वाससोऽप्युपाख्यानमत्रैव परिकीर्तितं ।
,,		199*b* चक्रे चैनं पञ्चशिखं यत्र भीमो महाबलः ।
,,		200*b* यत्र रामेण विक्रम्य निहतो रावणो युधि ।
,,		201*b* कर्णस्य परिमोक्षोऽत्र कुण्डलाभ्यां पुरन्दरात् ।
,,		202*a* यत्रास्य शक्तिं तुष्टोऽसावदादेकवधाय च ।
आरणेयकमाख्यानं यत्र धर्म्मोऽन्वशात्सुतं ।	202*b*	°यमुपा° °न्वशात्सुतं
जग्मुर्लब्धवरा यत्र पाण्डवा[26] पश्चिमान्दिशं ।	203*a*	
एतदारण्यकं पर्व त्रितीयं[27] परिकीर्त्तितं ।	203*b*	
अत्राध्यायशते द्वे तु संख्याने परमार्षिणा ।	204*a*	संख्यया परिकीर्त्तितं
एकोनसप्ततिश्चैव तथाध्याय:[28] प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।	204*b*	
एकादशसहस्राणि श्लोकानां षट्शतानि च ।	205*a*	
चतुष्षष्टिस्तथा श्लोकाः पर्वण्यस्मिन् प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।	205*b*	

It will be seen that in the Parvasaṁgraha the Grantha MS. has a number of omissions But no great importance can be attached to these, as some of them, *e. g.*, the omission of the *Arjunâbhigama* (III. 12-37), of the *Nalopâkhyâna*, of the *Sâvitrî* and *Râma Upâkhyânas*, and of the *Karṇa* and *Salya Parvans*, are clearly accidental, and merely the fault of the scribe. The number of *Parvans* according to the *Parvasaṁgraha* in the Devanâgarî editions is 122, while our MS. gives only 96. Brockhaus[29] has tried in vain to make out that the list really contains only 100 *Parvans* conforming to the name *Śata-parvasaṁgraha*. But this is really of no importance whatever. It matters little whether *Mâtalîya* (62) and *Gâlavacharita* (63) are counted as separate *Parvans*, as in the *Parvasaṁgraha*, or as parts of the *Bhagavadyâna* (61), as in the printed editions. It is, however, of importance to find, *e. g.*, an *Aindradyumna* (45) which is not in the editions, or to see that the *Parvasaṁgraha* mentions the *Pativratâmâhâtmya* (48) before the *Râmopâkhyâna* (49), while in the editions the *Râmopâkhyâna* comes first. It is on account of such discrepancies between the *Parvasaṁgraha* and the actual state of things that I give below, in parallel columns, (*a*) the List of *Parvans* according to the Nâgarî editions, (*b*) the List of *Parvans* according to the Grantha MS. I have marked with asterisks the *Parvans* which are omitted in the List of the Grantha MS.

List of Parvans according to the Parvasaṁgraha.

(*a*) *in the Northern Recension.*	(*b*) *in the Grantha MS.*
1. Anukramaṇikâ.	1. Sarvânukramaṇa.
2. Parvasaṁgraha.	2. Parvasaṁgraha.
3. Paushya.	3. Paushya.
4. Pauloma.	4. Pauloma.
5. Âstîka.	5. Âstîka.

[26] Read °वाः [27] Read तृतीयं. [28] Read °याः

[29] *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, Vol. VI. pp. 528-532.

(*a*) *in the Northern Recension.*

6. Âdivaṁśâvatâraṇa.
7. Sambhava.
8. Jatugṛihadâha.
9. Hiḍimbavadha (or Haiḍimba).
10. Bakavadha.
11. Chaitraratha.
12. Svayamvara.
13. Vaivâhika.
14. Vidurâgamana.
15. Râjyalâbha.
16. Arjunavanavâsa.
17. Subhadrâharaṇa.
18. Haraṇahârika.
19. Khâṇḍavadâha, including the Mayadarśana.
20. Sabhâ.
21. Mantra.
22. Jarâsandhavadha.
23. Digvijaya.
24. Râjasûyika.
25. Arghâbhiharaṇa.
26. Śiśupâlavadha.
27. Dyûta.
28. Anudyûta.
29. Âraṇyaka.
30. Kirmîravadha.
*31. Arjunâbhigamana.
32. Kairâta (Îśvarârjunayor yuddham).
33. Indralokâbhigamana.
34. Nalopâkhyâna.
*35. Tîrthayâtrâ.
36. Jaṭâsuravadha.
37. Yakshayuddha.
*38. Nivâtakavachair yuddham.
39. Âjagara.
40. Mârkaṇḍeyasamasyâ.
41. Draupadî-Satyabhâmayoḥ saṁvâdaḥ.
42. Ghoshayâtrâ.
*43. Mṛigasvapnodbhava.
44. Vrîhidrauṇika.
*45. Aindradyumna.
46. Draupadîharaṇa.
*47. Jayadrathavimokshaṇa.
*48. Sâvitrî (Pativratâmâhâtmya).
*49. Râmopâkhyâna.
50. Kuṇḍalâharaṇa.
51. Âraṇeya.
52. Vairâṭa, consisting of
    *Pâṇḍavânâm praveśaḥ, and
    *Samayasya pâlana.
53. Kîchakânâm vadhaḥ.

(*b*) *in the Grantha MS.*

6. Âdivaṁśâvatâraṇa.
7. Sambhava.
8. Jatugṛihadâha.
9. Haiḍimba.
10. Bakavadha.
11. Chaitraratha.
12. Svayamvara.
13. Vaivâhika.
14. Vidurâgamana.
15. Râjyalâbha.
16. Arjunavanavâsa.
17. Subhadrâharaṇa.
18. Haraṇahârita.
19. Khâṇḍavadâha, including the Mayadarśana.
20. Sabhâ.
21. Mantra.
22. Jarâsandhavadha.
23. Digvijaya.
24. Râjasûyaka.
25. Arghyâbhiharaṇa.
26. Śiśupâlavadha.
27. Dyûta.
28. Anudyûta.
29. Âraṇyaka.
30. Kimîravadha.
31. Kairâta (Îśvarârjunayor yuddham).
32. Indralokâbhigamana.
33. Tîrthayâtrâ.
34. Jaṭâsuravadha.
35. Yakshayuddha.
36. Âjagara.
37. Mârkaṇḍeyasamasyâ.
38. Draupadî-Satyabhâmayoḥ saṁvâdaḥ.
39. Ghoshayâtrâ.
40. Prâyopaveśana.
41. Vrîhidroṇaka.
42. Draupadîharaṇa.
43. Kuṇḍalâharaṇa.
44. Âraṇeya.
45. Vairâṭa.
46. Kîchaka.
47. Gograhaṇa.
48. Abhimanyu-Vairâṭî-Vaivâhika.
49. Udyoga.
50. Sañjayayâna.
51. Prajâgaraḥ (Dhṛitarâshṭrasya chintayâ).
52. Sânatsujâta (guhyam adhyâtmadarśanam).
53. Yânasandhi.

(*a*) *in the Northern Recension.*

54. Gograhaṇa.
55. Abhimanyu-Vairâṭî-Vaivâhika.
56. Udyoga.
57. Sañjayayâna.
58. Prajâgaraḥ (Dhṛitarâshṭrasya chintayâ).
59. Sânatsujâta (guhyam adhyâtmadarśanam).
60. Yânasandhi.
61. Bhagavadyâna.
* 62. Mâtalîya.
* 63. Gâlavacharita.
* 64. Sâvitra.
* 65. Vâmadeva.
* 66. Vaiṇyopâkhyâna.
* 67. Jâmadagnya.
* 68. Shoḍaśarâjika.
* 69. Sabhâpraveśaḥ Kṛishṇasya.
* 70. Vidulâputraśâsana.
* 71. Sainyaniryâṇa.
* 72. Śvetopâkhyâna (or Viśvopâkhyâna).
73. Vivâda (Karṇasya).
74. Niryâṇa (Kuru-Pâṇḍava-senayoḥ).
75. Rathâtirathasaṁkhyâ.
76. Ulûkadûtâgamana.
77. Ambopâkhyâna.
78. Bhîshmâbhishechana.
79. Jambûkhaṇḍavinirmâṇa.
80. Bhûmi (Dvîpavistârakîrtana).
81. Bhagavadgîtâ.
82. Bhîshmavadha.
83. Droṇâbhishechana.
84. Saṁsaptakavadha.
85. Abhimanyuvadha.
86. Pratijñâ.
87. Jayadrathavadha.
88. Ghaṭotkachavadha.
89. Droṇavadha.
90. Moksho Nârâyaṇâstrasya.
* 91. Karṇa.
* 92. Śalya.
* 93. Hradapraveśaṇa.
* 94. Gadâyuddha.
* 95. Sârasvata (Tîrthavaṁśânukîrtana).
* 96. Sauptika.
97. Aishîka.
98. Jalapradânika.
99. Strîvilâpa.
100. Śrâddha.
101. Chârvâkavadha.
102. Âbhishechanika.
103. Gṛihapravibhâga.

(*b*) *in the Grantha MS.*

54. Bhagavadyâna.
55. Vivâda (Karṇasya).
56. Senâpatyabhishechana.
57. Śveta.
58. Bhîshmâbhishechana.
59. Niryâṇa (Kuru-Pâṇḍava-senayoḥ).
60. Rathâtirathasaṁkhyâ.
61. Ulûkadûtâgamana.
62. Ambopâkhyâna.
63. Jambûshaṇḍavinirmâṇa.
64. Bhûmi (Dvîpavistârakîrtana).
65. Bhagavadgîtâ.
66. Bhîshmavadha.
67. Droṇâbhishechana.
68. Saṁśaptakavadha.
69. Abhimanyuvadha.
70. Pratijñâ.
71. Jayadrathavadha.
72. Ghaṭotkachavadha.
73. Droṇavadha.
74. Moksho Nârâyaṇâstrasya.
75. Aishîka.
76. Jalaprâdânika.
77. Strî.
78. Śrâddha.
79. Âbhishechanika.
80. Chârvâkanigraha.
81. Gṛihapravibhâga.
82. Śânti (Râjadharmânukîrtana).
83. Apaddharma.
84. Mokshadharma.
85. Ânuśâsanika.
86. Svargârohaṇika.
87. Aśvamedhika.
88. Anugîtâ.
89. Âśramavâsa.
90. Putradarśana.
91. Nâradâgamana.
92. Mausala.
93. Mahâprasthânaka.
94. Svargârohaṇaka.
95. Harivaṁśa.
96. Bhavishyat.

(a) *in the Northern Recension.*	(b) *in the Grantha MS.*
104. Śântiparva (Râjadharmânuśâsana).	
105. Âpaddharma.	
106. Mokshadharma.	
*107. Śukapraśnâbhigamana.	
*108. Brahmapraśnânuśâsana.	
*109. Prâdurbhâvo Durvâsaḥ.	
*110. Saṁvâdo Mâyayâ.	
111. Ânuśâsanika.	
112. Svargârohaṇika (Bhîshmasya).	
113. Aśvamedhika.	
114. Anugîtâ.	
115. Âśramavâsa.	
116. Putradarśana.	
117. Nâradâgamana.	
118. Mausala.	
119. Mahâprasthânika.	
120. Svargârohaṇika.	
121. Harivaṁśa:	
*(a) Vishṇu.	
*(b) Śiśoścharyâ Vishṇoḥ.	
*(c) Kaṁsavadha.	
122. Bhavishya.	

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 26.)

2. Spirit Haunts.

OF spirit haunts or abodes of spirits five seem to be most popular — funeral places, borders, cross roads, stones, and trees. The remaining spirit resorts are caverns, deserts and waste places, empty houses, groves, hills, hearths, house roofs, looking-glasses, river-banks and sea-shores, unclean places, and water or pot-holes in river-rocks.

Funeral Places. — In all religious thought the hovering ghosts of the dead make the funeral ground a place where the flesh creeps.[65] So *Mahâdev* and *Vetâl* live in the funeral ground, and so when a Hindu exorcist or witch has to win the favour of *Vetâl* or any other spirit he goes at night to a burial or burning ground. In Bengal, there is a Smashâni Kâli or Graveyard Mother.[66] The Hindus believe that spirits haunt funeral places, cross roads and tamarind and acacia trees;[67] the Persians hold that spirits cluster at the Tower of Silence;[68] and the Andaman Islanders believe that the place of burial is for months haunted by the spirits of the dead.[69] The Chinese think that epidemics are caused by spirits issuing from tombs.[70] The people of Madagascar hold that ghosts haunt tombs, and the people of Guinea that every place is haunted where death happened, and among the West Coast Africans the spirit stays where the body is buried.[71]

65 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 30.
66 Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 166.
67 Balfour's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. V. p. 532.
68 Bleek's *Vendidâd*, Vol. I. p. 63.
69 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 464.
70 Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 326.
71 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 217.

Boundaries. — In the Bombay Dekhan, spirits live on boundaries, people are buried near boundaries, and boundary fights used to be common. At a Dekhan Kunbî's wedding, when the boy crosses the boundary of the girl's village, a lemon is cut, waved round his head, and thrown away, and his eyes are touched with cold water; and among the Uchlâs of Poona, when the bridegroom returns to his village with the bride, they stop him at the border of the bridegroom's village, break a cocoanut, mix the pieces with rice and curds, and scatter them as offerings to evil spirits.[72] The *simânt pûjan*, or boundary worship, is performed at all high-caste Hindu weddings in Bombay. In Dhârwâṛ, at the festival of the goddess Dayamava, a naked Mâdigâr scatters a buffalo's blood and pieces of flesh round the village boundary for the spirits that live there.[73] The Khonds offered their human sacrifices on the boundaries.[74] So the souls of the Carebs gather on the sea-shore,[75] and in Mexico, the skin of the thigh of the woman that was offered to the goddess Cioawatt was taken to the borders.[76] In Scotland, in 1590, in a famous sorcery case, the witches dug a grave above high-tide mark and at the boundary of the king's and the bishop's land.[77] In the Highlands, suicides were buried at borders.[78]

Roads, especially Cross-Roads. — Among the Pâtâne Prabhus of Poona, at their wedding, when the wedding procession comes to a place where three roads meet, cocoanuts are broken as offerings for spirits,[79] and among the Bijâpur Dhors, when the wedding procession comes to cross roads, a cocoanut is broken, and half of it is thrown past the bride and half past the bridegroom for the spirits.[80] The Gonds bury the ashes of the dead near a road.[81] The natives of the Antilles thought that the dead walked the high roads.[82] The Romans buried near road-sides,[83] and laid fruit, violets, cakes and salt for the dead in the middle of the road.[84] In Middle-Age Europe, walking spirits or *Ambulones* sat by the way-side and ill-used travellers.[85] In ancient Germany, the partings of roads were believed to be the meeting places of spirits and witches,[86] and still in Germany, a plaster from a sore, — that is, a plaster containing the spirit of the disease, — is left on a road, as there the spirit will be at home, and will not come back,[87] and in rural England, a pebble that has rested on a wart is for the same reason left on the road.[88] The troops of spirits that live and move along the roads gather in crowds at the cross-roads. In the Bombay Dekhan, people lay fowls, rice, eggs, and cocoanuts at cross-roads, or *tivâts*, for spirits to eat.[89] The Santhals and apparently the Brâhmanic Hindus of Bengal think the place where roads cross to be a spirit resort.[90] Some early tribes in India (as the Khonds) sacrifice a cock where four roads meet.[91] In China, at the street corners or cross-roads are hungry ghosts who have to be fed with money when a funeral passes or else they will trouble the soul of the dead.[92] Dr. Livingstone says that the people of Angola, in South-West Africa, are fond of bringing the spirits of the dead to cross-roads.[93] In Guinea, people troubled by a spirit offered a cock where four roads met.[94] In Mexico, the favourite haunt of the spirits of women who died in child-birth was where roads crossed.[95] Some American tribes burnt torches of black wax and resinous wood, and offered fowls and blood from their own bodies at cross-roads.[96] Others adorned cross-roads with images and shrines, where the traveller rubbed his legs with a handful of grass, spat on the grass, and placed it on the altar.[97] The Romans called the crossing of roads Trivia and Compita, and set a statue of

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72 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 473.
73 Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.
74 Macpherson's *Khonds*, pp. 67, 68.
75 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 111.
76 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 357.
77 Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 81.
78 Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 34.
79 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 209.
80 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 265.
81 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 283.
82 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 446.
83 Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 322.
84 Ovid's *Fasti*, Vol. II. p. 540.
85 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 126.
86 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1115.
87 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 49.
88 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 149.
89 Information from Genu Râmoshi.
90 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 218.
91 Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 498.
92 Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 301.
93 Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 434.
94 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 135.
95 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 363.
96 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 482.
97 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. pp. 419-481.

a guardian, or *Lâr*, with a dog at his feet.[98] When Rome became Christian, statues of the Virgin and saints took the place of the *Lares*.[99] In the middle of the eleventh century the crossing of four roads was still considerd a great spirit resort in Italy.[100] In England, in the eleventh century, women were censured by the Church for drawing their children through the air where four roads met.[1] In Ireland, in 1324, cocks were offered at the meeting of four roads.[2] In the Tyrrol, spirits are still seen,[3] and the Sardinians still burn bonfires at cross-roads.[4] In Worcestershire (1867), a child with whooping cough was taken to a finger post or place where cross-roads meet, put on a donkey's back, and made to ride round the post nine times. The child was cured.[5] To cure warts touch them with stones, put the stones in a bag, and the bag where four roads meet.[6] The wide-spread sanctity attached to cross-roads as a meeting place of spirits suggests that this may be the origin of the high place which the cross takes in so many religions. Shiv has his trident, and the Buddhists and Jains have their *svastik*, or lucky cross. Unira, the goddess of the Tarîs or Dheda minstrels of Gujarât, has an iron trident. The Kumbhârs of Kâṭhiâwâṛ, on the sixth day after a birth, make a cross on the floor of the lying-in room, and make the child bow to it.[7] The Singphos of the north-east frontier use a St. Andrew's cross,[8] and the Lepcha women of West Butân and East Nipâl cover their woollen clothes with crosses.[9] The Jews are said to have marked the brow with a cross, or T, as a sign of safety.[10] The last letter in Hebrew was Tau, cross-shaped.[11] The Egyptian amulets were marked with a cross.[12] The triple Tau is a Masonic emblem, and the cross with a circle on the top was an Egyptian symbol of eternal life.[13] The Egyptians used to hang a cross as a talisman round the neck of the sick, sometimes shaped as T.[14] The Chinese put iron tridents on tops of houses to keep off evil spirits, and place them on the taffrails of ships to ward off evil.[15] The Hottentots (1600-1700) go into caves and say prayers, raise their eyes to heaven, and one makes on the other the mark of the cross on the forehead.[16] The cross was a common symbol in America.[17] A cross is worn round the neck of all Russians night and day. It is also hung in the cradles of babes.[18] The Russian priest crosses the child over its brows, lips, and breasts.[19] Among the Roman Catholics, at the beginning of the Confirmation, the Bishop signs himself with the cross;[20] and at Baptism the priest makes a sign of the cross, and says:—"Satan, fly; behold the God, great and mighty, draweth near."[21]

Stone. — In all parts of Western India, the commonest house for a spirit is a stone. The village gods and many of the local gods, who have been Brâhmanised into Mahâdevs, are undressed natural stones. *Vetâl* and his circle of guards is a common sight near many Dekhan villages, all of natural stones. A big rock at a road crossing, on the crest of a pass, near a river ford, is painted and set apart as the house either of a local deity or of one of the greater gods. Family spirits that prove troublesome have a stone, plain or carved into an image, set for them either in the house or out of doors, and by bright painting and regular offerings are coaxed to stay at home, and not trouble the living. Steps are also generally taken to localise the spirits to which old battle and *sati* stones belong. Among Marâṭhâs it is not uncommon to make a tomb for the ashes of the dead in which he may stay harmless and at rest. So, too, when images of stone or of metal or of clay are made for any of the gods, a

98 Ovid's *Fasti*, Vol. V. p. 140, and note in Riley's edition, pp. 182, 183.
99 *Op. cit.*
100 Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 45.
1 Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 294.
2 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 498.
3 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 449.
4 Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 6.
5 Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 153.
6 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 139.
7 From MS. notes.
8 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 13.
9 *Op. cit.* p. 101.
10 *Ezekiel*, ix. 4.
11 Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 14.
12 Moore's *Fragments*, p. 290.
13 Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 67.
14 *Op. cit.* p. 78.
15 Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 42.
16 Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 40.
17 Bancroft, Vol. III. pp. 135, 332, 348, 369, 455, 468, 506.
18 Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 73.
19 *Op. cit.* p. 68.
20 *Golden Manual*, p. 689.
21 *Op. cit.* p. 678.

service is performed to induce the spirit of the god to come into the image — sometimes permanently, sometimes for a season. If the god is to use the image only for a season, as is the case with the yearly images of Ganpati, at the end of the sacred season the god is asked to leave the image. The image is carried to the bank of a river or pond, or to the shore of the sea, and thrown in deep water, so that the spirit may not find his way back to the house, and require further attention from his worshippers. The upper classes have the higher idea, that by the way of the divine water the spirit passes into the one soul. In support of the view that the stone is the house of the spirit, the Marias, a wild class of Gonds, raise head-stones for the soul of the dead to live in.[22] The Kharrias of East Bengal throw the ashes into the river, but near their houses raise tall rough stones, to which they make daily offerings.[23] So the Kerantîs of Nipâl-Butân make square tombs with an upright slab,[24] and the Kasias raise tall pillars.[25] The Khyens of the same part, when a tree is struck by lightning, look round for a stone in which the lightning is likely to have taken its abode, and hand it to a priest to worship.[26] The Shanars of Tinnevelly have two rude stones to which they sacrifice, and then throw them away,[27] and the Betadaras of Madras have a stone in their houses which keeps off evil demons.[28] Out of India the Turanian tribes of North Asia worship stones, because spirits live in them.[29] They believe that spirits dwell in objects in the same way as spirits live in the human body.[30] The Tartars raise a funeral mound, and on the top set an upright stone which they cut into a statue, so that the spirit may feel at home in a body-shaped house.[31] The Society and the Fiji Islanders worship stones;[32] the Melanesians have stones in their houses associated with (that is where live) the spirits of the dead.[33] The New Zealanders and the Polynesians hold that images or logs of wood get their sacredness from being the abodes of spirit.[34] In America, the Lalish Indians of Aegon (?) brought back souls in little stones,[35] and many medicine-men cure diseases by picking out of the sick small pieces of stone into which some wizard had put a spirit and conveyed the stone into the victim's body.[36] The Dacotas pick a stone, paint it red, and call it grandfather.[37] The Mexicans set a stone between the lips of the dead to receive his soul.[38] The Phœnicians had stones or bœtyli inhabited by a living principle.[39] The old Greeks worshipped formless stones.[40] A pillar was set on the top of Patroclus' funeral mound.[41] The Roman-British (A. D. 100-400) cut a pillar in two, hollowed one-half, and put an urn in it, and again set up the pillar.[42] In Norway, during the eighteenth century, the people kept round stones in their houses, washed them on Thursdays, smeared them with butter, put them before the fire, and at certain times laid them in ale to bring good luck.[43] In England and Scotland, earth-fast stones continued till lately to be considered favourite spirit places.[44] They cured sprains and bruises, and dissipated swellings.[45] Witches knew spells which could send a spirit into a stone or looking-glass.[46] Standing stones were possessed by the spirit of the stone.[47] Rocking stones in Iceland and Scotland were inhabited by a spirit.[48] In the Highlands of Scotland, the goddess Cailleach Vera

[22] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 283. It seems probable that the meaning of the flat stone so common among all burying nations was at first to lay the spirit of the dead; and the meaning of the common head-stone or pillar was at first to give the spirit a house.

The use of undressed stones as the dwelling of spirits by people who were acquainted with the working of tools may perhaps, as among the Jews, have been caused by the belief that iron frightened spirits, and that no spirit would live in a stone over which an iron tool had been lifted.

[23] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 160.
[24] *Op. cit.* p. 104.
[25] *Op. cit.* p. 56.
[26] *Op. cit.* p. 115.
[27] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 163.
[28] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 163.
[29] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 163.
[30] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 155.
[31] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 423.
[32] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 162.
[33] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 276.
[34] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 174.
[35] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 152.
[36] *Early History of Man*, p. 278.
[37] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 161.
[38] Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 454.
[39] Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, p. 377.
[40] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 165.
[41] *Iliad*, XI. 475.
[42] Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 303.
[43] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 167.
[44] Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 262.
[45] Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 409.
[46] Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 144.
[47] Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 41.
[48] *Op. cit.* p. 414.

lived in a great rock.[49] In England, a country cure for warts is to press a pebble against the wart, and leave the pebble on the high road.[50] Heine in one of his pagan passages adopts the early style: — "Kaiser Friederic, the old Barbarossa, is not dead. He and his court have gone to the hill of Kyffhauser, and will come again to cheer the German people. I cried: — 'Come, Barbarossa, come'; but he came not, and I could only embrace the rock in which he dwells."[51]

It is not easy to explain why the stone should have been chosen as a spirit's dwelling. That stones were found to contain fire, may have helped the idea;[52] and that heated stones were so useful in curing sickness, in cooking, and in many other ways, may have strengthened the belief.[53] Perhaps, the earliest idea was that, as the life of the millet was in the millet seed, and the life of the mango tree was in the mango stone, a human spirit could live in a rock or pebble. The belief, that the soul or part of the soul of a man lives in his bones, seems closely connected with the belief in the stone as a spirit house. Probably it was held as an early belief, that the bones should be kept so that if the spirit comes back, and worries, he may have a place to go to.[54] In West India, the wizard searches for the forearm bone of a woman who has died in child-bed, because her spirit lives in it with great power. For the same reason the hand and arm are engraved on a *sati* stone. The belief, that the spirit remained in the bones, is at the root of Buddhist and other relic worship. When sick the Andaman Islanders wear round the parts in pain chaplets and belts of the bones of their deceased relations.[55] In Australia, three men sleep on a grave, and get a piece of bone, the spirit of the dead. This they can put into another man.[56] Some Central African tribes wear necklaces of teeth.[57] In America, the belief was widespread that the soul of man lived in his bones.[58] So in Ezekiel's vision there was life in the dry bones. So among the Romans teeth were favourite charms, and are common charms among the present Hindus. A child with a wolf-tooth round his neck does not start in his sleep; a horse with a wolf-tooth round his neck never tires.[59] In Scotland (1860), a cup made out of a suicide's skull was believed to cure epilepsy,[60] and in England (1858), a collier's wife asked a sexton for a bit of a skull that she might grind it to powder, and give it to her daughter as a cure for fits.[61]

According to widespread European beliefs Hobgoblin lives in a mill and the devil goes under a millstone to carry out evil designs.[62] The origin of these beliefs would seem the worship shewn, as among Hindus, to the quern or hand grind-stone as the home of a bread-winner or guardian.

Among stones **bored stones** have a specially sacred character. In India, the most famous example is the *shâligrâm* or sacred pebble from the Gandaki River. This is said to be holy, because Vishnu pierced it in the form of a worm. Another famous bored stone is a stone or rock with a cleft in it through which the penitent and the conscience-stricken forced their way. Such was the stone at Malabâr Point, in Bombay, through whose cleft Shivâji (1660), Kanoji Angria (1713), and Raghunâth Peishwa (1780) are all said to have passed. With the Indian *shâligrâm* and the small bored stones which are so highly valued in North America,[63] may be compared the adder's stone, which was held in high honour among the Scotch, and was believed to

[49] Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 142.

[50] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 149.

[51] *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. New Series, p. 298.

[52] Shepherds were rubbing stones, and a spark leapt forth; the first was lost, the second caught in straw (Ovid's *Fasti*, iv. 795). The flint has a special sacredness (*Early History of Man*, p. 227).

[53] Compare the Delaware Indian raised to an ecstasy in a sweat caused by heated stones (Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 417), and Herodotus' Skyths roaring with delight in their tents from the fumes of hemp thrown on heated stones.

[54] Compare Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 151.

[55] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 460.

[56] *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. p. 415.

[57] Stanley's *Dark Continent*, Vol. II. p. 283.

[58] Bancroft, Vol. III. pp. 514, 540.

[59] Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii., Chap. 19.

[60] Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 25.

[61] Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 148.

[62] Gubernatis' *Zoological Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 114.

[63] *E. H. A.* p. 187.

have been pierced by adder's stings.[64] A bored stone in Scotland (1591) kept off the pains of child-bed. In England, about 1700, bored stones were hung at the bed to keep off nightmare, and they may still be seen (1860); there ought to be flints with a natural hole in them at stable doors to keep witches from riding horses.[65] With the cleft stone at Malabâr Point may be compared the cleft or passage at the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem through which pilgrims used to crush, and the Shargar stone in the Auld Wife's Lift in Scotland and similar stones in Ireland under which people used to crawl.[66] The special value of the bored stone may perhaps not mean more than that the hole is an open door into the spirit house, and will, therefore, be a favourite dwelling. The flint with the natural hole hung in front of the English stable suggests that the fire-spirit, dreadful to witches, lives in the stone. The cleft stone in Malabâr Point is explaind by Brâhmaṇs as a symbol of a second birth. The character of the three chief men who are said to have passed through the cleft, suggests that the object was to get rid of blood-guiltiness, or rather of the evil spirits to which the blood-guiltiness had given an opening, and that in passing through the cleft these evil spirits were dragged down through the body and out by the heel in one of the usual ways of getting rid of spirits. So at the church at Jerusalem the object of squeezing through the rock seems to have been the hope that the spirit of Christ would drive out evil spirits. The view seems to agree with Colonel Leslie's statement of the objects with which the clefts in stones in England and Scotland were passed through. The objects were to cure existing maladies, to guard against incantations, and to free from sin. In England (ninth and tenth centuries), the rite was to draw children through a hole in the earth, or through a small tunnel, or through a hole where four roads met. A child suffering from hernia (seventeenth century England) was cured by passing it through an ash-tree cleft. In Moray, in Scotland, in 1700, children passed through circles of woodbine clinging to an oak. On Midsummer's Eve, in the Canary Islands, naked infants were passed through a part-split rush to cure hernia. In Oxford (1600), a cheese was cut and hollowed out, and a child made to pass through it on Christmas day. In Cornwall, in 1749, people with pains in the back and limbs passed through a hole, and young children were drawn through to cure them of rickets.[67] A third case of bored stones is a slab with a round hole in it which forms one of the sides of the *kistvaens*, or chest-tombs, which have been found in the Dekhan, in Circassia, and in Cornwall.[68] Colonel Leslie's explanation, that the hole was left for the spirit to pass out, seems likely to be correct.

Trees. — The belief that spirits live in the stems of, or in beams or images of wood, seems not to differ from the belief that spirits live in stones. In the Kôṅkan, orthodox Brâhmaṇs daily, before taking their meals, worship the spirit, called Vâstu, which lives in the principal pillar of the house.[69] In Nâsik, some classes of Marâṭhâs set up memorial pillars of wood instead of stone,[70] and Colonel Dalton (*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 115) notices that the Khyens of the north-east frontier put a carved log or post at the tomb. In the Kôṅkan, the medium or *bhagat*, who becomes possessed, is called *jhâḍ*, or tree, apparently because he is a favourite dwelling of the spirits. In the Dekhan, it is believed that the spirit of a pregnant woman lives in a tamarind tree,[71] and, according to the Poona Kunbîs, the favourite spirit haunts are large trees, lonely places, empty houses, and old wells.[72] The Santhals believe that human spirits live in the *bela* tree,[73] and the Abors or Padams of East Bengal think that spirits in trees kidnap children.[74] The Mysore spirits are fond of lodging in trees and burial grounds.[75] That human souls live in trees is a belief of the Dayaks of Borneo.[76] Among the Malays spirits frequent trees and bring diseases.[77] In Tasmania and in Guinea, spirits live in hollow trees.[78] The Hyperboreans

[64] Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 409.
[65] Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, p. 300.
[66] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 302.
[67] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 295-297.
[68] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 291.
[69] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[70] Information from Mr. Ramsay.
[71] Information from Mr. Kelkar.
[72] *Trans. By. Lit. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 219.
[73] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 226.
[74] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 25.
[75] Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. I. p. 366.
[76] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 11.
[77] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 215.
[78] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 186, 187.

of North America believe that those who die a natural death dwell for ages in the branches of all trees.[79] The Greeks and Romans believed in spirits living in trees.[80] The Greek dryads and hamadryads have their life linked to a tree; as their tree withers and dies they fall away and cease to be. Any injury to a bough or twig is felt as a wound, and a wholesale hewing down puts an end to them at once. A cry of anguish escapes them when the cruel axe comes near.[81] The Middle-Age Europeans believed that human spirits went into hollow trees.[82] The Swedes still pour milk and beer over the roots of trees.[83] An Austrian märchen tells of the stately fir in which there sits a fay waited on by dwarfs, rewarding the innocents and plaguing the guilty; and a Servian song of a maiden in the pine whose bark the boy split with a gold and silver horn.[84] On St. Thomas's day Franconian damsels go to a tree and knock thrice and listen for raps to say what sort of husband they are to get.[85] In England, it was believed that spirits lived in trees. So Prospero threatens to peg Ariel in the knotty entrails of an oak,[86] and subsequently we find Ariel imprisoned in the rift of a cloven pine.[87]

Of the less important spirit haunts the following may be noted: —

Caverns. — Caverns are spirit haunts. So the Khonds' spirits live under ground,[88] and the West Africans in passing a hollow rock or a cave put tobacco in the crack, and pray: — Demon, who livest here, behold our tobacco, keep us safe, give us good trade, and a safe home-coming.'[89] Among the South Africans there is a belief that souls live in caverns,[90] and a similar belief is prevalent among the people of Tasmania[91] and the Negroes of Guinea.[92] The Friesland white nymphs or white wives lived in caves and took people away.[93] The Mexican dead go into caverns, and in Ireland, Lough Derby has a cavern, the entrance to St. Paul's Purgatory.[94]

Deserts and Waste Places. — Spirits gather at waste places or in deserts. So in the Kônkan, during an eclipse, sorcerers and conjurors practise their spells in waste places or on the sea-shore.[95] The Shanars say that spirits live mostly in trees, in wastes and shades.[96] The Samoans, Coast Negroes, and New Caledonians believe that spirits haunt wastes.[97] Spirits live in deserts, and so Christ went three days' journey into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. The lives of the desert-dwelling Christian monks in Egypt (A. D. 300-500) are full of assaults and temptations either from Satan or from his servants.[98] The people of South Guinea in times of peril gather at the skirts of a forest or on a hill-top and call piteously on the spirits of their ancestors.[99] The Zamâro or evil spirit, according to the Zâparo Indians of South America, haunts the wood.[100] In South Scotland, to please the *genius loci*, or spirit of the place, a piece of ground is sometimes left untilled as the Gudeman's field or Clonties Croft.[1] The evil spirit in the south of Scotland has still the power of worrying good Christians in waste places. A minister riding home from a meeting of Presbytery was thrown. A scornful weird laugh was rewarded with: — "Satan, ye may laugh, but when I fall I can get up again; when ye fall ye never rise." The spirit (hearing this) groaned.[2]

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79 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 516.
80 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 219.
81 Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. II. p. 653.
82 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 159.
83 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 228.
84 Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. II. p. 653.
85 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 221.
86 Prospero's *Tempest*, Vol. I. p. 2.
87 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 2.
88 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 219.
89 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 208.
90 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 45.
91 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 186.
92 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 187.
93 Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 445.
94 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 45.
95 K. Raghunâth's *Pâtâne Prabhus.*
96 Caldwell in Balfour.
97 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 218.
98 Mrs. Jamieson (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. II. p. 759) points out that these devil tales need not be either inventions or impostures. Like Luther's struggles at Wartburgh they may be due to diseased, repressed, or misdirected feelings. Half way between the Egyptian monk and Luther, during the second half of the eleventh century (A. D. 1050-1100), at Byzantium Michael Psellus (?) discourses on demons and their cloud-like changeable bodies, who, unhappy in hell, came into men, causing possession and madness. (*Leckie's European Rationalism*, Vol. I. p. 50.)
99 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 117.
100 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 506.
1 Henderson's *Folk-Lore* p. 278.
2 *Op. cit.* p. 278.

Empty Houses. — There is a strong belief among Hindus that empty or forsaken houses or forts are favorite abodes of spirits, and cases are not uncommon in which houses have been abandoned or left unoccupied because they are haunted by spirits. So among the Poona Liṅgâyats, during the progress of the wedding procession, cocoanuts are broken at streets crossings and empty houses to scare fiends.[3] According to the Poona Kunbîs the favourite spirit haunts are large trees, lonely places, empty houses, and old wells.[4] The Sandwich Islanders think that spirits hover over old houses.[5]

Groves. — The belief is common in India that the spirits of the dead live in sacred groves as well as in single trees. In the Dekhan and also in the Kôṅkan, the sacred groves are believed to be the haunts of the sylvan spirits, or *vanadevtâs*, who are, for the most part, supposed to be guardians. Once a year it is usual in Kânara and other primitive parts to please the spirits of the wood by presenting them with a blood-offering. The whole village goes at night into the grove with music and much noise. The headman kills a goat or several cocks in front of the shrine of the head spirit of the wood, and smears the stone with blood. The people remain all night in the wood. The Oraons of Chhota Udepur worship Darha, the spirit of the wood, and Sạrna Burhi, the lady of the grove.[6] The Mandas have a similar spirit of the grove whom they call Jhar Era.[7] The Nagas make miniature houses for the dead in sacred groves.[8] Near Upsala, in Sweden, there were holy groves, every tree and leaf of which was deemed most sacred. These groves were full of the bodies of men and animals that had been sacrificed.[9]

Hills. — All over Western India a hill or rising ground is one of the commonest sites for a temple. The Kurubarus of Bîjâpur worship a hill called Birappa.[10] Gujarât Musalmâns believe that the king of Gins lives on Mount Caucasus. So the Khonds offer a victim to their ancestors on a hill, praying to live as their ancestors lived.[11] The Khyens bury the rich on holy mountains, build a hut near, and keep a man to drive off malignant spirits.[12] The Kirantîs, Mundâs, and Kâsias burn their dead on hill-tops.[13] The Kols sacrificed on a great hill or Marang Burn.[14] Shiv and Pârvati and all their troops and ghosts have their head-quarters on hill tops. In Madagascar, the spirits of the dead are believed to go to lofty mountains.[15] Among the Dayaks in Borneo, spirits hover about the hills.[16] The Americans worship a high spirit-haunted rock.[17] In Iceland, spirits are said to gather on high rocks.[18] In Skandinavia, the dwarfs lived in the hills,[19] and in Scotland, spirits and fairies gather on hill-tops.[20] In Scotland, a suicide used to be buried on a hill-top,[21] and the Scotch masons used to meet on hill-tops on St. John's Day.[22] British bards commonly speak of the spirits of mountains.[23]

Hearths. — The Kôṅkan Hindu cow-dungs his house on the 12th or 13th day after a death to drive away spirits — *bhut-bit*.[24] The Negroes of the Gold Coast, in West Africa, said spirits keep in the house till they are driven out.[25] The Roman *Lares* or good ancestors lived in the hearth.[26]

House-Roofs. — The Hindus of Sind believe that a spirit lives in the roof of the house, and gives the house-people seizures.[27] The dead Prabhu sits ten days on the eaves. Spirits haunt house-roofs, and so Pârsîs mark their tiles with yellow and red to scare fiends. The Burmans believe that spirits live in house-roofs. So for the comfort of the house-spirits the

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer.*
[4] *Trans. By. Lit. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 219.
[5] Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 217.
[6] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 258.
[7] *Op. cit.* p. 288.
[8] *Op. cit.* p. 40.
[9] Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 113.
[10] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII. p. 123.
[11] Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 72.
[12] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 115.
[13] *Op. cit.* p. 104.
[14] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 230.
[15] Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 312.
[16] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 249.
[17] Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 123; *Fort. Rev.* Vol. VI. p. 417.
[18] Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 150.
[19] Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 441.
[20] *Op. cit.* pp. 446, 450.
[21] Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 35.
[22] Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 184.
[23] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 476.
[24] Information from Mr. Jânârdan.
[25] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 8.
[26] Smith's *Classical Dictionary.*
[27] Ross's *Land of the Five Rivers, and Sind.*

tops of all the posts in the house are covered with a hood of cotton cloth wherein the spirits live.[28] The house-spirit *Elin-Saung Nàt* lives in a cotton night-cap or hood in the top of a pillar.[29] Compare the Greek Miastor : —

δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι πράκτορά τε σκοπὸν
δυσπολέμητον, ὃν οὔτίς ἂν δόμος ἔχος
ἐπ' ὀρόφων μιαίνοντα. βαρὺς δ'ἐφίζει.[30]

They (Argives) having regard to the divine avenging observer hard to war with ; — what house could stand (bear) him defiling on the roof. Grievously he sits there.

"*μίαστωρ* became a general term for an unclean spirit, or evil genius."[31]

Looking-glass. — The looking-glass seems to be a spirit haunt. So the Hindus deem it unlucky to see one's face in a looking-glass at night, and in Sweden, if a girl looks in a glass after dark it is believed she will loose favour in the eyes of men.[32] The idea is that the *geni* in the glass possesses the girl, and makes her ill-favoured. The Burman white witches use a looking-glass in restoring the soul of a child which its dead mother has taken away.[33] In England, looking-glasses are covered when a death happen.[34] In Yorkshire, if you walk three times against the sun at midnight and in the dark, and look into a glass you will see the devil.[35] It was an English belief that a death would take place in the house in which a mirror is broken.[36]

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A POPULAR LEGEND ABOUT VALMIKI.

IN the beginning Wâlmîk went to Ghaznî Fort and did penance there. A barren Mughal woman came to visit him and asked him for a son, and promised that if one were given her she would dedicate him to his service. In short, by the intercession of Wâlmîk she gave birth in due time to a son, and called him Lâl Beg. When he grew up she took him and dedicated him to Wâlmîk, according to her promise.

Wâlmîk afterwards took him to Benares (Kâsî). The 96 *karôṛs* (960 millions) of *dêvatâs* (godlings that inhabit Benares) had turned the sweepers (*chaṇḍâl*) out of the home of the *dêvatâs*, and placed them in Chaṇḍâlgaṛh, which is 7 *kos* from Benares and across the Ganges.

When Wâlmîk was in Benares he saw that in the mornings when the sweepers came from Chaṇḍâlgaṛh to sweep the city, they used to sound drums (*dhôl bajâtê*) before entering it, and that the inhabitants, who were really *dêvatâs*, used to hide themselves in their houses to avoid seeing them. When they finished sweeping they again sounded drums, and then the people came out of their houses and went on with their business.

When Wâlmîk saw this he would not hide himself, and asked the people why they avoided seeing the sweepers. The people answered :— "because they are sweepers, it is unlawful for us to look upon them."

Wâlmîk out of pity gave up his life for them (*chôlâ chhôṛ diâ*). When he died blood and matter oozed from his body, so that no Hindû could touch it. So one of the inhabitants of Benares went to Chaṇḍâlgaṛh to call a sweeper, and saw them all there. The sweepers came into Benares and threw the body of Wâlmîk into the Ganges. But the Hindûs found the body lying in the same condition in another house, and called the sweepers again. Again the sweepers threw the body into the Ganges and went home. A third time the body was found in a house in Benares and the people were astonished, and calling the sweepers, saw all their faces.

Afterwards Wâlmîk appeared in a dream to an inhabitant of Benares, and told him that as long as the people refused to see the sweepers his body would not leave the city. Ever since then the people have not hidden themselves from the sweepers. The sweepers took the body from the city for the last time, and Wâlmîk told them to take it to Chaṇḍâlgaṛh. And it is said that when the body reached Chaṇḍâlgaṛh all the mat huts of the sweepers turned into houses of gold. This was in the Golden Age (*Satjug*).

R. C. TEMPLE *in P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[28] Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. pp. 280, 281.
[29] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 280, 281.
[30] Æschylus *Supplices*, p. 635.
[31] Paley *in loco*.
[32] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 21.
[33] Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 102.
[34] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 57.
[35] *Op. cit.* p. 62.
[36] Chambers's *Book of Days*.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p.* 91.)

7.

Pâḷi and Old Burmese Weights.

SEEING how important a part the pala of the Sanskrit, which is the phala of the Pâḷi, writers plays in all the arguments relating to the bullion weights of India and Further India, I have made every endeavour to trace, in the sources of information at my command, the old Burmese views of the weight which that term really represented, and it is much to my regret that I have after all still to leave the point more largely to conjecture than I could wish. Information more or less exact should apparently be forthcoming, as there is a very large number of inscriptions in the country, but it may be said that they are only now beginning to be brought to the notice of students, and a few only have been edited with any attempt at adequate treatment.

I have before me the large volume of inscriptions from Pagàn, Pinyâ[6] (old Ava), and Ava, printed by the Burma Government from the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer, containing 156 inscriptions from Pagàn, 17 from Pinyâ, and 9 from Ava. I have also the two still larger volumes, printed at my own instigation by the same Government, — always so ready to assist research of this kind, — of the wonderful collection of copies on stone of the chief inscriptions in Burma at the Mahâmuni Shrine near Amarapûra (and Mandalay), attributed to King B'ôdòp'ayâ[7] and containing 596 inscriptions.[8] But both sets of records are still in the Burmese character and inedited, and the work of picking out such information as is required for the present purpose from such a mass would be far too great a task to undertake, so long as it remains in its present condition.[9]

Besides these there are many inscriptions from Arakan and Pagàn recorded more or less fully in Forchhammer's *Reports on the Antiquities of Arakan and on the Kyaukkù Temple at Pagàn*, and in the same writer's *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma*; (1) Shwêdagôn Pagoda, (2) First Buddhist Mission to Suvaṇṇabhûmi.

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6 The Railway from Rangoon to Mandalay passes right through these most interesting ruins: a fact not generally known.

7 I understand at the importunities of the Monastic Orders, who wished to have recorded all the gifts of land made to them at various times.

8 The present writer was also successful in inducing the trustees of the Mahâmuni Shrine to preserve the original stones, from which the copies had been made. Their idea was that as nice clean copies on stone had been made of the old worn stones, the originals had become valueless, and so they were thrown away in a corner; and it is only through the innate carelessness of the Burmans that they have been preserved from absolute destruction.

9 As no description of these works has ever been given to the public, I may as well note here, for the benefit of enquirers, that the first contains 430 large quarto pages, a fairly full table of contents and a careful list of errata, and also that each inscription has prefixed to it a note on the position of the inscription and its date, the giver and the gift, and sometimes the tenor of the inscription.

The inscriptions from Pagàn are as follow: —

Shwêzîgôn Pagoda	22	Wetkyî-In Quarter	11
'Ngetpyittaung Quarter	11	North East Quarter	8
East Quarter	10	South East Quarter	7
City (Shwêgûjî)	23	South Quarter	2
Myin Pagàn	8	Ḍayîpissayâ (Sîripachchayâ)	2
Lêdaunggàn...	37	Ḍâmatî	7
Chaukpalâ	5	Total	153

Those from Pinyâ near Ava are: —

Pinyâ Myôhaung (Old Town)	7
Do. do. do. South	4
Do. do. do. North	6
Total	17

Those from Ava itself, from the Palace Monastery, number 9: which gives a gross total of inscriptions in the volume of 182.

The well-known Burmese inscriptions at Buddha Gayâ are given at length with renderings (hardly "scientific" withal) in *J. A. S. B.*, 1834, p. 214; Archæological Survey of India, *Reports*, Vol. III. p. 102 ff.; Cunningham's *Mahabodhi*, p. 75 ff.; Rajendralala Mitra's *Buddha Gaya*, pp. 206-228. And there are also scattered notices of inscriptions in Crawfurd's *Ava*, p. 27 ff. and Appx. p. 28 ff.; Yule's *Ava*, p. 351 f.; *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 634, Art. Shwêdagôn; and Hesketh-Biggs' *Shwedagon Pagoda*, pp. 42 ff., 53 f.[10]

To these I may add a note on my own, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 52, on a curious English inscription on a large bell on the platform of the Kyaukþànlàn[11] Pagoda at Maulmain,[12] because it gives a statement of a weight: — " He who destroyed to this bell they must be in the great heell and unable to coming out. This bell is made by Koonah Lingahyah (Guṇâlaṅkâra) the Priest and weight 600 viss. No one body design to destroy this bell Maulmain, March 30th, 1855."

Crawfurd's inscriptions are part renderings by the well-known Burmese scholar Judson, of two of the Mahâmuni collection of stones, of which he says there were (Nov. 30, 1826), according to his counting, 260; and he seems to clearly infer that the stones he saw set up in

The two volumes of the second work are printed in the same form as the first with a slight change. They contain 505 and 457 pp., but are paged consecutively in 962 pp. The inscriptions are arranged therein geographically, according to the modern English divisions of the Country. Thus: —

I — Upper Burma.			
A. — Northern Division.			
Mandalay District	26	Shwêbô District	35
Kyauktwin District	1	Total	62
B. — Central Division.			
Sagaing District	218	Lower Chindwin District	30
		Total	248
C. — Southern Division.			
Pak'ôkkû District	41	Minbû District	18
Magwê District	5	Þayet District	19
		Total	73
D. — Eastern Division.			
Myingyàn District	153	Kyauksè District	28
Mêktilâ District	12	Yamèϑin District	2
		Total	195
E. — Unattached Villages.			
Total			8
F. — Shân Country.			
South	4	North	1
		Total	12
		Total for Upper Burma	590
II. — Lower Burma.			
A. — Pagô (Pegu) Division.			
Pyîmyô (Prome) District			1
B. — Êrawadî Division.			
Hêngϑàdâ District			2
C. — Taninϑâyi (Tenasserim) Division.			
Taung-ngû District			3
		Total	6
		Total for all Burma	596

The places that have contributed the largest number to this collection of inscriptions are Shwêbô, 35; Sagaing 77; Ava, 35; Pinyâ, 32; Amyin, 64; Pak'àngyî, 28; Talôkmyô, 36; Pagàn and neighbourhood, 112.

There is a table of contents and a list of errata prefixed to each volume, and to each inscription is prefixed such information as its serial number by place, Sub-division, District and Division: its designation, collector, original position, date, giver, gift.

[10] In 1893 I procured authentic copies of the important Râjamaṇichûḷa Inscription at the Kaung'mûdò Pagoda, dated c. 1650 A. D., and the Burma Government started printing it for me, but I do not know what the final result was, as I soon afterwards left the country. I have still a rubbing and hand copy of the Kadûgàndò Inscription of Mindôn Min, 1853 A. D., at Shwêbô. Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 127, says that the pagoda is dated 1626, A. D.

[11] Kyaikshânlàn according to Stevenson, *Bur. Dict.* p. 406: spelt Krôkhramŝlamŝ. At p. 405 f. there is a valuable list of pagodas in this work.

[12] A notice of this bell and its inscription is to be found in Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 242 f.: Winter, *Six Months in Burma*, 1858, p. 28.

the galleries were the originals and not the exhisting copies, which supports what I have also heard, that the copies were made later than B'ôdòp'ayâ's time (1781-1819).[13] But the truth about such things is always difficult to get at in Burma. The first inscription is dated 1432 A. D., and contains no mention of any weights, but the second, dated **1454 A. D.**, talks in the translations of **"4,600 ticals of pure silver — 100 ticals of gold — a silver salver weighing 300 ticals."**

Yule's inscription is a part rendering, on the authority of Burney, of that at the curious and famous Kaung'mûdò Pagoda, about 15 miles from Sagaing, in which no mention is made of weights.[14]

Those of the *British Burma Gazetteer* and Mr. Hesketh-Biggs relate, in free and part translation by Mr. Hough, the missionary, and Moung Hla Oung, a well-known official, the inscriptions on the great bells on the platform of the Shwêdagôn Pagoda **at Rangoon.** The first is on the "Great Bell" or **Mahâgàndâ** (Mahâghaṇṭâ), generally attributed to King B'ôdòp'ayâ and said to be dated **1781 A. D.**[15] The second is on the still greater bell called the **Mahâti-ḍàddagàndâ,**[16] the great three-toned bell, of King Ḍarâwadî, **dated 1841-3,**[17] which is said, in the translation of the inscription thereon, to **"weigh 25,94,049 ticals of pure brass."**

[13] By 1855, however, Yule, *Ava*, p. 167, states that the Mahâmuni Inscriptions were 200 or 300 in number (far under the mark, it will now be seen), and, on the authority of Phayre, that they are "not originals nor exact copies of originals."

[14] I have obtained access to Burney's original MSS., and here is his interesting note on his visit to this Pagoda: — "Aug. 27, 1830. Capt. Pemberton and I accompanied the Myâwadî Woongyee this day to inspect the great Pagoda of Koungmhoodau, which bears the Pali name of Razamnuitsoola [Râjamaṇichûḷa, also Chûḷamaṇi and Rajâchûḷamaṇi, *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 346]. At this time of the year, the whole country being inundated, our war-boats were able by a short route [from Ava] of 8 miles to go close up to the Pagoda. In the enclosure, within which the Pagoda stands, are several smaller buildings, in one of which we saw the inscription, said to have been engraved in the year 1012, A. D. 1650, in the reign of King Ngâdadatkâ [the Bêngtalê or Ngâ Htàp Dâragâ of Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 286, of the Taung-ngû Dynasty, reigning from Ava], ... The inscription is cut on a beautiful block of marble, about 10 feet high, 5 broad and one foot thick, and it is covered on both sides with Burmese characters, made square, not round like the common Burmese writing. Moung Za [Atwinwun] told us that the difference between the two descriptions of character was precisely the same as that between our printed letters and handwriting. The greater part of the inscription consists of religious and moral maxims, but I could distinctly trace the passage, which refers to the division of the Burmese Empire, a copy of which has been given me." This was the portion of the inscription published by Yule. Had Burney and the Burmese Ministers of the day only known it, there was much more precise information of the kind they wanted of a then quite recent date in S'inbyû-yin's Inscription at Pôûdaung, dated 1774 A. D. (*ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 4).

[15] Hesketh-Biggs, p. 53: *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 634; Winter, *Six Months in British Burma*, 1858, p. 10 f.; but see later on as to the actual giver and date.

[16] Maha Tisadhaganda, three-toned, in Hesketh-Biggs, p. 46: obviously for Pâḷi Mahâ-ti-sadda-ghaṇṭâ = Sanskrit Mahâ-tri-śabda-ghaṇṭâ, great three-toned bell. At p. 42 of Mr. Hesketh-Biggs' book Moung Hla Oung calls the bell Netha Yisadda Ganda — at least he is so printed —. This must stand for the Pâḷi Nissaya-sadda-ghaṇṭâ, the bell of the voice of refuge.

[17] As there seem to be disputes as to the date of this bell I give here every date in the inscription relating to King Ḍarâwadî and his doings at Rangoon, as given in Moung Hla Oung's translation, worked out to the English Calendar, according to Moyle's *Almanac of Corresponding English and Burmese Dates from A. D. 1822 to A. D. 1895* (Fourth Ed.). From general history one knows that Ḍarâwadî, here called "Śrîpavarâditya-Lôkâdhipati-Vijaya-mahâdharmarâjâdhirâja, the Third Founder of Amarapûra," came to the throne in 1837 A. D. (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 287 ff.); but the date on the inscription is precise, as the corresponding date A. B. is given as 2380 = 1836 A. D. The corresponding date A. B. is twice given for 1203 B. E. as 2385 = 1841 A. D., and the general accuracy of the dates in the inscription will be seen from the following statements: —

A. — 6th waxing Kasôn, 1198 = Wednesday, 20th April, 1836, King Ḍarâwadî took possession of his father's heritage.

B. — Sunday, 7th *waning* Tòʒalin, 1203 = Monday, 6th September 1841, he came by water in the royal yacht to Râmañña, the three countries of the Talaings, *i. e.*, to Rangoon. The dates do not tally, but the 7th *waxing* Tòʒalin, 1203, was a Sunday and corresponds with Sunday, 22nd August 1841: so possibly *làzut* (waning) was cut accidentally for *làzàn* (waxing).

C. — 3rd waning Tazaungmôn, 1203 = Sunday, 31st October, 1841, he constructed a citadel and gilt the Shwêdagôn Pagoda.

D. — 10th waxing Ḍadinjut, 1203 = Friday, 24th September, 1841, he made a mould of this great bell.

E. — Sunday, 5th waning Tabôdwê, 1204 = Sunday, 19th February, 1843, he finished the casting.

No doubt, the word translated "ticals" in the inscriptions of 1454 and 1843 is *kyàt*.

In the Buddha Gayâ inscriptions there is no mention of any weights.

So far, then, these inscriptions bring us no nearer to the point of our enquiry as to the true Burmese notions on the subject of the weight of the *pala* or *phala*. Nor will Forchhammer's work help us.

The Burman of the present day still behaves as did his ancestors time out of mind. He still spends his earnings or savings in building or repairing pagodas and sacred buildings of all sorts, inscribing on them the fact, with a statement of what his works of merit have cost him. In this way **the currency of the British supremacy in these parts will doubtless go down to a far posterity.**

Thus the repair of the original Mahâmuni Pagoda in Arakan (not to be confounded with its counterpart near Amarapûra) in 1865-7 by a Shân is described in his inscription as follows :[18] — "In the course of the work it was found that the sum of Rs. 460, which he had brought with him, would not suffice. In this dilemma he appealed to the Wundauk (Magistrate) and begged of him to receive his wife and children as surety (in pawn) for Rs. 400. But the Wundauk would not agree to the proposal.[19] He, however, most liberally advanced the Rs. 400 to meet the expenses. With all this aid however it was found that the extra money received could only suffice to repair the base, but not the roof of the image-house.[20] Arrangements were made to collect subscriptions from the whole of Dhaññavatî (Arakan) in order to bring the work to a successful close. The following are the names of the subscribers : Wundauk Maung Kalâwâ with the title of Dâkyizi ; Dâyakà Sàndun Rs. 5 ; Tazâzin Thàdun 2 (and so on) — altogether Rs. 145."

Similarly one "Mâ Myàt-û, the beloved wife of Zayàttagâ Maung Chindaung of Môlèk Village in the Akyab District spent more than Rs. 15,000 in gilding the *chêti* on the summit of the Urittaung Hill, as a work of merit done for the good of her deceased husband," *i. e.*, according to her inscription dated in "the year B. E. 40," *i. e.*, B. E. 1240 = A. D. 1879.[21]

In an inscription, dated 1848 A. D., at the Àndò Pagoda at Sandoway, it is said that "a *ti*, whose opening measured 2½ cubits and which had 12 tiers was constructed by Maung Lû Môlû, who was paid Rs. 100 for its workmanship." The same inscription says that the feast on the occasion cost Rs. 350.[22]

In Scott's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 247 ff., there is a translation of the inscription on bell "No. 15,219 in the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum," from which we see that it is dated 1209 B. E. = 1847 A. D., and "The exact weight of the bell in current reckoning is 2,500 *kyàts* weight."[23] In addition to this the giver, a Yêwun (Maritime Provincial Governor) of Pagàn Min (1846-52), says "I gave a *tagundaing*,[24] the price of which, with all incidental expenses, was Rs. 500 :[25] that was the alms exactly."

And lastly there are the two inscriptions in Vol. XXII. of the *Indian Antiquary* so well edited by the capable hand of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, *viz.*, the Pôûdaung Inscription of S'inbyûyin, dated 1774 A. D., and **the Kalyâṇi Inscriptions of Dhammachêti, dated 1476 A. D.**

In the first there is no mention of weights at all, but in the second, which is throughout in **Pâḷi**, there are several ; this inscription, or rather set of inscriptions, being in fact the only one to throw any light on the present subject.

[18] Forchhammer's *Report on Arakan*, p. 9.

[19] That official would hardly have dared to accept under British rule, but the Shân acted according to the notions of his life-long surroundings on the subject of slavery for debt.

[20] Forchhammer usually means by this expression the Burmese þêng, Pâḷi *simâ*, strictly a hall of ordination.

[21] Forchhammer, *op. cit.* p. 57.

[22] *Op. cit.* p. 62.

[23] 2,500 *kyàt* = 250 viss = 912·5 *lbs.* Av. = rather less than half a ton.

[24] *Tagun* is a streamer offered in worship : *tagundaing* is a post set up near a pagoda to hang the streamer on.

[25] But I suspect that the translation should be here "500 tickals (*kyàts*).

First, we read on the obverse face of the second stone (*ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 40) that Dhammachêtî gave the Holy Tooth Relic at Kandy in Ceylon: —

(1) A stone alms-bowl — having for its cover **a pyramidal covering made of gold, weighing 50 phalas.**

(2) **An alms-bowl with a stand and cover complete made of gold, weighing 30 phalas.**

(3) **A duodecagonal betel-box made of gold, weighing 30 phalas.**

(4) **A gold relic-receptacle, weighing 33 phalas.**

Further on (p. 41) we read: — "The following articles were prepared for presentation to King Bhûvanêkabâhu, King of Sîhaladîpa:" —

(5) **Two sapphires valued at 200 phalas of silver.**

(6) **Two rubies valued at 430 phalas.**

Again (p. 41): — "**200 phalas of gold**[26] were given to the emissaries for the purpose of providing the 22 *thêras* and their disciples with the "four requisites," should any mishap, such as scarcity of food, arise."

Clearly, then, the phala was a Troy weight at that period in the estimation of the Burmese monks.

Later on, again, on the reverse face of the same stone (p. 45) we read about the gift of Dhammachêtî to the Shwêdagôn Pagoda at **Rangoon** of "**a large bell made of brass weighing 3,000 tulâs.**"[27] **Here we have an Avoirdupois weight.**

Lastly, the return gift (p. 45) of the Siṁhalese King "included **a religious gift** in the shape of an image of the Holy Tooth Relic, embellished with a topaz and a diamond, **valued at 100 phalas.**"

The difficulty of course is to get at direct evidence of the weight of the *phala* and *tulâ* of that period. The only evidence from Burmese documents that I have come across so far, though it indicates the sources from which such information should be forthcoming, is **Taw Sein Ko's Ed. of the Mahâjanaka Jâtaka, 1889**, p. 92, where occurs the following passage: — "And lastly he soliloquised on **the gold salver** out of which he ate — *kadâhaṁ satabalaṁ kamasaṁ*, meaning, "This my gold salver, from which I eat my soft and solid food, **is made of pure gold, and it weighs 100 pôs**" and so on.

Now, this edition of the *Mahâjanaka Jâtaka* is taken from **the Burmese translation thereof by U Awbatha (Ôbhâsa), the head of the Minbu Monasteries in 1785**,[28] and to the above passage that learned monk appends a note, thus rendered by Taw Sein Ko: — "**The pô is of four different kinds: it may weigh 5, 25, 50 or 100 tickals.**[29] Of these four, the second weight, *viz.*, 25 might be adopted, judging from the term of life extending to 10,000 years, allotted to the persons of the story."

We have here, at any rate, the views of a Burmese authority of the last Century on **the pô, i. e., the bô(l) or phala,** and its value.

At p. 116 we come across this salver again: — "There you exchanged your costly garments and your **golden salver weighing 100 pôs** for this poor ascetic garb and this poor earthenware alms-bowl."

[26] Value about £2,190, according to the calculations made later on.

[27] There misprinted *tólas*.

[28] Bigandet, *Gaudama*, Ed. 1880, Vol. II. pp. 167-76, gives an abstract of this *Jâtaka* under the name of *Dzanecka*, but unfortunately says nothing in it about the salver.

[29] The Burmese monk had even Indian authority for such a statement, *vide* Colebrooke's *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 531, who says "a *nishka*, synonymous with *pala*, consists of five *suvarṇas*. According to some authorities, it is also a denomination for the quantity of 150 *suvarṇas*." Colebrooke also says, *loc. cit.*, "108 *suvarṇas* or *tôlakas* of gold constitute an *urubhûshaṇa, pala* or *dînâra*."

At p. 158 there is a chance note by Taw Sein Ko himself, which curiously confirms all that has been written by myself (*ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 325 ff.) on the subject of **the derivation of bô(l).** In giving a description of the Burmese notions of the classical *svayaṁvara* (*pàn-gônzutpwè*, garland-placing ceremony) in the form of stringing and unstringing the mighty bow (*lêdinbwè*, bow-stretching ceremony), he says: — "Difference of opinion exists as to the right interpretation of the expression, *bô(l) achê tat'aung tin'naingδò lêː*. *Bô(l)*[30] is evidently the Burmanised form of the Pâḷi *bala*, strength, an army: *chê* means the sum total. Thus the phrase would mean, a bow (*lêː*) that can be strung and unstrung (*tin'naingδò*) by the collective strength (*bô(l) achê*) of 1,000 warriors. This is one version of the interpretation. The other is **that bô(l) should be read pô, a five tickal weight,** and that the meaning should be: — a bow that can support without breaking the weight of 2,500 tickals at either end (*bô(l) achê tat'aung*). The former rendering should be adopted, bearing in mind that Oriental writers take a delight in the use of hyperbole."

I think that one may now without hesitancy assert positively that bô(l), with the alternative spelling pô, is the Sanskrit pala, Pâḷi, phala; and that as a matter of practical calculation it represented of old in Burma a five tickal weight. On this assumption we can proceed to reduce statements in phalas, and perhaps tulâs, to European weight denominations and values with some hope of approximate success.

In this way the value of the four gifts of golden articles sent by Dhammachêtî to Bhûvanêkabâhu can be stated as follows, **assuming that 1 phala = 5 tickals : 100 tickals = 1 viss : 1 viss = 3·65 lbs. Av. : 1 lb. of gold = £60.**[31]

Then: —

(1) 50 *phalas* = 250 tickals = 2½ viss = 9·125 *lbs.* Av. = £549·5.
(2) 30 *phalas* = 150 tickals = 1½ viss = 5·475 *lbs.* Av. = £328·5.
(3) Same as No. 2 = £328·5.
(4) 33 *phalas* = same as Nos. 2 and 3 + 1-10th = £328·5 + 32·85 = £361·35.

As to the gifts valued in silver, perhaps the best way to reckon their value will be to **assume that silver was to gold as about one to ten at that time,** and to proceed to reckon as for gold dividing the result by ten, thus: —

(5) 200 *phalas* of silver = 20 *phalas* of gold = 100 tickals = 1 viss = 3·65 *lbs.* Av. = £219.
(6) 430 *phalas* of silver = 43 *phalas* of gold = 215 tickals = 2·15 viss = 7·75 *lbs.* Av. = £465.

So that the value of the gifts would be £2,251·85, and if it is to be accepted that the purchasing power of gold in the XVth Century, A. D., was several times greater than its present purchasing power, the value of the presents was sufficiently large.

It is interesting here to work out **the value of the gifts stated in the contemporary (1454 A. D.) Burmese Inscription at the Mahâmuni Shrine near Amarapûra,** translated by Judson and quoted above. The values are all stated in tickals. Thus: —

(1) 4,600 tickals of pure silver = 460 tickals of gold = 4·6 viss = 16·79 *lbs.* Av. £1,007·4.
(2) 100 tickals of gold = 1 viss = 3·65 *lbs.* Av. = £219.
(3) 300 tickals of silver = 30 tickals of gold = $\frac{3{\cdot}65 \times 30}{100}$ *lbs.* Av. = 1·095 *lbs.* Av. = £65·7.

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30 The now familiar Anglo-Burmese word *boh*, a leader of dacoits (bandits, outlaws, gang-robbers).

31 This last assumption I have arrived at thus: — 144 *lbs.* Av. = 175 *lbs.* Troy, therefore, for rough calculation, 1 *lb.* Av. = 1¼ *lb.* Troy, and *vice versâ*, 1 *lb.* Troy = ⅘ *lb.* Av. Gold by value is about £4 to the ounce Troy, therefore £48 to the *lb.* Troy, therefore the value of 1 *lb.* Av. of gold = 5/4 of £48 = £60. The existing £ runs 934½ to 20 *lbs.* Troy, so that 1 *lb.* Troy = £46 14*s.* 6*d.* As the quality of the metal in the inscriptions is never mentioned, the calculations in the text are near enough.

These old gifts compare with the modern ones quoted as being recorded on stone by Forchhammer, thus: —

(1) 1848 A. D. Exchange taken at Rs. 9 to the £ —

(*a*) Rs. 100 = £11.

(*b*) Rs. 350 = £39.

(2) 1866-7 A. D. Exchange taken at Rs. 10 to the £ —

(*a*) Rs. 460 = £46.

(*b*) Rs. 400 = £40.

(*c*) Rs. 145 = £14·5.

(3) 1879 A. D. Exchange taken at Rs. 12 to the £ —

Rs. 15,000 = £1,250.

The calculation of the pô or bô(l) of the Mahâjanaka Jâtaka may be regarded from two points of view: — first, that of the monkish translator, and secondly, that of the Pâḷi original of the story.

According to the monk's quaint conjectures, which would also, from Taw Sein Ko's remarks, appear to coincide with the orthodox Burmese view, the *pô, bô(l), phala,* at the time of the *Jâtaka*, equalled 25 tickals. Then, 100 *phalas* of gold = 2,500 tickals = 25 viss = 90·25 *lbs.* Av., as the weight of the gold salver. No wonder the good old monk felt bound to justify his computation by an allusion to a belief held by his Buddhist readers to be true, because contained in Scripture. Had he taken the weight of the *pô* at its contemporaneous current computation of 5 tickals, the gold salver would even then have weighed 18·05 *lbs.* Av., value £1,110. Quite enough both for weight and value.

The story being a *Jâtaka*, one has to go back to ancient computations of the *phala* to get at a notion of the idea that was in the mind of the originator of the story, when he talked of a golden salver weighing 100 *phalas*.

Taking the *ratî* at the average double *ratî* of ancient commerce of about 4 grs. Troy and the *phala* as 320 *ratîs*, we get an average *phala* of 1,280 grs. = 2⅔ oz. Troy. Then, for such a calculation as the present, 100 *phalas* = 266 oz. Troy = 22·16 *lbs.* Troy = 17·73 *lbs.* Av. And if we accept Colebrooke's estimate of about 4½ grs. for the double *ratî*, which makes, by the way, the persistent South-Indian *pala* (*palam*) of 1,440 grs., then the *phala* = 3 oz. Troy. Then also 100 phalas = 300 oz. Troy = 25 lbs. Troy = 20 lbs. Av. So that the salver was probably imagined by those who first told and heard the story as weighing what would be now described as a weight of between 17 and 20 *lbs.* Av., or to put it in modern Indian phrase as between 8 and 10 *pakkâ sêrs*, or in modern Burmese phrase as between 5 and 6 viss.

Now 100 *phalas* make 1 tulâ, and so we get a statement of **the ancient tulâ** as being of 20 *lbs.* Av., or ⅘ of the modern average South-Indian maund. However that may be, for arriving at an idea of the weight of King Dhammachêtî's bell at the Shwêdagôn Pagoda, the best plan that suggests itself to me, as a result of the study of South-Indian weights given *ante*, pp. 57 ff., is to **assume that the Pâḷi scholars of Burma in at any rate the 15th century A. D. and onwards have meant by the tulâ what is now known as the Madras maund of 25 lbs. Av.** Just as the Burmans and Talaings unquestionably borrowed the South-Indian viss in an approximately correct form, so did they also, I think, borrow the next higher Avoirdupois denomination, the South-Indian *tulâm*, *man* or maund. And that these synonymous terms have meant continuously a weight of 25 *lbs.* Av. or thereabouts in, before and after the 15th century A. D. there can be no doubt.

Assuming the tulâ then to equal 25 *lbs.* Av., **the weight of Dhammachêtî's bell** of 3,000 *tulâs* would be 75,000 *lbs.* Av. or **33½ tons.** If we give the tulâ a weight of 20 *lbs.* or less, then the weight of the bell would be 26¾ tons or less.

The weights of the **Mahâtibàddagàndâ of King Þarâwadî** at Rangoon and of U Kunâ-liṅgâyà's bell at Maulman are, of course, stated in modern terms, and weigh, according to the inscriptions thereon, — the first, **a few lbs. over 42 tons,** and the second, about one ton.

The traditional weight of **the Mahâgàndâ at Rangoon** is 25,555 viss,[32] which amounts to about $41\frac{7}{10}$ths tons, or a little less than the Mahâtibàddagàndâ;[33] but, in the course of an interesting correspondence in the *Rangoon Gazette* on the subject, a writer says, in a letter, dated 27th May, 1896, that part of the inscription on the bell runs as follows: — "Year of the establishment of religion 2322, era (Burmese) 1140, 11th day of the waxing moon of Tabotwai (Tabôdwè, about February) after the third watch, the position of the stars being propitious, with metal weighing 15,555 *peiktha* (viss)." Now 2322 A. B. and 1140 B. E. both represent 1778 A. D., and assuming that the above transcript is right, it must have been Siṅgûsâ (1776-81), who gave the bell, and not B'ôdòp'ayâ (1781-1819), as is generally stated on the strength of Mr. Hough's rendering of the inscription;[34] and its weight must be **about 25⅓ tons.**

The above variations in statement arise from two causes: — positive variations in the statements themselves and differences in the mode of computation. For the instruction of students I now collect in one view the information so far available in the subjoined table.

The Various Computations of the Weights of the Greater Burmese Bells.

I. — The Myingun Bell.[35]

Date.	Authority.	Viss.	lbs.	Tons.
1835	Malcom, Vol. I. p. 274	88,000	321,200[36]	143·39
	Op. cit., loc. cit., n.[37]	......	500,000 (over)	219·64
c. 1852	Bigandet, *Gaudama*, Ed. 1880, Vol. I. p. 74 f. n.	......	200,000 (over)	89·1
1855	Yule, *Ava*, p. 171[38]—			
	(*a*) Popular view[39]	555,555	....	922·47
	(*b*) Malcom based on Burney ..	55,500	204,575	91·32
1883	Phayre, *Burma*, p. 219	......	....	80

[32] Hesketh-Biggs, *Shwedagon Pagoda*, p. 55.

[33] 25,555 viss against 25,940½ viss.

[34] The remarks now made should be taken, where they differ, to supersede those made *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 210, on the same subject. The difference arises in the taking the *tulâ* at 145 oz. Troy (see Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit Dict.*, *s. v. tulâ*), based on Colebrooke's remarks, *loc. cit.*, on the ancient Sanskrit weights, and on the assumption that the *rati* was a little over 2 grs. This works out the *tulâ* to about 12 *lbs.* Troy = 9⅘ *lbs.* Av., instead of what I now think that Dhammachêti's engravers meant by the term *tulâ*, *viz.*, the then current *tulâ* of about 25 *lbs.* Av.

[35] Near the Sîbyô Pagoda, *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 346. Cox, c. 1796, *Burmhan Empire*, p. 105 ff., describes this Pagoda, but not the bell, which was doubtless not then in existence.

[36] Malcom says over 330,000 lbs., but the above statement is the correct one.

[37] By computation of the metal in the bell. This, however, is as uncertain as any other statement about it. A comparison of the writers I have quoted will show them to differ very greatly as to dimensions.

[38] Copied by Strettell, *Ficus Elastica*, p. 48 n.

[39] This is merely a popular exaggeration.

II. — Mahâgàndâ Bell, Rangoon.[40]

Date.	Authority.	Viss.	lbs.	Tons.
(1778)	Inscription	15,555	....	25·32
1853	Laurie, *Burma*, Ed. 1853, p. 126 .	4,915·06	18,000	8·03
1895	Hesketh-Biggs, p. 55, popular statement.	25,555	....	41·7

III. — Mahâtiḅàddagàndâ Bell, Rangoon.

Date.	Authority.	Viss.	lbs.	Tons.
(1843)	Inscription[41]	25,940·5	94,687	42·05
c. 1852	Bigandet, *op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 74 n....	25,939·02	94,682	42·05

IV. — Dhammachêtî's Bell, Rangoon.

Date.	Authority.	Viss.	lbs.	Tons.
(1476)	Inscription, 1st comp.[42]	.. ...	....	11·4
(1476)	Do. 2nd do.[43]	......	75,000	33·5
1895	Taw Sein Ko, *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 332.	120,000	....	181[44]

Scott, who has a peculiar knack of picking up scraps of information of the greatest interest about the Burmese, tells us in *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 250, of a small bell in the South Kensington Museum, bearing the following inscription: —

"In the month of Tabohdwè, on the fifth of the waning moon, in the year 1204, on a Sunday, at about four in the afternoon, this bell was cast and moulded of pure copper. Its weight is 594,049 *kyats*. There are four lions on the hanging apparatus. Its height is nine fingers' breadth, the diameter is five inches, the circumference fifteen, the thickness twenty-four. It is called the Mahahtee Thadda Ganda. The man who had this royal bell moulded was the Burman king Tharrawaddy, Kong Boung Min."

Here we have, almost certainly, preserved for us a **memorial model** of the Mahâtiḅàddagàndâ of King Ḍarâwadî (*i. e.*, Kông-baung). If we may read 2,594,049 for the 594,049 *kyàts* of the text, we get within one *kyàt* of the statement on the original bell, as above given, because 25,940·5 viss = 2,594,050 *kyàts* or tickals. Also Sunday, the 5th waning Tabôdwè, 1204 (B. E.) is the date on the original bell. One would like to know if it has been the custom to make such memorial models of the great bells. At any rate the South Kensington Museum specimen is exceedingly interesting.

(*To be continued.*)

[40] Mentioned by Alexander, *Travels*, p. 46: Trant, *Two Years in Ava*, p. 34. But no weight is given in either case.

[41] Hesketh-Biggs says 26,000 viss or 42 tons; p. 43.

[42] *Ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 210.

[43] *Ante*, p. 117.

[44] This figure is arrived at by taking the *tulâ* to be 40 viss, instead of, as I now think, a little less than 8 viss. I do not know the authority for the computation, and it seems to be clearly wrong. At 8 viss to the *tulâ* the weight would be 36·2 tons.

ON THE SOUTH-INDIAN RECENSION OF THE MAHABHARATA.

BY M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

(*Continued from p.* 104.)

The discrepancies between the two recensions in the *Parvasaṁgraha* are not so considerable as those in the Anukramaṇî.

In the *Anukramaṇî* (both in the Northern and in the Southern recensions) the whole of the *Mahâbhârata* is divided into the usual eighteen Parvans, as we find them in the Devanâgarî editions. It is strange that neither the Northern nor the Southern MSS. of the actual *Mahâbhârata* seem to bear out this division into 18 *Parvans*. We find, *e. g.*, 20 or 21 *Parvans* in the complete Devanâgarî MSS. of the Berlin and Oxford libraries.[30] Of the Southern MSS. Dr. Burnell states that they divide the poem into 24 *Parvans*, which is not quite borne out by our Grantha MS. which, in the colophons, describes the *Pauloma* and *Âstîka Parvans* as subdivisions of the *Âdi-Parvan*, so that we should have

(1) *Âdi Parvan:*
  (*a*) *Pauloma*
  (*b*) *Âstîka*
(2) *Sambhava Parvan*
} = *Âdi Parvan* in the Nâgarî editions,

while Burnell gives the three first *Parvans* as:

(1) *Âdi Parvan*
(2) *Âstîka Parvan*
(3) *Sambhava Parvan*
} = *Âdi Parvan* in the Nâgarî editions.

A curious list of eighteen *Parvans* is that given in the passage (I. 1, 88-92) where the *Mahâbhârata* is compared to a tree, of which the *Saṁgrahâdhyâya* is the seed. The titles of the *Parvans* are given here as follows: —

(1) Pauloma,
(2) Âstîka,
(3) Sambhava,
(4) Sabhâ,
(5) Âraṇya,
(6) Araṇî,
(7) Virâṭa,
(8) Udyoga,
(9) Bhîshma,
(10) Droṇa,
(11) Karṇa,
(12) Śalya,
(13) Strî,
(14) Aishîka,
(15) Śânti,
(16) Aśvamedha,
(17) Âśramavâsika,
(18) Mausala.

All this seems to shew that *eighteen* was a traditional number for the larger divisions of the *Mahâbhârata*, but that this number was made up in very different ways by diaskeuastes at the different periods in the long history of the *Mahâbhârata* text.

[30] See A. Holtzmann, *Das Mahâbhârata*, III. 18 *seqq.*

The account given of the contents of the single *Parvans* in the *Anukramaṇî* is of considerable importance for *Mahâbhârata* criticism. For it is always worth something, if an episode about the genuineness of which doubts are entertained, can be proved to have been known to the compiler of this *Anukramaṇî*.

It is, therefore, important to see that the South-Indian recension gives a considerably shorter list of contents than the Nâgarî editions. How much importance can be attached to the omissions in our MS., we shall not be able to decide, until many more MSS. from different parts of India have been collated.

It is, however, interesting to see that the allusion to the 'Sakuntalâ episode (in vv. 95*b* and 96) is missing in the Grantha MS. For as we shall see below, the same episode is omitted in a Malayalam MS. of the *Sambhava Parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*.

Another important omission is that of vv. 109-110 alluding to the birth of Draupadî and Dhrishṭadyumna, and to Vyâsa's meeting with the Pâṇḍavas, when he tells them to proceed to Pañchâla for Draupadî's *Svayamvara*.

But there are numerous omissions, especially in the summary of the *Vana Parvan*, which at present can hardly be accounted for, and even the arrangement of the episodes in the Grantha MS. differs to a very great extent from that in the editions. I will only give a few examples, in order to shew **the great discrepancies between the two versions.** The asterisks shew the passages which are omitted in the Grantha MS.

I. 2, 166 *sqq.* *in the Devanâgarî (Bombay) edition.*	*Corresponding passage in the Grantha MS.*
1. Story of Karṇa being deprived of his ear-rings.	1. Story of Agastya, the Asura Vâtâpi, and Lopâmudrâ.
*2. Eulogy of Gaya.	2. Story of the hawk and the pigeon.
3. Story of Agastya, the Asura Vâtâpi, and Lopâmudrâ.	3. 'Sivi, examined by Indra and Agni and Dharma.
4. Story of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga.	4. Story of Ṛiśyaśṛiṅga (*sic*).
5. Story of Râma, the son of Jamadagni, and death of Kârtavîrya and the Haihayas.	5. Story of Râma, the son of Jamadagni, and death of Kârtavîrya and the Haihayas.
*6. Meeting between the Pâṇḍavas and Vṛishṇis in the Tîrtha Prabhâsa.	6. Story of Karṇa being deprived of his ear-rings.
7. Story of Sukanyâ, Chyavana, and the Aśvins.	7. Bhîmasena in Gandhamâdana, at Draupadî's request.
*8. Story of Mândhâtṛi.	8. Bhîma's baṭh in the tank and destruction of the flowers.
9. Story of Jantu.	9. Battle with the Yakshas.
10. Story of the hawk and the pigeon.	10. Story of Sukanyâ, Chyavana, and the Aśvins.
11. 'Sivi, examined by Indra and Agni and Dharma.	11. Story of Jantu.
12. Ashṭâvakra and his disputation with Vandin.	12. Ashṭâvakra and his disputation with Vandin.
13. Defeat of Vandin.	13. Defeat of Vandin.
14. Story of Yavakrîta and Raibhya.	14. Destruction of the Asura Jaṭa by Bhîma.
15. Departure of the Pâṇḍavas for Gandhamâdana.	15. Battle with the Nivâtakavachas.
16. Bhîmasena in Gandhamâdana, at Draupadî's request.	Etc.

I. 2, 166 *sqq.* *in the Devanágarí (Bombay) edition.*	*Corresponding passage in the Grantha MS.*
*17. Bhîma's meeting with Hanûmat.	
18. Bhîma's bath in the tank and destruction of the flowers.	
19. Battle with Râkshasas and Yakshas.	
20. Destruction of the Asura Jaṭa by Bhîma.	
*21. Meeting of the Pâṇḍavas with Vṛishaparvan,	
*22. Their going to the hermitage of Ârshṭishena.	
*23. Incitement of Bhîma by Draupadî.	
24. Ascent of Kailâsa,* and battle with the Yakshas.	
Etc.	

It seems to me that the state of the text in the Grantha MS. is in many respects less satisfactory than that offered by the Devanâgarî editions. The text is certainly corrupt in the stanzas giving the number of *Adhyâyas* and *Ślokas.* The number of *Adhyâyas* for the *Âdi Parvan* is given as 227 in the Devanâgarî editions, and as 218 in the Grantha MS. But our MS. agrees with the editions in giving 8,884 as the number of *Ślokas.* For the *Sabhâ Parvan* the number of *Adhyâyas* is given as 78 in the editions, as 72 in our MS. The number of *Ślokas* is said to be 2,511. The number 4,511 in the Grantha MS. is certainly a mistake. As regards the *Vana Parvan,* it is very surprising that the Grantha MS. exactly agrees with the editions in giving the number of *Adhyâyas* as 269, and the number of *Ślokas* as 11,664.

It would take up too much space, if I were to give the whole of the *Anukramaṇî* ; I have therefore to content myself with giving in **Extract D** the end of this List which is the end of the second *Adhyâya.*

On the whole, the text of this important chapter in the South-Indian recension leaves the impression that the Southern MSS., though they are not likely to contain a more original or a better text than the editions, are certainly indispensable for any future critical edition of the *Mahâbhârata.*

D.

Âdiparvan,

2, 370-396.

South-Indian MS.		*Devanágarí edition (Bombay).*
स्वर्गपर्व ततो ज्ञेयन्दिव्यं यत्तदमानुषं ।	370*a*	
Deest.	370*b*	प्राप्तं दैवरथं स्वर्गान्नेष्टवान्यत्र धर्मराट् ।
,,	371*a*	आरोढुं सुमहाप्राज्ञ आनृशंस्याच्छुना विना ।
,,	371*b*	तामस्याविचलां ज्ञात्वा स्थितिं धर्मे महात्मनः ।
,,	372*a*	श्वरूपं यत्र तत्त्यक्त्वा धर्मेणासौ समन्वितः ।
,,	372*b*	स्वर्गं प्राप्तः स च तथा यातना विपुला भृशं ।
,,	373*a*	देवदूतेन नरकं यत्र व्याजेन दर्शितं ।
,,	373*b*	शुश्राव यत्र धर्मात्मा भ्रातॄणां करुणा गिरः ।
,,	374*a*	निदेशे वर्तमानानां देशे तत्रैव वर्ततां ।
,,	374*b*	अनुदर्शितश्च धर्मेण देवराज्ञा च पाण्डवः ।
,,	375*a*	आप्लुत्याकाशगङ्गायां देहं त्यक्त्वा समानुषं ।
,,	375*b*	स्वधर्मनिर्जितं स्थानं स्वर्गे प्राप्य स धर्मराट् ।
,,	376*a*	मुमुदे पूजितः सर्वैः सेन्द्रैः सुरगणैः सह ।
,,	376*b*	एतदष्टादशं पर्व प्रोक्तं व्यासेन धीमता ।
,,		पर्वण्यस्मिन् महात्मना
अद्ध्यायाः पञ्च संख्याताः पर्वैतदभिसंख्यया ।	377*a*	
श्लोकानान्द्वे शते चैव ८संख्याते तपोधनाः ॥१२१॥	377*b*	

South-Indian MS.		*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
Deest.		378*a* नव श्लोकास्तथैवान्ये संख्याताः परमर्षिणा ।
अष्टादशैवमेतानि पर्वाण्युक्तान्यशेषतः ।	378*b*	°ण्येतान्य°
खिलेषु हरिवंशश्च भविष्यच्च प्रकीर्तितं ।	379*a*	भविष्यं च
Deest.		379*b* दशश्लोकसहस्राणि विंशच्छ्लोकशतानि च ।
,,		380*a* खिलेषु हरिवंशे च संख्यातानि महर्षिणा ।
एतत्साखिलमाख्यातं भारतं पर्वसंग्रहात् ।	380*b*	एतत्सर्वं समा° °ते पर्वसंग्रहः
अष्टादश समाजग्मुरक्षौहिण्यो युयुत्सया ।		°क्षौहिण्यो
तन्महद्दारुणं युद्धमहान्यष्टादशाभवत् ।	381	तन्महादा°
यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान् सांगोपनिषदान्द्विजः ।		°निषदो द्विजः
न चाख्यानमिदं विद्यान्नैव स स्याद्विचक्षणः ।	382	
Deest.		383*a* अर्थशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमिदं महत् ।
,,		383*b* कामशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं व्यासेनामितबुद्धिना ।
श्रुत्वा त्विदमुपाख्यानं श्राव्यमन्यन्न रोचते ।		
पुंस्कोकिलरुतं श्रुत्वा रूक्षा ध्वांक्षस्य वागिव ।	384	°गिरं
इतिहासोत्तमादस्माज्जायन्ते कविबुद्धयः ।		
पञ्चभ्य इव भूतेभ्यो लोकसंविधयस्त्रयः ।	385	
अस्याख्यानस्य विषये पुराणं वर्तते द्विजाः ।		
अन्तरिक्षस्य विषये प्रजा इव चतुर्विधाः ।	386	
क्रियागुणानां सर्वेषामिदमाख्यानमाश्रयः ।		
इन्द्रियाणां समस्तानां चित्रा इव मनःक्रियाः ।	387	
अनाश्रित्यैतदाख्यानं कथा भुवि न विद्यते ।		
आहारमनपाश्रित्य शरीरस्येव धारणं ।	388	
इदं सर्वैः कविवरैराख्यानमुपजीव्यते ।		कविवरैः सर्वै°
उदयप्रेप्सुभिर्भृत्यैरभिजात इवेश्वरः ।	389	°प्रेप्सु°
Deest.		390*a* अस्य काव्यस्य कवयो न समर्था विशेषणे ।
,,		390*b* साधोरिव गृहस्थस्य शेषास्त्रय इवाश्रमाः ।
,,		391*a* धर्मे मतिर्भवतु वः सततोत्थितानां स ह्येक एव
,,		परलोकगतस्य बन्धुः ।
,,		391*b* अर्थाः स्त्रियश्च निपुणैरपि सेव्यमाना नैवाप्तभाव-
,,		मुपयान्ति न च स्थिरत्वं ।
द्वैपायनेष्ठपुटनिःसृतमप्रमेयं पुण्यं पवित्रमथ पापहरं शिवञ्च ।		द्वैपायनौष्ठपुटनिः°
यो भारतं समधिगच्छति वाच्यमानं किन्तस्य पुष्करजलैरभिषेचनेन ।	392	
Deest.		393*a* यदह्ना कुरुते पापं ब्राह्मणस्त्विन्द्रियैश्चरन् ।
,,		393*b* महाभारतमाख्याय सन्ध्यां मुच्यति पश्चिमां ।
,,		394*a* यद्रात्रौ कुरुते पापं कर्मणा मनसा गिरा ।
,,		394*b* महाभारतमाख्याय पूर्वां सन्ध्यां प्रमुच्यते ।
,,		395*a* यो गोशतं कनकशृङ्गमयं ददाति विप्राय वेदविदुषे च बहुश्रुताय ।
,,		395*b* पुण्यां च भारतकथां शृणुयाच्च नित्यं तुल्यं फलं भवति तस्य च तस्य चैव ।
,,		
आख्यानन्तदिदमनुत्तमम्महार्थं विन्यस्तम्महदिह पर्वसंग्रहेण ।		विज्ञेयं म°
श्रुत्वादौ महति नृणां सुखावगाहो विस्तीर्णे लवणजले यथा प्लवेन ॥	396	भवति °गाहं विस्तीर्णं °जलं
इति श्रीभारते शतसहस्रिकायां संहितायामादिपर्वणि पौलोमे पर्वसंग्रहो नाम द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥		श्रीमहाभारते आदिपर्वणि पर्वसंग्रहपर्वणि

The *third Adhyâya* in our MS. corresponds to the third *Adhyâya* of the *Âdiparvan* (*Paushyaparvan*) in the Nâgarî editions. The end of the chapter is given below in Extract E.

The *fourth Adhyâya* in our MS. comprises the 4th and 5th *Adhyâyas* of the Nâgarî editions. The omission of Agni's speech at the end of the *Adhyâya* — see Extract F — can hardly be due to anything but the scribe's negligence.

The *fifth Adhyâya* (*Agniśâpa*) corresponds to the 6th *Adhyâya*, and the *sixth Adhyâya* (*Agniprasâda*) to the 7th *Adhyâya* in the Nâgarî editions. The superfluous line

एवं स भगवाञ्छापं लेभेऽग्निर्भृगुतः पुरा ।

making a *śloka* of three lines in the editions (I. 7, 28) is not found in our MS.

The *seventh Adhyâya* in our MS. corresponds to the 8th *Adhyâya* in the Nâgarî editions. The end is given in Extract G.

The *eighth Adhyâya* in our MS. comprises *Adhyâyas* 9-12 of the Nâgarî editions, and finishes the *Pauloma-Parvan*. The end of this *Parvan* and the *first Adhyâya* of the *Âstîka-Parvan* (= I. 13, 1-6*a* in B. edition) are given in Extract H.

The *second Adhyâya* of the *Âstîka-Parvan* corresponds to I. 13, 6*b*-15, 11 (end of the 15th *Adhyâya*) in the Nâgarî editions. The end of this *Adhyâya* is given below in Extract I.

If we compare I. 14, 7*b* and I. 15, 3*a* and remember that I. 14, 6 is a *śloka* of three lines in the edition, we can hardly doubt that the Grantha MS. which omits I. 14, 6*b* and 7 gives a more original text. It is certainly remarkable that we find so frequently *ślokas* of three lines in the Northern recension, where the South-Indian MS. has only two lines. Yet we find sometimes *ślokas* of three lines also in the latter, which proves that the authors of the South Indian recension did not remove the superfluous lines intentionally.

Adhyâyas 3-6 of the *Âstîka-Parvan* correspond to *Adhyâyas* 16-19 in the Nâgarî editions. The end of the 3rd *Adhyâya* is given in Extract J.

The *seventh Adhyâya* corresponds to *Adhyâya* 20 in the Nâgarî editions, and (as may be seen from Extract K below) differs considerably from the Northern recension.

The *eighth Adhyâya* corresponds to *Adhyâya* 21 of the Northern recension, concluding with the last verse of *Adhyâya* 22, while the rest of this *Adhyâya* (which is mainly a repetition of *Adhyâya* 21) does not exist in our MS. The end of the eighth *Adhyâya* will be found in Extract L.

These two *Adhyâyas* (7 and 8) of the *Âstîka-Parvan* are of considerable importance. They relate the story of Kadrû and Vinatâ who wager about the colour of the horse Uchchaiḥśravas, a story the roots of which reach down into the depth of ancient mythology, and which has an important bearing on the relation between the Vedic and the epic literature. That there is some confusion in the text of this story as found in the Nâgarî editions, has been pointed out long ago.[31]

A brief summary of the contents of chapters 20-22 will shew at once the unsatisfactory state of the text in the Northern recension.

Adhyâya 20: Seeing the horse Uchchaiḥśravas, Kadrû and Vinatâ wager about the colour of the horse's tail. Kadrû orders her thousand sons, the Snakes, to transform themselves into black hair and cover the horse's tail so that it might appear black. The snakes refuse to do her bidding. She curses them to be burnt at Janamejaya's sacrifice. The 'Grandfather' (Brahman) heard this cruel curse, but seeing how the snakes had multiplied exceedingly, and being anxious for the welfare of creatures, he together with all the gods approved of the curse uttered by Kadrû. *After some general reflections on the dangerousness of snakes, and the*

[31] See Holtzmann, *Das Mahâbhârata*, I. p. 17 *sq.*

fate of the wicked, the Creator (devaḥ srishṭikrit) calls Kaśyapa (Prajâpati) and tells him not to grieve about the destruction of the snakes, his children, and finally bestows upon him (Kaśyapa) the power of destroying snake poison.

Adhyâya 21 : Kadrû and Vinatâ go to view the horse Uchchaiḥśravas, and on their way see the ocean. Description of the ocean.

Adhyâya 22 : *The snakes, after a debate, decide to comply with Kadrû's wish, and cause the horse's tail to appear black. Then follows (vv. 4-12) what amounts to a repetition, or rather a shorter version, of the preceding Adhyâya.*

In the *Suparṇâkhyâna* which, like other Vedic texts (*Sat. Br.* III. 6, 2, 3 *sqq.; Taitt. Saṁh.* VI. 1, 6, 1 *sqq.*), relates the story of the wager of Kadrû and Vinatâ, no reference is made to the part played by the snakes in connection with this wager. Professor Oldenberg, in his most interesting essay on the *Suparṇâkhyâna*,[32] suggests that originally this legend had nothing to do with the Snake sacrifice (*sarpasattra*). This, he thinks, is proved by the awkwardness with which the story of the *Mahâbhârata* tries to overcome the difficulty that though Kadrû wins the wager with the help of the snakes yet the snakes perish in consequence of their disobedience, cursed by Kadrû. This may be so. Partly, however, the awkwardness of the story in the *Mahâbhârata* is due merely to the state of the text in the Devanâgarî editions. The South-Indian recension gives a much more satisfactory text.

Even if we had only the Northern recension, the genuineness of I. 20, 12-16*b* relating the conversation between the Creator (Brahman) and Prajâpati-Kaśyapa might be doubted. But seeing the Southern text, there cannot be the least doubt that the two lines

तेषां तीक्ष्णविषत्वाद्धि प्रजानां च हिताय वै ।
प्रादाद्विषहर्णीं (?) विद्यां काश्यपाय महात्मने ॥

belong together. Observe that in the editions *śloka* 16 has three lines, and that vv. 11 and 12 are very loosely connected. The context, according to the Southern recension, is as follows :—

On hearing the cruel curse pronounced by Kadrû against the Snakes, Brahman the 'Grandfather' approves of it, being aware that the snakes had multiplied exceedingly, and being anxious for the welfare of creatures. *For, to be sure, it was on account of the violent poisonousness of snakes and for the benefit of creatures, that he bestowed on Kâśyapa the art of destroying snake poison.*

Kâśyapa is probably the physician Kâśyapa who wanted to cure King Parikṣit from the snake-bite (*Mbhâr.* I. 42 *sq.*). He is mentioned here very aptly, in order to shew how anxious Brahman was to protect men from the poisonous snakes. In the Northern recension (or at any rate, in the text known to us from the Devanâgarî editions) Kaśyapa was substituted for Kâśyapa, and the insipid conversation between Brahman and Prajâpati came to be inserted.

The South-Indian version continues : *After the Snakes had thus been cursed by Kadrû, Kûrkoṭaka greatly distressed on account of that curse propitiates his mother by promising to transform himself into black hair and make the horse's tail appear black.*

This is, at any rate, more plausible than the version found in the Devanâgarî editions. The latter tell us (I. 22, 1-3) that *all the snakes* comply with Kadrû's wish, and yet the snakes perish at Janamejaya's sacrifice. While the South-Indian recension makes only one Nâga (or perhaps one party of Nâgas) comply with the wishes of Kadrû, which agrees well with the fact that finally *some* of the snakes are spared from the general destruction at the snake-sacrifice (I. 58).

That *Adhyâya* 22 which is mainly a repetition of the 21st *Adhyâya* is omitted in the South-Indian recension, also proves that — at any rate, in this particular episode — the South-Indian recension has preserved a better text than that found in the Devanâgarî editions.

[32] *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 37 (1883), pp. 70 *sq.*, 83 *sq.*

The *ninth Adhyâya* of the *Âstîkaparvan* corresponds to I. 23 of the editions, but is much shorter, vv. 2, 6, 7*b*, 8*b*, 12-14 being omitted, as well as the second portion of the hymn to Garuḍa. The end of this *Adhyâya* is given in Extract M below. It is, of course, possible that verses may have been omitted in the South-Indian recension for the sake of shortening the text, but it seems to me far more probable that given a hymn in praise of Garuḍa, a reciter or editor thought it meritorious to add some verses of his own, or from another source, in praise of the same divine being. Both editors and copyists of the *Mahâbhârata* seem to have readily admitted into their text anything they approved of, if only it was found in some MS., on the principle of bringing all excellent things together (*guṇopasaṁhâranyâyena*).[33] In a critical edition of the *Mahâbhârata*, we should probably have to omit or to mark as spurious any passages occurring only in one of the two recensions, provided that they can be safely omitted without disturbing the context.

The *tenth Adhyâya* of the *Âstîkaparvan* corresponds to *Adhyâyas* 24 and 25 of the Northern recension. But the first two *ślokas* of the 24th *Adhyâya*, and all from 4*b* to the end of the *Adhyâya*, as well as the first *śloka* of *Adhyâya* 25 are omitted. The omission includes the legend of the enmity between Râhu and the Sun, and the appointment of Aruṇa as the Sun's charioteer. The *Adhyâya* begins:

ओं सूतः ॥
ततः कामगमः पक्षी कामवीर्य्यो महाबलः ।
अरुणञ्चात्मनः पृष्ठमुपारोप्य पितुर्गृहात् ।
मातुरन्तिकमागच्छत् परन्तीरम्महोदधेः ।
यत्र सा विनता तस्मिन् पणिते वै पराजिता ।
अतीव दुःखसन्तप्ता दासीभावमुपागता ।

The rest of the chapter corresponds to I. 25, 3-17. It cannot be a mere accident that the story of the Sun's wrath on account of the enmity of Râhu, and Aruṇa's appointment as charioteer to the Sun is also omitted by *Kshemendra* in his *Bhâratamañjarî*,[34] And if we compare the three lines I. 24, 3-4*a*,

ततः कामगमः पक्षी कामवीर्यो विहंगमः ।
अरुणं चात्मनः पृष्ठमारोप्य स पितुर्गृहात् ।
मातुरन्तिकमागच्छत् परं तीरं महोदधेः ।

with I. 25, 1,

ततः कामगमः पक्षी महावीर्यो महाबलः ।
मातुरन्तिकमागच्छत् परं पारं महोदधेः ।

we see clearly how the whole passage from I. 24, 4*b*-19 was interpolated, and I. 25, 1 had to be added in order to take up the thread which had been interrupted by the interpolation. Observe also the omission of the line I. 6, 23*b* (below, extract J) containing an allusion to Aruṇa's charioteership. That the legend is omitted in Kshemendra's work goes far to prove that the passage was interpolated after Kshemendra's time, *i. e.*, after A. D. 1050,[35] and if the story could be proved to occur in all MSS. representing the Northern recension, we should be justified in concluding that the branching off of the Southern recension took place after the time of Kshemendra.

The *eleventh Adhyâya* corresponds to I, 26 of the Devanâgarî edition, but is again shorter. The *twelfth Adhyâya* corresponds to I. 27-28. Omitted are I. 27, 2-3*a*; 7*a*; 8*b*; 9*a*; and I. 28, 4*b*-9*a*; 11*b*; 12*b*; 13*a*; 14*a*; 16*a*. The end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th *Adhyâya* will be found in Extract N.

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[33] उद्योगपर्वणि सनत्सुजातीये भाष्यकारादिभिर्व्याख्यातान् संप्रतितनपुस्तकेषु च स्थितान्पाठान् श्लोकांश्च गुणोपसंहारन्यायेनैकीकृत्य व्याख्यायते ॥ *Nîlakaṇṭha* at the beginning of the *Sanatsujâtîya* (*Mahâbhârata*, V. 42). Compare Telang in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VIII. p. 203 *sq*.

[34] See *Bhâratam*. I. 114 *sq*. (*Kâvyamâla*), and Prof. Kirste in 'Contributions to the History of the *Mahâbhârata*' (No. II. of *Indian Studies*, by G. Bühler and J. Kirste), p. 30.

[35] See Dr. Bühler in 'Contributions,' p. 3 *sq*.

Adhyâyas 13-34 of the *Âstîkaparvan* in our MS. correspond to *Adhyâyas* 29-50 in the Devanâgarî editions; *Adhyâya* 35 corresponds to I. 51-52; *Adhyâya* 36 to I. 53; *Adhyâya* 37 to I. 54-55; *Adhyâyas* 38-39 to I. 56-57; and *Adhyâya* 40 to I. 58-59.

The end of *Adhyâya* 40, which is the end of the Grantha MS. Whish No. 65, will be found in Extract O below. In the editions, *Adhyâya* 59 is the beginning of the *Âdivaṁśâvatâraṇa-parvan*. The title of this *Parvan* does not occur in the South-Indian recension,[36] but the *Âstîka-Parvan* ends here, and is followed immediately by the *Sambhava-Parvan*, the first *Adhyâya* of which corresponds to *Adhyâya* 60 in the Devanâgarî editions.

I now give, in parallel columns, the rest of the extracts from MS. Whish No. 65, with the corresponding passages of the Northern recension.

E.

Âdiparvan,

3, 186-188.

End of the third Adhyâya in Grantha MS.		*End of the third Adhyâya in B. edition.*
एतच्छ्रुत्वा तु नृपतिस्तक्षकस्य चुकोप ह ।		°स्तक्षकाय
उदंकवाक्यहविषा दीप्तोग्निर्हविषा यथा ।	186	उत्तङ्क°
अपृच्छच्च तदा राजा मन्त्रिणस्तान् सुदुःखितः ।		अपृच्छत्स
उदंकस्यैव सान्निध्ये पितु स्वर्गगतिं प्रति ।	187	उत्तङ्क°
तदेव स राजेन्द्रो दुःखशोकाप्लुतोभवत् ।		तदैव हि °शोका°
यदैवासौ पितुर्वृत्तमुदंकादशृणोद्द्विजात् ।	188	यदैव वृत्तं पितरमुत्तङ्कादशृणोत्तदा ।
इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसहस्रिकायां संहितायामादिपर्वणि		आदिपर्वणि
पौलोमे कार्य्यवस्तूत्पादनन्नाम त्रितीयोऽध्यायः ॥		पौष्यपर्वणि पौष्याख्याने
		तृ°

F.

Âdiparvan,

5, 30-6, 1.

End of the 4th and beginning of the 5th Adhyâya in Grantha MS.		*End of the 5th and beginning of the 6th Adhyâya in B.*
तस्यैतद्वचनं श्रुत्वा सप्तार्चिः दुःखितो भृशं ।		ऽभवत्
भीतोऽनृताच्च शापाच्च भृगोरित्संब्रवीच्छनैः[37] ।	30	अग्निरुवाच ।
Deest.		त्वया वृता पुलोमेयं पूर्वं दानवनन्दन ।
"		31 किं त्वियं विधिना पूर्वं मन्त्रवन्न वृता त्वया ।
"		पित्रा तु भृगवे दत्ता पुलोमेयं यशस्विनी ।
"		32 ददाति न पिता तुभ्यं वरलोभान्महायशाः ।
"		अथेमां वेददृष्टेन कर्मणा विधिपूर्वकं ।
"		33 भार्यामृषिर्भृगुः प्राप मां पुरस्कृत्य दानव ।
"		सेयमित्यवगच्छामि नानृतं वक्तुमुत्सहे ।
"		34 नानृतं हि सदा लोके पूज्यते दानवोत्तम ।
"		
इति श्रीमहाभारते आदिपर्वणि पौलोमे भार्गववंशकथन-		पौलोमपर्वणि पुलोमाग्नि-
न्नाम चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥		संवादे पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।
ओं सूतः ॥		सौतिरुवाच ॥
अग्नेरद्वचनं श्रुत्वा तद्रक्षः प्रजहार तां ।		अग्नेरथ वचः
ब्रह्मन्वराहरूपेण मनोमारुतरंहसा ।	1	

[36] It is, however, remarkable that in the *Parvasaṁgraha* (see above, extract C, I. 2, 42) the *Âdivaṁśâvatâraṇa* is mentioned in both recensions.

[37] Read भृगोरित्यब्रवीच्छनैः

G.

Âdiparvan,

8, 25.

Grantha MS.	*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
प्रमतिस्सह पुत्रेण तथान्ये वनवासिनः ।	
तान्ते कन्यां व्यसुन्दृष्ट्वा भुजगस्य विषार्दितां ।	भुजं°
रुरुदुः कृपयाविष्टा रुरुस्त्वात्तो बहिर्गतः ।	°र्त्तौ बहिर्ययौ
ते च सर्वे द्विजश्रेष्ठास्तत्रैवोपविशंस्तदा ॥	°वोपा°
इति श्रीमहाभारते आदिपर्वणि पौलोमे	पौलोमपर्वणि
प्रमद्वराविवाहाहस्थापन्नाम सप्तमोऽध्यायः ॥	प्रमद्वरासर्पदंशे अष्टमोऽध्यायः

H.

Âdiparvan,

12, 4-13 6*a*.

Grantha MS.		*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
सूतः ।		सौतिरुवाच ।
रुरुस्त्वथ वनं सर्वं पर्य्यधावत् समन्ततः ।		रुरुश्चापि
तमृषिन्द्रष्टुमन्विच्छन् संभ्रान्तो न्यपतद् भुवि ।	4	तमृषिं नष्टम°
Deest.		स मोहं परमं गत्वा नष्टसंज्ञ इवाभवत् ।
,,		5 तदृषेर्वचनं तथ्यं चिन्तयानः पुनःपुनः ।
लब्धसंज्ञो रुरुस्सोयन्तचाचख्यौ पितुस्तदा ।		रुरुश्चायात्तदा°
पित्रे तु सर्वमाख्याय डुण्डुभस्य वचोर्त्थवत् ।	6	
अपृच्छत् पितरं भूयस्सोस्तीकस्य वचस्तथा ।		
आख्यातवांस्तदाख्यानं डुण्डुभेनाथ कीर्त्तितं ।	7	
तत् कीर्त्यमानं भगवञ्छ्रोतुमिच्छामि तत्वतः ।		
पिता चास्य तदाख्यानं पृष्टस्सर्वन्त्य[38]वेदयत् ॥	8	
इति श्रीमहाभारते आदिपर्वणि शतसहस्रिकायां		पौलोम°
संहितायां पौलोमे रुरुप्रश्नो नामाष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥		सर्पसत्रप्रस्तावनायां द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥
ओं पौलोमं समाप्तं ॥		समाप्तं पौलोमपर्व ॥ अथास्तीकपर्व ॥
ओं शौनकः ।		शौनक उवाच ॥
किमर्त्थं राजशार्दूलस्स राजा जनमेजयः ।		
सर्प्पसत्रेण सर्प्पाणां गतोन्तन्तद्वदस्व मे ।	1	
Deest.		निखिलेन यथा तत्त्वं सौते सर्वमशेषतः ।
आस्तीकस्तु द्विजश्रेष्ठः किमर्त्थं जपतां वरः ।	2	°कश्च
मोक्षयामास भुजगान्दीप्तात्तस्माद्धुताशनात् ।		°न्प्रदीप्ताद्वसुरेतसः
स्य पुत्रस्स राजासीत् सर्पसत्रं य आहरत् ।	3	कस्य
स चिद्विजातिप्रवरः कस्य पुत्रो वदस्व तत् ।		स च ऽभिधत्स्व मे
श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यशेषेण कथामेताम्मनोहरां ।	4	Deest. } See below.
आस्तीकस्य पुराणस्य ब्राह्मणस्य तपस्विनः ।		,, }
सूतः ।		सौतिरुवाच ।
महदाख्यानजास्तीकं यत्रैतत् प्रोच्यते बुधैः ।	5	°नमास्तीकं यथैतत्प्रोच्यते द्विज
सर्वमेतदशेषेण श्रुणु मे वदतां वर ।		
इति श्रीमहाभारते आदिपर्वण्यास्तीके		शौनक उवाच ।
प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥		श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यशेषेण कथामेतां मनोरमां ।
		आस्तीकस्य पुराणर्षेर्ब्राह्मणस्य यशस्विनः । I. 13, 6*a*
		No *Adhyâya* ends here.

[38] Read °सर्वं न्य°.

I.

Âdiparvan,
14, 6-15, 11.

Grantha MS.		*Devanâgarî edition (Bombay).*
वासुकिः ।		वासुकिरुवाच ।
जरत्कारो जरुत्कारु स्वसेयमनुजा मम ।	6*a*	जरत्कारुः
Deest.		6*b* प्रतिगृह्णीष्व भार्यार्थं मया दत्तां सुमध्यमां ।
त्वदर्थं रक्षिता पूर्वं प्रतीच्छ मान्द्विजोत्तम ।	6*c*	
Deest.		7*a* एवमुक्त्वा ततः प्रादाद्भार्यार्थे वरवर्णिनीं ।
,,		7*b* स च तां प्रतिजग्राह विधिदृष्टेन कर्मणा ।
,,		इति श्रीमहाभारते आदिपर्वणि आस्तीकपर्वणि वासुकिस्वसृवरणे चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः ॥ १४ ॥
,,		
सूतः ।		सौतिरुवाच ।
मात्रा हि भुजगाश्शप्ताः पूर्वं ब्रह्मविदां वर ।		
जनमेजयस्य वो यज्ञे धक्ष्यत्यनिलसारथिः ।	1	
तस्य शापस्य शान्त्यर्थं प्रददौ पन्नगोत्तमः ।		
स्वसारमृषये तस्मै सुवृत्ताय महात्मने ।	2	सुव्रताय
स च तां प्रतिजग्राह विधिदृष्टेन कर्म्मणा ।		
अस्तीकी नाम पुत्रश्च तस्याजज्ञे महात्मनाः ।	3	तस्यां जज्ञे महामनाः
तपस्वी च महात्मा च वेदवेदांगपारगः ।		
समस्सर्वस्य लोकस्य पितृमातृभयापहः ।	4	
अथ कालस्य महतः पाण्डवेयो नराधिपः ।		दीर्घस्य कालस्य
आजहार महायज्ञ सर्प्पसत्रमिति श्रुतं ।	5	श्रुतिः
तस्मिन् प्रवृते सत्रे तु सर्प्पाणामन्तकाय वै ।		प्रवृत्ते
मोचयामास तावच्छापादस्तीकस्य महातपाः ।	6	तान्नागानास्तीकः सु°
नागांश्च मातुलांश्चैव तथा संबन्धिबान्धवान् ।		भ्रातॄंश्च तथैवान्यान्स पन्नगान्
पितॄंश्च तारयामास सन्तत्या तपसा तथा ।	7	
वृत्तैश्च विविधै ब्रह्मन् स्वाद्ध्यायैश्चानृणोभवत् ।		व्रतैश्च विविधैर्ब्र°
देवांश्च तर्प्पयामास यज्ञै[39] विविधदक्षिणैः ।	8	
ऋषींश्च ब्रह्मचर्य्येण सन्तत्या च पितामहान् ।		
अपहृत्य गुरुं भारं पितॄणां संशितव्रतः ।	9	
जरत्कारुर्गतस्वर्गं सहित स्वैः पितामहैः ।		
आस्तीकञ्च सुतं प्राप्य धर्म्मञ्चानुत्तमम्मुनिः ।	10	
जरत्कारुस्सुमहता कालेन स्वर्गमेयिवान् ।		
एतदाख्यानमास्तीकं यथावत् कथितम्मया ।		
प्रब्रूहि भृगुशार्दूल किं भूयः कथ्यतामिति ॥	11	किमन्यत्कथयामि ते
इति श्रीमहाभारते आस्तीके		आदिपर्वणि आस्तीकपर्वणि
द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥		सर्पाणां मातृशापप्रस्तावे पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः ॥

J.

Âdiparvan,
16, 22-25.

Grantha MS.		*Devanâgarî (Bombay) edition.*
एवं श्रुत्वा ततः पुत्रो विनतामन्तरिक्षगः ।	22	
अरुणो दृश्यते ब्रह्मन् प्रभातसमये तदा ।		यदा
Deest.		23 आदित्यरथमध्यास्ते सारथ्यं समकल्पयत् ।
गरुडोपि यथाकालं जज्ञे पन्नगस्यदनः ।		पन्नगभोजनः
स जातमात्रो विनतां परित्यज्य खमाविशत् ।	24	
आदास्यन्नात्मनो भोज्यमन्नं विहितमस्य यत् ।		
विधात्रा भृगुशार्दूल क्षुधितस्य बुभुक्षतः ॥	25	क्षुधितः पतगेश्वरः
इति श्रीमहाभारते आस्तीके पर्वणि		आदिपर्वणि आस्तीकपर्वणि सर्पादीनामुत्पत्तौ
त्रितीयोऽध्यायः ॥		षोडशोऽध्यायः ॥

39 Read यज्ञैर्वि°

K.

Âdiparvan,
20, 10-16.

Grantha MS.		*Devanâgarî (Bombay) edition.*
सार्द्धन्देवगणैस्सर्वैर्वचनञ्चान्वमोदत ।		°र्वाचं तामन्वमोदत
बहुत्वं प्रेक्ष्य सर्पाणां प्रजानां हितकाम्यया ।	10	
उग्रवीर्य्यविषाण्येते[40] दन्तशूका महाबलाः ।		तिग्मवीर्यविषा ह्येते दन्दशूका
तेषान्तीक्ष्णविषत्वाद्धि प्रजानाञ्च हिताय वै ।	11	च
Deest.		12a युक्तं मात्रा कृतं तेषां परपीडोपसर्पिणां ।
”		12b अन्येषामपि सत्त्वानां नित्यं दोषपरास्तु ये ।
”		तेषां प्राणान्तिको दण्डो दैवेन विनिपात्यते ।
”		13 एवं संभाष्य देवस्तु पूज्य कद्रूं च तां तदा ।
”		आहूय कश्यपं देव इदं वचनमब्रवीत् ।
”		14 यदेते दन्दशूकाश्च सर्पा जातास्त्वयानघ ।
”		विषोल्बणा महाभोगा मात्रा शप्ताः परंतप ।
”		15 तत्र मन्युस्त्वया तात न कर्तव्यः कथंचन ।
”		16a दृष्टं पुरातनं ह्येतद्यज्ञे सर्पविनाशनं ।
”		16b इत्युक्त्वा सृष्टिकृद्देवस्तं प्रसाद्य प्रजापतिं ।
प्रादाद्विषहरिणीं विद्यां काश्यपाय महात्मने ।	16c	°हरीं विद्यां कश्यपाय
एवं शप्तेषु नागेषु कद्रा च द्विजसत्तम ।		Deest.
उद्विग्नश्शापतस्तस्याः कद्रूं कार्कोटकोऽब्रवीत् ।		”
मातरं परमप्रीतस्तदा भुजगसत्तमः ।		”
आविश्य वाजिनं मुख्यं वालो भूत्वाञ्जनप्रभः ।		”
दर्शयिष्यामि तत्राहमात्मानं काममाश्वस ।		”
एवमस्त्विति सा पुत्रं प्रत्युवाच यशस्विनी ॥		”
इति श्रीमहाभारते आस्तीके कद्रुवाक्यन्नाम सप्तमोऽध्यायः ॥		आदिपर्वणि आस्तीकपर्वणि सौपर्णे विंशोऽध्यायः ॥

L.

Âdiparvan,
21, 14-22, 12.

Grantha MS.		*Devanâgarî (Bombay) edition.*
अध्यात्मयोगनिद्राञ्च पद्मनाभस्य सेवतः ।		पद्म°
युगान्तकालशयनं विष्णोरमिततेजसः ।	14	युगादि°
Deest.		15a वज्रपातनसंत्रस्तमैनाकस्याभयप्रदं ।
”		15b डिंबाहवार्दितानां च असुराणां परायणं ।
बडबामुखदीप्ताग्नेस्तोयहव्यप्रदं शुभं ।		वडवा° शिवं
अगाधतलविस्तीर्णमप्रमेयं सरित्पतिं ।	16	अगाधपारं
महानदीभिर्बह्वीभि स्पर्द्धयेव सहस्रशः ।	17a	
अभिसार्य्यमाणमनिशन्तत्र तत्र समन्ततः ।	17b	°शं ददृशाते महार्णवं
Deest.		17c आपूर्यमाणमत्यर्थं नृत्यमानमिवोर्मिभिः ।
गंभीरन्तिमिमकरोग्रसंकुलन्तं गर्जन्तञ्जलचररावनादितैस्तैः ।		रौद्रनादैः
विस्तीर्णन्ददृशु[41]रंबरप्रकाशन्तेगाधान्निधिमुरुमभसामपारव इत्येवं ।	21, 18	°मंभसामनन्तं
Deest.		Here follows I. 22, 1-11.
झषमकरोर्म्मिसंकुलन्तं गभीरं विकासितमंबरप्रकाशं ।		इत्येवं तरलतरोर्मिसंकुलं ते गंभीरं
पाताळज्वलनशिखाविदीपितान्तं पश्यन्त्यौ द्रुतमभिपेततुस्तदानीं ॥	22,12	पाताल° °तांगं गर्जन्तं द्रुतमभिजग्मतुस्ततस्ते
इत्यास्तीके समुद्रवर्णनन्नामाष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥		इति श्रीमहाभारते आदिपर्वणि आस्तीकपर्वणि सौपर्णे समुद्रदर्शनं नाम द्वाविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

[40] Read °विषा ह्येते.

[41] Read °शतु°.

M.
Âdiparvan,
23, 21*b*-27.

Grantha MS.		*Devanâgarî (Bombay) edition.*
भयंकरः प्रळय इवाग्निरुत्थितो विनाशयन्युगपरिवर्त्तनान्तकृत् ।	21*b*	प्रलय
खगेश्वरं शरणमुपास्थिता वयम्महौजसं वितिमिरमभ्रगोचरं ।		°पागता ज्वलनसमानवर्चसं
महाबलं गरुडमुपेत्य खेचरं परावर वरदमजेयविक्रमं ।	22	तडित्प्रभं वितिमिरमभ्रगोचरं महाबलं गरुडमुपेत्य खेचरं ।
Deest.		*Slokas* 23-26 follow here in the B. edition.
सूतः ।		Deest.
एवं स्तुतस्सुपर्णस्तु देवैस्सर्षिगणैस्तदा ।		
तेजसः प्रतिसंहारमात्मनस्तु चकार ह ॥		°मात्मनः स
इति श्रीमहाभारते आस्तीके गरुडोत्पत्तिर्नाम नवमोद्ध्यायः ॥		आदिपर्वणि आस्तीकपर्वणि सौपर्णे त्रयोविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

N.
Âdiparvan,
26, 5-27, 4.

Grantha MS.		*Devanâgarî (Bombay) edition.*
मेघस्तनितनिर्घोषमंबरं समपद्यत ।	5*a*	°निर्घोषैर्विद्युत्पवनकंपितैः ।
Deest.	5*b*	तैर्मेघैः सततासारं वर्षद्भिरनिशं तदा ।
,,	6*a*	नष्टचन्द्रार्ककिरणमम्बरं समपद्यत ।
नागानामुत्तमो हर्षस्तथा वर्षति वासवे ।	6*b*	
आपूर्यत मही चापि सलिलेन समन्ततः ॥	7*a*	
Deest.	7*b*	रसातलमनुप्राप्तं शीतलं विमलं जलं ।
,,	8*a*	तदा भूरभवच्छन्ना जलोर्मिभिरनेकशः ।
,,	8*b*	रामणीयकमागच्छन्मात्रा सह भुजंगमाः ।
इत्यास्तीके एकादशोद्ध्यायः ॥		इति श्रीम° आदि° आस्ती° सौपर्णे षड्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ २६
ओं सूतः ॥		सौतिरुवाच ।
Deest.	1*a*	संप्रहृष्टास्ततो नागा जलधाराप्लुतास्तदा ।
सुपर्णेनोह्यमानास्ते जग्मुस्तन्देशमाशु वै ।	1*b*	°स्तं द्वीपमाशु वै
Deest.	2*a*	तं द्वीपं मकरावासं विहितं विश्वकर्मणा ।
,,	2*b*	तत्र ते लवणं घोरं ददृशुः पूर्वमागताः ।
,,	3*a*	सुपर्णसहिताः सर्पाः काननं च मनोरमं ।
सागरांबु परिक्षिप्तं पक्षिसंघविनादितं ।	3*b*	
विचित्रफलपुष्पाभिर्वनराजिभिरावृतं ।	4*a*	
भवनैश्चावृतान्दिव्यैस्तथा पद्माकरैरपि ।	4*b*	भवनैरावृतं रम्यैस्तथा पद्मा°

O.
Âdiparvan,
59, 9-10.

End of the Grantha MS. Whish No. 65.	*Devanâgarî (Bombay) edition.*
हन्त तेहं प्रवक्ष्यामि महदाख्यानमुत्तमं ।	ते कथयिष्यामि
कृष्णद्वैपायनमतम्महाभारतमादितः ।	
तज्जुषस्वोत्तममते कथ्यमानम्महाद्विज ।	शृणु सर्वमशेषेण कथ्यमानं मया द्विज ।
शंसितुन्तन्मनोहर्षो ममापीह च वर्द्धते ॥	°न्महान्हर्षो प्रवर्तते
इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसहस्रिकायां संहितायामादिपर्वणि	आदिपर्वणि
आस्तीके आस्तीकवरप्रदानन्नाम	अंशावतरणपर्वणि कथानुबन्धे
चत्वारिंशोद्ध्यायः ॥ हरिः ओं शुभमस्तु ॥	एकोनषष्टितमोऽध्यायः ॥ ५९ ॥

A fragment of the *Sambhava-Parvan* is found in MS. Whish No. 158.[42] This is a tiny palm-leaf MS. written in Malayalam (Tulu) characters, and containing fragments of a work (or works) on ritual, and at the end twelve chapters of the *Sambhava-Parvan.*

This *Parvan,* as stated above, begins with the second *Adhyâya* of the *Âdivaṁśâvatâraṇa-parvan* in our editions, just where the *Âstîka-Parvan* ends in MS. Whish No. 65. The first three *Adhyâyas* correspond (with numerous various readings) to I. 60-62 of the *Mahâbhârata* in the Devanâgarî editions. But the *fourth Adhyâya* is not found in the Northern recension. It contains a genealogy of Pûru corresponding to that found in I. 95, 6-87 of our editions. It begins :—

वैशं [॥]
पूरोर्वंशमहं धर्म्यं राज्ञाममिततेजसां [॥]
प्रवक्ष्यामि पितृणां ते तेषां नामानि मे श्रृणु ।
दक्षस्यादितिरादितेर्विवस्वान्विवस्वतो मनुः
मनोरिळा इळायाः पुरुरवाः[43]
पुरुरवस आयुरायुषो नहुषः
नहुषस्य ययातिर्ययातेर्द्वे भार्ये बभूवतुः
उशनसो दुहिता देवयानी वृषपर्वणश्च दुहिता शर्म्मिष्ठा नाम [॥]
तत्रानुवंशो भवति [॥]
यदुं च तुर्वशुं चोभौ देवयानी व्यजायत [।]
द्रुह्युं चानुं च पूरुं च शर्म्मिष्ठा वार्षपर्वणी [।]
तत्र यदोर्य्यादवाः पुरोः पौरवाः etc.

The passage referring to Sakuntalâ and the birth of Bharata (I. 95, 27-32) runs as follows in our chapter :—

अत्रानुवंशो भवति [॥]
त्रस्नु सरस्वतिपुत्र[44] आन्तिनारादजायत [।]
[45]लञ्जनयामास काळिन्द्यां त्रस्नुरात्मजं ।
इलिलस्तु खलु रथन्तर्य्यां दुषन्तादीन् पञ्च पुत्रानजनयत्
दुष्वन्तस्तु लक्षणां नाम भागीरथीमुपयेमे तस्यामस्य जज्ञो जनस्तमजय[46]
दुषन्तस्तु विश्वामित्रदुहितरं शकुन्तळां नामोपयेमे तस्यामस्य जज्ञे भरतः
तत्र द्वौ श्लोकौ भवतः [॥]
माता भस्त्र[47] पितुः पुत्रो यस्माज्जातस्स एव सं[48] [।]
भरस्व पुत्रं दौष्वन्तित्यमाह[49] शकुन्तळा [।]
रेतोधाः पुत्रं नयति नरदेव यमक्षयं [।]
त्वं चास्य धाता गर्भस्य सत्यमाह शकुन्तळा [॥]
भरतस्तु खलु काशेयीमुपयेमे सार्वसेनी सुनन्दा नामा[50] तस्यमस्य मज्ञे[51] भुमन्युः । etc.

The chapter ends, as follows :—

परीक्षित्तु खलु मद्रवतीं नामोपयेमे तस्यामस्य जज्ञे जनमेजय[52] [॥] जनमेजयस्तु खलु वपुष्टमायां द्वौ पुत्रौ जनयामास शतानीकं शंखं च [।] शतानीकः खलु वैदेहीमुपयेमे तस्यामस्य जज्ञे पुत्रोश्वमेधवदत्ता[53] [।]
इत्येष पूरोर्वंशस्ते पाण्डवानां च कीर्त्तितः [।]
[54] रोर्वंशमिमं श्रुत्वा सर्वथा वै प्रमुच्यते ॥
इति संभर्वणि[55] वंशसंक्रेमवो[56] नाम चतुर्त्थोऽध्यायः ॥

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[42] The colophons treat this as a separate *Parvan, e. g.,* इति श्रीमहाभारते सम्भवपर्वणि प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥
[43] पुरंरुरवाः MS. [44] Read त्रसुस्सरस्वतीपुत्र. [45] Read इलिलं ज° ? [46] Read जज्ञे जनमेजयः ? [47] Read भस्त्रा ?
[48] Read स॰ । [49] Read दौष्वन्ति सत्यमाह. [50] Read °सेनीं सुनन्दां नाम? [51] Read तस्यामस्य जज्ञे.
[52] Read जनमेजयः [53] Read °श्वमेधदत्तः। [54] Read पूरोर्वं॰ [55] Read संभवपर्वणि [56] Read °संक्षेपो ?

The next following *Adhyâyas* 5-9 correspond to I. 63-67 of the Nâgarî editions. **But the Sakuntalâ episode told in Adhyâyas 68-74 of our editions is not found in our fragment.** Instead of it we find the 10th *Adhyâya* which contains a genealogy of Bharata, beginning with Pûru, and ending with the brief statement that *Dussanta* had two sons, *viz.*, Janamejaya by Laksanâ, and Bharata by Sakuntalâ. I give here the text of this chapter: —

जनमेजयः [॥]
पुत्रं ययातेः प्रब्रूहि पूरुं धर्म्मभृतां वरं [।]
आनुपूर्व्येण ये याश्चे[57] पूरोर्वंशविवर्द्धनाः [॥]
विस्तरेण पुनर्ब्रूहि दौष्वन्तेर्ज्जनमेजयात् [।]
स बभूव यथा राजा भरतो द्विजसत्तमः [॥]

वैशं [॥]

पूरुर्नृपतिशार्द्दूल यथैवास्य पिता नृपः [।]
धर्म्मनित्यस्त्वितो राज्यशक्रवीर्यपराक्रमः [॥]
प्रवीरश्शतरुच्योच त्रयः[58] पुत्रा महाबलाः [।]
पूरोः पौष्ट्यामजायन्त प्रवीरस्तत्र वंशभाक् [॥]
नमस्युरभवत्तस्माच्छूरः शैब्यासुत स्मृत· [।]
पृथिव्यां सागरान्तायां राजा राजीवलोचनः [॥]
सुभ्रुश्चाभयदो वाग्मी सौवीरातनयास्त्रय : [।]
नमस्योरभवन् पुत्राश्शूरास्सर्वे महारथा : [॥]
सुन्वन्तं वसुनाभं च गर्न्धर्व्यौ यशास्सिनौ[59] [।]
शूरात्तुभयतो राजा जनयामास वीर्यवान् [॥]
यवीयान् सुन्वतः पुत्रो रथन्तर्यामजायत [।]
शूरश्च दृढधन्वा च वपुष्मांश्च नृपोत्तमः [॥]
रुद्राश्वपृषदश्वं च रथदश्वं गयम्मनुः [।]
यवीयाञ्जनयामासा[60] गन्धर्व्यां भीमविक्रमान् [॥]
रुद्राश्वस्य महाबाहो दशाप्सरासि सूनवः [।]
यज्वानो जज्ञिरे पुत्राः प्रजावन्तो यशस्विनः [॥]
ऋचेपुरथ कक्षेपुः कृपणेपुश्च वीर्यवान् [।]
स्थण्डिले[61]पूर्वनेपुश्च स्थलेपुश्च महाबलः [॥]
तेजोपुर्बलवान्धीमानृथेपुश्चेन्द्रविक्रमः [।]
धर्म्मपुस्सन्ततेपुश्च दशमो देवविक्रमः [॥]
अनाधृष्ट्या सुतास्तात राजसूयाश्वमेधिनः [।]
अन्तिनारस्ततो राजा विद्वांश्चर्चैपुतोभवत् [॥]
त्रस्नुमोयं प्रतिरथं द्रुमं चाप्रतिमं युधि [।]
एतान्वै सुषुवे साध्वी अन्तिनारात्सरस्वती [॥]
तेषां त्रस्नुर्महावीर्यः पौरवं वंशमुद्वहन् [।]
आजहार यशो दीप्तं जिगाय च वसुन्धरः [॥]
इलिलं[62] सुषुवे त्रस्नो र्यमुना वै यशस्विनी [।]
सोपि कृत्स्नामिमां भूमिं विजित्ये जयतां वरः [॥]
रथन्तर्यामृषीन् पञ्च पञ्चभूतोपमांस्तथा [।]

[57] Read च्चान्ये.

[58] *Sic.* Only the *aksara* च्यो is not quite clear. The editions have प्रवीरेश्वररौद्राश्वास्त्रयः in the correspondin passage I. 94, 5.

[59] Read यशस्विनौ.

[60] Read °मास.

[61] Read °पुवे°. The forms in °यु found in I. 94, 10 *sq.* of the editions are more plausible. It is also possible to read यु in our MS. The mistake, if mistake it be, °पु for °यु would point to a Nâgarî original. In Malayalam *pa* and *va* are hardly distinguishable; but *pa* and *ya* are never confounded.

[62] May be read इलीलं or इलिलं.

इलिलो[63] जनयामासा[64] दुष्षन्तप्रमुखान् सुतान् [।।]
दुष्षन्तमनयं शूरं प्रशूरं पञ्चमं शुचिं [।]
तेषां ज्येष्ठो महाराज दुष्षन्तो दुर्ज्जयो युधि [।।]
दुष्षन्ताल्लक्षणायां तु जज्ञे वै जनमेजयः [।]
शकुन्तळायां भरतो दौष्षन्तिरभवत्सुतः [।।]
तस्मा[65] भरतवंशस्य विप्रतस्थे महद्यशः ।।
इति संभवपर्वणि दशमोऽध्यायः ।।

The 11th Adhyâya which follows immediately corresponds to I. 75 of the editions, and the fragment breaks off in the middle of the 12th *Adhyâya* (= I. 76, 29 in the editions).

The omission of the Śakuntalâ episode is very remarkable. It is possible, no doubt, that the story was copied in a separate book by the same scribe who wrote this MS., and therefore omitted by him here. But in that case he would have made some remark to that effect. It is more probable that the Sakuntalâ episode, *if it occurs at all,* will be found in a later *Adhyâya* of the *Sambhava Parvan* in the South-Indian recension. Whether this is the case, might be easily ascertained, if other and more perfect copies of this *Parvan* could be procured from India.

It would, of course, be too rash to draw any definite conclusions from this omission in our fragment. It is, however, worth while pointing out that the name of the King in our MS. is not *Dushyanta* or *Dushmanta*, but *Dushshanta.*[66] It is true, we find several times the spelling Dushvanta and Daushvanti. But ष्व for ष्ष is a mistake easily to be accounted for in Malayalam, as well as in Grantha. For ष्ष is ഷ്ഷ, but generally written so that the top of the lower ഷ is hardly discernible, and comes very near to ष्व which is ഷ്വ. Dushshanta would be the regular representative of the old Vedic forms Duḥshanta and Dauḥshanti, as found in the *Aitareya* and *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇas* — a fact which points to a greater antiquity of the South-Indian recension.

One thing is certain. **The Sakuntalâ episode** in the form in which we find it in our editions is of very doubtful antiquity. While the story itself is told with very few details, the beginning — the description of the forest, of the King's hunting expedition, and of the hermitages — is spun out in lengthy Kâvya style. We are scarcely told why Śakuntalâ is at first not recognised by the King, and the account given of her final recognition is very insipid. We hear nothing of the ring, nor of the Rishi's curse which causes the catastrophe in Kâlidâsa's drama, as well as in the Śakuntalopâkhyâna of the *Padma-Purâṇa*. On the other hand, the speech of Śakuntalâ is made a repository of all sorts of *Dharmaśâstra* maxims relating to the duties of parents towards children. Thus it is that although the Śakuntalâ episode is related in the *Mahâbhârata* in five chapters, two of which are of considerable length, yet the story itself seems fragmentary and incomplete. And it seems to me all but certain that Kâlidâsa must have known another version of the story on which his famous drama is based. It is quite possible that the two *ślokas* माता भस्त्रा पितुः, etc. (see I. 74, 109 *seq.*; I. 95, 29 *seq.*) were all that the *old Mahâbhârata* had about the Śakuntalâ episode, leaving it to the rhapsodist to tell the Âkhyâna according to his pleasure. But however that may be, there is certainly much scope for criticism as regards the Śakuntalâ episode, and as it is one of the most important episodes for the history of Sanskrit literature in the whole of the *Mahâbhârata*, it would be highly desirable to examine more MSS. of the *Sambhava-Parvan.* Could not such MSS. be procured from India?

The Whish collection, unfortunately, contains no more MSS. of the *Âdiparvan.*

(*To be continued.*)

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[63] May be read also इलीलो. [64] Read °मास. [65] Read तस्माद्.

[66] The form Dushshanta occurs also in the Malayalam MS. of the *Sabhâ-Parvan* (Adhyâya 8) where it is confirmed by the reading of a Telugu MS. Kshemendra, too, seems to have preserved the old form Duhshanta. The Kâvyamâlâ edition of the *Bhâratamañjarî* reads *Duḥshyanta*, but Prof. Kirste found *Duḥkanta* in his MS., which he rightly explains as a mistake for Duḥkhanta, *i. e.*, Duḥshanta. See 'Contributions,' l. c., p. 41.

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 112.)

River-banks and Sea-shores. — All classes of Hindus in the Kôṅkân and in the Dakhan believe that spirits haunt banks of rivers and channels and sea-shores. Compare: Paraśurâma in Keral set up 108 *durgas* on the sea-shore[37] and in the Khonds' wedding procession, if they cross the stream, they have a new set of rites on the further bank.[38] When the king of Melinda, in East Africa (1500), came on the water to meet the Portuguese Captain Cabral, he rode over the carcase of a disembowelled sheep, uttering certain words of incantations in a loud voice.[39] The negroes of the Gold Coast believe that spirits haunt the banks of rivers.[40]

Unclean Places. — It is the general Hindu belief that evil spirits abound in unclean places — a belief which is doubtlessly based on the experience of the disease-breeding power of dirt. The Marâṭhî proverb is, where is cleanliness there is neither spirit nor fiend.[41] This belief explains the puzzling inconsistency of Hindus of all classes, from Brâhmaṇs to Mhârs, that the house and the house-door and a little in front is scrupulously clean, while the yard may be a dung-heap or privy. As long as the house is clean the *bhut* cannot come in; let him live in the privy; he cannot do much harm there.[42] It seems probable that the origin of the English saying from the New Testament — cleanliness is next to godliness — was the belief that the main object both of godliness and cleanness was to scare fiends.

Water or Pot-holes. — In the Kôṅkân, water-spirits live in the round holes found in river-bed rocks. River beds are favourite spirit-haunts, and so in Poona, every year, when the rivers swell, all villagers come together, take with them a green *sâṛî* or waist-cloth, and *chôlî* or bodice cloth, flowers, fruits, frankincense, and betelnuts and leaves and throw them in the river. In Melanesia, holes in water-rocks are sacred to spirits.[43] In Scotland, pot-holes are called fairies' cups.[44]

3. Spirit-possession.

Cases of spirit-possession in India, like fits in England, are occasionally feigned. In most cases they are not feigned. Laymen, as a rule, have no more power to bring on one of these nervous seizures than they have to bring on a fit of ague or of madness. Professional mediums and spirit-scarers can bring on a fit, but have no control over the fit when it comes. Spirit-seizures may be brought under the two heads of **Voluntary and Involuntary Seizures. Voluntary seizures** are of two kinds — the attacks which the professional medium, called *zâd* or tree, brings on when he wishes to be inspired by his familiar spirit, and the attacks which mourners bring on when they sit playing in a circle till the spirit of the dead enters into one of them. An account of the measures taken to induce the spirit of the dead to enter the body of one of the mourners is given under " Funeral Rites," and an account of the means employed by the exorcist to induce his familiar spirit to enter his body is given below under the head of " Exorcists." **Involuntary possession,** or spirit-seizure, happens chiefly to women and children, but also sometimes to men. These attacks may be either ordinary diseases — fevers or rheumatism in the severe or paroxysmal stage; or the possession may be one of the nervous seizures, swoons, fainting fits, or slight forms of mania to which women are more liable than men.

Cases are recorded which shew that fits and spirit-seizures are sometimes feigned. At the same time there appears no reason to doubt that, as a rule, these seizurers, whether voluntary or involuntary, are not feigned. Colonel Dalton says of the Kurs:[45] the possession is in most cases perfectly honest. Every instance appears to prove its reality. This seems to

37 *Mackenzie Coll.* Second Edition, p. 349.

38 Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 55.

39 Kerr's *Voyages*, Vol. II. p. 405.

40 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 80.

41 The Marâṭhî runs: *Jêthên shuchir bhut panâ âhe, têthen bhut kimva pishâch nâhi.*

42 Information from Mr. Govind.

43 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 277.

44 Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 462.

45 Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 233.

apply to most cases of possession both in India and in other countries. In the majority of cases the nervous seizure is neither controlled, brought on, or desired by the patient.[46]

In most parts of the Bombay Presidency, and especially in the Kôṅkân, the common symptoms of spirit-possession are that the patient cries incessantly, weeps, speaks at random, bites his fingers, sways his body to and fro, lets his hair fall loose, spits blood, refuses food for several days, and day by day grows paler and leaner. To some extent in the Dekhan and Gujarât, and to a large extent in the Kôṅkân, all people are at all times liable to spirit-attacks. Cases of spirit-seizures are most common among women, less among children, and least among men. All women are liable to spirit-seizures. They are specially liable during their monthly sickness, in pregnancy, and in child-bed, and barren women at all times. Infants are most liable to be attacked by spirits on the fifth and sixth days after birth. The part most subject to spirit-possession in the Bombay Presidency is the Kôṅkân. In the hilly parts of the Thânâ District, especially in the Jawhâr State, cases of spirit-possession are of every-day occurrence. In the Kôṅkân, the belief in the frequency of spirit-attacks is very strong among the lower classes of Marâṭhâs, Vâdvals, Kunbîs, Mângellas, Thâkurs, and Kolîs. The belief in spirit-seizures is perhaps strongest among the Thâkurs and Kolîs; nearly ninety per cent. of a Kolî's ailments are attributed to spirit-attacks. Among middle and higher class Hindus the belief in spirit-seizure is not so strong, and among the Brâhmaṇs it is still weaker. Although the percentage of attacks among the Brâhmaṇs and other higher classes is smaller than among the lower classes, when attacks occur the same methods are followed by the higher as by the lower classes. The only difference is, that Brâhmaṇs do not make offerings of fowls, goats, or liquor, or, if they do, it is done secretly through a Kunbî or Marâṭhâ. The Kôṅkân, Lingâyats profess not to believe in spirit-seizures, and say that so long as they wear the *liṅg* and *bhasma*, or cow-dung ashes, spirits dare not attack them. So also the Gujarât Bharvâds are, as a class, said to be free from the fear of spirit-seizures.

One great reason why spirits are able to enter into human beings is fear. Fear, says Burton,[47] is the great cause why spectres are seen. A predisposed state of mind occasions fear, and most cases of spirit-possession appear to be due to this state of mind. Thus in the Kôṅkân, there is a belief that the spirit of a husband's first wife invariably comes to trouble his second wife, and this belief is so strongly rooted in the minds of Hindu women of the middle and lower classes, that whenever a woman, whose husband's first wife is dead, sickens, her sickness is attributed to spirit-possession. Captain Mackintosh[48] says, if a Mahâdev Kolî widow-bride sickens, or her husband sickens, it is considered the work of her former husband. Among the Somavanśî Kshatrîs or Chaukalśîs of Alîbâg there is a strong belief, that when a woman marries another husband, her first husband becomes a ghost and troubles her. This fear is so thoroughly rooted in their minds, that whenever a woman of this caste sickens, she attributes her sickness to the ghost of her former husband, called *purushavâra*, and consults an exorcist as to how she can get rid of him. The exorcist gives her some charmed rice, flowers, and basil leaves, and tells her to enclose them in a small copper-box, and to wear the box round her neck. Sometimes the exorcist gives a charmed cocoanut which he tells her to worship daily, and in some cases he tells the woman to make a copper or silver image of the dead, and worship it every day.[49]

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[46] Of feigned cases no doubt many instances occur in India, and instances are not uncommon in England. Scott (*Demonology and Witchcraft*, pp. 334 and 335) records one case in 1697 of a girl who was proved to have feigned possession, and in 1704 of a vagabond who affected fits. He notices (*Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 338) that a son of Lord Torpichen, when a boy, feigned fits. He was sent to sea, and tried fits in the navy, but the discipline was too severe. In time he became a good sailor and defended his vessel with great bravery against Angria and his pirates in 1730. The *St. James' Gazette* of the 23rd February 1883 records the case of a man who made a living in the London streets by feigning fits.

[47] Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 167.

[48] *Trans. By. Geog. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 224.

[49] Information from Mr. Janârdan Gopâl.

4. Spirit-entries.

Spirits are said to go in and out of the body like bees in a hive. But there seem to be the following **chief spirit-entries**: —the top of the head, the hair, the mouth, the hands, the feet, the nose, the eyes, and the ears. That the above parts of the body are believed to be spirit-entries will be made clear from the following rites performed and the words spoken by the chief mourner at the time of performing the *varsha shrâddha*, or the commemorative rites of the dead: — "The chief mourner after taking water in his right hand says: 'I do touch the different parts of my body in order that they may be purified,' and then throws the water on the ground. Then touching his eyes with water he says: 'I bow to the sages Gautama and Bhâradvâja; let them protect my eyes'; touching his ears with water he says: 'Let the sages Viśvâmitra and Kaśyâpa protect my ears'; touching his head he says: 'Let the sacred cow *gâyatri* and fire protect my head'; touching his chin he says: 'Let the god Brihaspati protect my chin (mouth)'; touching his neck he says: 'Let the gods Ushnik and Sun protect my neck'; touching his navel he says: 'Let the gods Indra and Trishtup protect my navel'; touching his knees he says: 'Let the god Marut protect my knees'; touching his feet he says: 'Let the god Vishnu protect my feet'; and, lastly, he says: 'Let all the gods protect my body.'"

The Head. — Spirits go in and out of the body through the hole in the top of the skull. So among the Śênvî Brâhmaṇs of Kânara, when their chief teacher, or Râja Sanyâsi, dies, the new teacher strikes a cocoanut on the crown of the dead teacher's head, and makes an opening in the skull in which a *śâligrâm* stone is laid.[50] So in Dhâṛwâṛ, when an abbot, or *swâmi* dies, the crown of his head is broken with a cocoanut, and his body is stuffed with salt and powdered mustard.[51] Among the Pâtâne Prabhus of Poona, after setting fire to the pyre, when the skull bursts, a cocoanut is thrown at the head. Among the Roman Catholics of Ṭhâṇâ at the time of Baptism, the priest anoints the top of the child's head with Holy Oil, and thrice pours water over it.[52] Among the Dhâṛwâṛ Liṅgâyaṭs the priest blesses a child by laying his right hand on the child's head.[53] At a Liṅgâyaṭ funeral a Jangam sets his right foot on the dead person's head.[54] When a Medar, or basket-maker, of Dhâṛwâṛ dies, a Liṅgâyat priest comes and places his foot on the corpse's head.[55] At a Gond wedding an old man knocks the heads of the bride and bridegroom together.[56] When a Whallia, or Mysore Mahâr, touches a man of pure caste, the man has to wash his head.[57] In Malabâr, when any one is defiled, it is the custom to wash the head, not the hands.[58] The most meritorious of deaths among the Hindus s to hold the breath with such force that the soul is driven out through the crown of the head.[59] The soul enters the body through the crack in the crown.[60] In his bathing ceremony, the Brâhmaṇ repeatedly throws water on the crown of his head.[61] The top and middle of the head is the window of life, the passage of the soul. In that place is the flower of one thousand leaves. This is the residence of the glorious divinity. She wears smelling herbs and flowers.[62] The Beni-Isrâ'îl priest blesses the bride and bridegroem by laying his hand on their heads.[63] The high priest of the Jews, on whose head anointing oil has been poured, shall not uncover his

[50] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 150. It is believed that *sanyâsis*, whose spirits pass through the crown of the head, go straight to heaven. The Hindus believe that a human being, by the practice of self-denial and austerities, can attain the power of centering his soul in the crown of his head, and of dying at will, when the soul leaves the body through a minute opening called *Brahma randhra*. They further believe that a man who reaches this state becomes insensible to all bodily sufferings, and, though seemingly dead, is capable of living for a time without food or drink or without breathing. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 150.

[51] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.

[52] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 210.

[53] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.

[54] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.

[55] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.

[56] Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. I. p. iii.

[57] Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. I. p. 315.

[58] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 491.

[59] Dubois, Vol. II. p. 278.

[60] Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 50.

[61] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 125.

[62] *Dabistân*, Vol. I. p. cxii.

[63] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 522.

head or rend his clothes.[64] The Ainos, an early tribe of North Japan, before drinking, throw liquor on their heads.[65] Among the Tahkalîs the priest lays his hand on the child whose father is dead, and blows into him the dead soul. It comes to life in the next child.[66] At a Mexican birth the crown of the child's head is touched with water.[67] When Numa Pompilius was made king of Rome (B. C. 714) the augur placed his right hand on the king's head and invoked the protection of Jupiter on Rome and on the king.[68] The cross was originally worn by the Christians on the forehead.[69] The laying of hands on the heads by the elders is to wish good, that is, to scare evil. Compare Odin, when he sent people to war, laying his hands on their heads and blessing them.[70] After confession in a Russian church, the penitent prostrates and the priest lays his hand on the penitent's head.[71] A Russian woman should not leave her head uncovered. Married women in Russia always wear a cap at dinner.[72] Spirits enter through the head, and so in the scape-goat the priest lays his hands on the head of the goat, and the sins of the people pass into it. So Aaron put both hands on the scape-goat's head.[73] In England (1620), as a cure for sadness, the devil-disease, it is not amiss to bore the skull with an instrument to let out the fuluginous vapours.[74]

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PANJABI NICKNAMES.

I VENTURE to think that a dissertation on, or examples of the nicknames of the Panjab would be extremely interesting. The Panjâbi is a jocular person, and is therefore ready at nicknaming. Many European officials, most native officials, and nearly all villagers, have to suffer under the burden of a nickname, whether they will or no. Some nicknames are merely descriptions of physical or mental peculiarities, such as Râm Singh Lambû — the long (tall) Râm Singh; Bhûrâ, the auburn one; Mussamât Ganjî, Mrs. Scaldhead; Gûngî, the dumb one; Gadhâ Singh or Bâolâ Singh, the silly one.

Again, a tall man with a large head and a *penchant* for preposterously large turbans, received the nickname of Kumbh Karan. Any one who at the Dasahrâ festival has seen this hero's effigy at the Râm Lîlâ sacred drama, will appreciate the wit of this name.

Another case is that of a native who, going out to shoot a tiger, and promptly and, I think, very sensibly running away, received the title of Shêrmâr, or the tiger-slayer. Very many more instances might, I think, be cited.[1]

M. MILLETT in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A NOTE ON MUSALMAN TOMBS.

There is no distinction between the tombs of men and women in the Jhêlam District, Pânjâb, excepting among the Awân villages of the Talâgang *tahsîl* to the west of it.

All the graves there have a vertical slab at either end. A woman's grave can be at once distinguished by the presence of a third slab in the centre, smaller than the head and foot stones. Men's graves have no central vertical slab.

J. PARSONS in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

PICTURES ON MUSALMAN TOMBS.

AT the village of Khângâh Dôgrân (Gûjrânwâlâ District) are the tombs of certain Musalmân saints. These tombs are ornamented with pictures of birds and other animals, though such representations are contrary to the Muhammadan religion. The village is composed mainly of Muhammadans, though there are four Hindu families. I was told that none of the inhabitants ever slept in beds, but on the ground, out of respect to the memory of the saints who practised similar austerities.

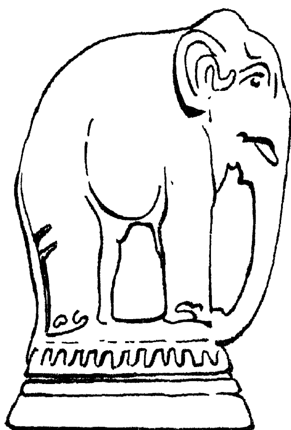
R. W. TRAFFORD in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

64 *Leviticus*, xxi. 10.
65 St. John's *Nipon*, p. 29.
66 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, p. 256.
67 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 372.
68 Jones' *Crowns*, p. 334.
69 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. V. p. 365.
70 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 133.
71 Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 130.
72 *Op. cit.* p. 203.
73 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 247.
74 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 450.

1 [An examination of the Census Tables of 1881 will shew that such names as Perû, Lambû, Bhûrâ, Ganjî, Gûngî, Gadhâ, and Pîpî Singh, are by no means necessarily nicknames, though they undoubtedly are so in some cases. Real nicknames in the Pañjâb would, however, form a very interesting subject of study, and it is hoped that more notes on it wil be forthcoming in these pages. — ED.]



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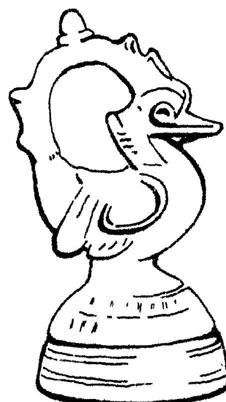
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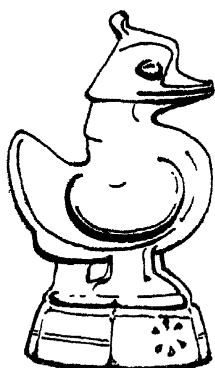
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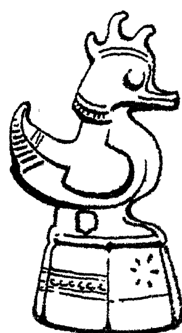
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C. PRAETORIUS del. 92.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p.* 121.)

8.

Burmese Standard Weights.

THE Burmese Kings, after a very ancient and well-known fashion[45] in Oriental countries, have long issued "**standard weights**" cast by an interesting variety of the *cire perdue* process.[46] The subject is still very obscure and requires far more enquiry than I have been able to bestow on it, and all I can do now is to present to the student the information available to me. The accompanying Plate, due to the courtesy of the authorities of the British Museum, shows all the forms given to the weights that have come my way.

The ordinary forms to be found in the Burma bazars are those of the **hinsâ** (*hansa*), and the standard weights are consequently usually known as the **Hinsâ Weights** (figs. 3, 4, 6, 10, 11 and 13 of the Plate). But it will be seen that **other figures** have been used: — Elephant (*s'in*, fig. 2); Bull (*nwâlî*, figs. 5, 8, and 9); Monkey (*myauk*, fig. 7); Lion (mythical, *chinsê*, fig. 1); Lion (mythical, *tô*, fig. 12).[47]

The references to the subject in writers on Burma and the Far East seem to be few and superficial. Indeed, all that I have found are those that follow: —

1786. — "Leurs poids (à Pegu) sont faits de font ou de cuivre et ont la forme d'un animal quelconque." — *Journal par le Sr. Flouest, Lieutenant de fregate auxiliaire depuis le* 12 *Fevrier* 1872 *jusqu'au* 28 *Mars* 1786, in *Toung Pao*, Vol. II. p. 41.

c. 1795. — Money scales and weights are all fabricated at the capital, where they are stamped, and afterwards circulated throughout the Empire; the use of any others is prohibited." — Symes, *Ava*, p. 326.

1826. — "Every shopkeeper has a small box, containing scales to weigh bullion given in payment for commodities: the weights are modelled after the figure of griffins, cows, etc." — Alexander, *Travels*, p. 21.

1826. — "Weights (in Tavai and Mergui). These are the same that are used throughout the Burmese Empire, which are made at Ava and distributed to the provinces. They change their shapes on the accession of a new king. The present weights are called *To-alle*, or Lion weights, as they represent that animal according to the Burmese conception of it. Those of the last reign are termed *Hansa-alle*, being made in the shape of the Hansa or goose. The weight of both kinds is the same." — Wilson, *Documents of the Burmese War*, Appx., p. lxi.

1829. — "The representations of the different Burmese weights are uniform and well regulated. They consist of masses of brass, of which the handle, or apex, represents the fabulous bird which is the standard of the empire." — Crawfurd, *Ava*, p. 384.

1835. — "The other (Burmese) weights are of brass, handsomely cast and polished." — Malcom, *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 276.

1845. — "The Government of Ava send from the capital, sets of standard weights (*alês*) for the use of the provinces. The present are called *tôsalês*, being surmounted by the figure of a *tôs*, the mythical Lion of Boodhism,[48] and the present cognisance of Burma. The former were styled

[45] Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, pp. 128 f., 270 ff.

[46] The present writer has presented to the Oxford Museum a complete set of articles explaining the entire process of casting, from the die to the finished weight. The wax cores for the process were made by being run into deeply sunk iron dies of skilful workmanship. The process is a very old one in the Far East for the manufacture of money. Terrier de la Couperie, *Cat. Chinese Coins*, p. xxviii., note.

[47] All presented to the British Museum.

[48] Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.*, Vol. III. p. 31, says that the *tôs* is "supposed to be a compound of horse and deer."

hinꝺâ-alê, from having been surmounted by the figure of a *hinꝺâ*, the famous *hansa* or Brahminee duck, the cognisance of the Kingdom of Pegu." — Latter, *Grammar*, p. 171.

1882. — "The standard weights are usually formed with a figure of a sacred *hantha* on them, or sometimes with the animal representing the royal birthday." — Shway Yoe (Scott), *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 299.

1884. — "The old native weights,[49] which are still in use here and there for small quantities, are made of brass in the form of the *hoong* or sacred goose (*henga* in Burmese) or of an elephant." — Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 159. But among a collection of Herr Bock's weights seen by the present writer were to be found counterparts of figs. 4, 5, 7 and 13.

From the above references it will be seen that stamped standard weights (*vide* figs. 3, 11, 12 and 13) were issued officially and took the form of various animals, chiefly sacred or mythological.

But the statements go further and tell us that the weights were issued by each king in succession, in forms appropriate to each, based apparently on the animal ruling over the royal birthday. This is, however, extremely doubtful. Witness the statements themselves. *E. g.*, Wilson says that the *tô-alê* (fig. 12) was current in 1826, and Latter says that it was still current in 1845. But Bâjîdò was King in 1826 and Ɖarâwadî in 1845. So that the *tô-alê* lasted through two reigns at any rate. Again, Wilson says that the *hinꝺâ-alê* (figs. 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13) was current in the reign previous to that in 1826, *i. e.*, in B'ôdòp'ayâ's: and Scott notices its currency in 1882 under Ɖîbò (Thibaw). It certainly was current in 1885-7 to my own knowledge, and I may say that the set given to the Oxford Museum were cast for me in 1888 at Mandalay.

My own information by word of mouth was much that above recorded. That is, I was told that of the weights figured the following were the periods of issue:[50] —

No. 1. — The *Chinꝺê-alê*, *temp.* B'ôdòp'ayâ (1781-1819).

No. 2. — The *S'in-alê*, *temp.* Alaungp'ayâ (Alompra, 1753-60).

Nos. 3, 4, 11. — The *Hinꝺâ-alê*,[51] *temp.* Mindon Min (1852-78) and Thibaw (1878-85).

No. 6. — The *Hinꝺâ-alê*, *temp.* Naungdòjî (1760-3).

No. 10. — The *Hinꝺâ-alê*, *temp.* Kongbaung-p'ayâ or Shwêbô Min (Ɖarâwadî, 1836-46).

No. 13. — The *Ziwàzô-alê*,[52] *temp.* Pagàn Min (1846-52).

But on my attempting, with the late Sir A. W. Franks, to identify the collection at the British Museum by means of my information, it became evident that the accuracy of the traditional ideas regarding their historical value was open to the gravest doubt. A careful criticism of the statements of the writers about them also forces one to the same conclusion. My impression is that every now and then the reigning king was advised by those around him to alter the form of the standard weight and did so.

As to Scott's story about the form of the weights depending on the king's birthday, I have been told the same thing repeatedly myself; but I found that the statement would

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[49] I think we ought to assume that "the old native weights" of Bock were merely stray Burmese weights that had got into the Shân villages he visited.

[50] I was also told that these weights had originally the denominations marked on them. It may have been so, but I have never seen any so marked.

[51] Popularly known to Europeans in Upper Burma at the time of the conquest as "peacock" weights.

[52] The *ziwàzô* was described to me as a variety of *hinꝺâ*: but I see that Stevenson, *Bur. Dict.*, *s. v.*, calls it the *hirundo esculens*, the little swift that makes the well-known edible bird's-nests of the Andamans and the Malay Peninsula.

not bear examination. The Burmese have the usual Oriental notions about the guardians of each day, which are popularly stated as follows :[53] —

Sunday, *galôn* (*kalôn, garuḍa*).
Monday, *chẫ* (*kyẫ*, tiger).
Tuesday, *chinthê* (mythical, lion).
Wednesday, *s'in* (elephant).
Thursday, *pûẽ* (guinea-pig).
Friday, *chut* (rat).
Saturday, *tôẽ* or *nagâ* (mythical, lion or serpent, *nâga*).[54]

But so far as my notes go King Mindon Min was born on a Tuesday, *chinthê* ruling,[55] and Thibaw was born on a Saturday, *tôẽ* ruling. Now, as they both adopted the *hinthâ* as their weight form, it seems obvious that they could not have been guided in their choice by the ruling spirits of their respective birthdays.

Another view of the origin of the standard weight forms is stated in the quotations above given, *viz.*, that they represented the national cognisance, but this again, though it has the support of Latter, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, etc.*, *Int. Num. Or.*, Vol. III. p. 31, and Stevenson, *Bur. Dict.*, *s. v.*, is to my mind open to doubt. *E. g.*, they all say that the *hansa* is the cognisance of the Peguan Kingdom, and one has strong doubts as to any King of Burma Proper ever having allowed a Peguan national cognisance to become the cognisance of Burma also. I observe, too, that Latter says in 1845, *temp.* King Ḍarâwadî, that the Burmese national cognisançe was the *tôẽ*. It may have been so then, but at Mandalay it was certainly not so under Kings Mindôn and Thibaw, 1852-85. At that period, beyond any doubt, the royal cognisance was two-fold, the peacock and the hare, to emphasize the mythical claim of the Alompra Dynasty to both solar and lunar (Indian) descent. All over the palace, especially on either side of the throne itself,[56] — everywhere in fact where it could be intruded, — it was to be seen ; and it was on the coins also, as will be perceived later on.[57]

9.

Minor Tongues.

It will have become obvious to those who have followed the argument so far, that the further one dives into the dialects of the Far East and the closer is one's acquaintance with

[53] The whole question of naming children, ruling animals of the days of the week, etc., is very well explained in Scott's *The Burman*, Vol. I., opening Chapter. The custom is distinctly Indian, *vide* my *Proper Names of the Panjabis*, Ch. VII.

[54] A man's birthday guardian animal can be tested by the shape of the candles he offers at the Pagodas. A complete set of these, moulds and all, have been given by the present writer to the Oxford Museum. There is one for every day of the week in the conventional image of the ruling animal and the custom is to present candles in the form of one's birthday guardian. See Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 6.

[55] Though both are nowadays generally called "lions," the *chinthê*, the ordinary guardian of the road to a pagoda or other sacred place, is, in my belief, the remote descendant of the Assyrian winged lion, and the *tôẽ* of the Assyrian winged bull. The Burmans do not seem to know the lion at all, for when a young lion and lioness were purchased for the Zoological Gardens at Rangoon in 1890 the Burmese visitors declined to believe that they were anything but European dogs !

[56] Until a mischievous hand destroyed one of the emblems in 1888.

[57] It was adopted by the Upper Burma Volunteer Rifles for their buttons, which caused the ribald to say, most untruly, however, that they were as proud as peacocks and as timid as hares. To give an idea of the ordinary Burman's view of the symbols, I may say that when a Burman convict was told to carve two door panels for Government House, Port Blair, being left to himself for the design, he carved a peacock on one and a hare on the other, precisely as he would have done in the same circumstances for the King of Burma. That was his idea as to what was appropriate to the dwelling of the highest personage in the land.

the modes of speech and the habits of thought of the many minor peoples inhabiting those regions the clearer becomes the sense of the expressions for currency in use among those who speak the greater and more civilised tongues. I, therefore, make no excuse for prolonging the present discussion so as to include the main groups of languages spoken in and about Burma, so far as the limited information at my disposal permits.

It is also not practicable to grasp the notions of currency held by a people without a knowledge of their numerals and modes of reckoning, and the following pages will therefore include an enquiry into this point to the extent possible to me. Again, as the terms for the metals used for currency are always more or less closely connected with those for the currency itself, I have collected and recorded these wherever I have been able to do so.

For the present purpose **the Minor Tongues spoken in Burma** are divided into five groups, *viz.*, **the Karen, the Talaing, the Maṇipûrî, the Kachin-Nâga, the Chin-Lûshai.** I have placed the Karen Language apart because of its Eastern (beyond Burma) affinities, and have included the Talaing among the Minor Tongues, because that is its present, though not its historical, position. As to the remaining tongues, my own inclination is to group them together in **one great Hill Language,** appearing to Europeans in a great variety of dialects, universally made out, to my ideas, to be much more numerous than they really are and to possess much greater divergences than is really the case, owing to an inadequate comprehension of them and to their presentation to students by imperfectly trained local observers. However, in order to comply with the ordinary grouping of them, I have divided them into Kachin-Nâga and Chin-Lûshai, difficult though it has been to maintain the distinction. Maṇipûrî, an essentially Nâga tongue, I have placed apart, because of the complicated and interesting attempts of a people new to civilisation to adopt the methods of reckoning and currency of the better educated peoples they have copied.

As a rule the languages above noted are now preserved in the Roman character, with such modifications as have seemed good to those who have recorded them, but there are two notable exceptions, the Karen and the Talaing.

The Karen language is written nowadays in a modified form of the Burmese character invented by the missionaries working among that people, but, so far as my information goes, no transliteration or transcription thereof into Roman characters exists. This has obliged me to find out for myself how to read the books in the missionary character, and to give a somewhat detailed and lengthy account of it in the following pages. **The Talaing Language** was, centuries ago, reduced to writing by the Talaings themselves in **the same form of Alphabet as that adopted by the Burmese,** and of the difficult script so evolved no adequate transcription even now exists. I have had therefore to explain my method of transcription at some length in this case also.

With these preliminary explanations I will proceed at once to a discussion of the Karens' language and their notions regarding pecuniary and ponderary matters.

A. — Karen.

The **authorities** at my disposal for the study of Karen are : —

(1) *Karen Vernacular Grammar,* Wade, 1897.

(2) *Anglo-Karen Handbook,* Carpenter, 1875.

(3) *Anglo-Karen Vocabulary,* Bennett, 1875.

(4) *Sgau-Karen Dictionary,* Wade, Ed, by Cross, 1896.

(5) *Anglo-Karen Dictionary,* Wade and Mrs. Binny, 1883.

(6) *Notes on the Languages and Dialects spoken in British Burma,* official pamphlet, 1884.

(7) *British Burma Gazetteer*,[58] Spearman, Vol. I. 1880.

(8) *Census Report*, *Burma*, Eales, 1891.

(9) A Sgau Karen, born at Gyobingauk, Tharrawaddy District, able to read and write his own language freely and having a good knowledge of Burmese.

To use the ordinary transcriptions of the names, there are **two clearly defined dialects of Karen, Sgau and Pwo, to which may be added Bghai.** Another way of stating this fact is to say that the Karen Languages may be defined as those of **the Burmese Karens, the Talaing Karens, and the Red Karens.** The marked difference seems to be, however, between Sgau and Pwo, and even that appears to be giving way before the predominant Sgau.[59]

My direct teacher has come to such signal grief in life that I will not mention his personality beyond saying that his dialect must be Sgau, because, though he does not recognise the terms Sgau and Pwo, while he knows all about Bghai, he calls himself a Burmese Karen, as distinguished from a Talaing Karen, whose language he says he cannot speak. When asked to which of the Bghai Karen Tribes enumerated at p. 1, 111, of Wade's *Dictionary of Sgau Karen* he belonged, he remarked that he was a Pghâkanyò which means, however, in Sgau, a Karen generally: see *Sgau Dict.* pp. 8, 1015.

Dr. Bennett explains (*Notes*, p. 13 f.) how, about 1834 and later, **the Karen "Alphabet"** came into existence as the result of the efforts of missionaries to write in a practical manner the hitherto unwritten and much differing dialects of Sgau and Pwo, and how they finally adopted **the Burmese Alphabet with variations and additions** to suit each. What was done as regards Pwo I do not know,[60] and **all the information in the authorities available to me is clearly Sgau.**

Now the reason I have had to go so carefully into the question of the Karen Language for my present purpose is, that so far as I know, **the sounds attached to the missionary-invented characters are nowhere laid down** in such a way as to enable the enquirer to arrive at authoritative transcriptions or transliterations of the Karen words for money, weight, etc. The nearest approach to such information I have found is in Dr. Bennett's statements (p. 19 of the *Notes*) : — "The great fact is the Burman characters are used in writing Karen, but not Burmese sounds . . . . There is hardly ever the sound in Karen the same as in Burmese.[61] It is essentially a Burmese character but with Karen sounds. . . . The real sounds cannot be written with English letters."

Among those consulted by the Government for the *Notes* was Mr. P. H. Martyr, whose general authority on such subjects all who know will acknowledge, and he wrote (p. 17) in 1882 : — "The Karen Alphabet is, therefore, the Burmese Alphabet with variations and additions. Marks and strokes to denote sounds not found in the Burmese language have been added. The Burmese letters have not been changed in any way, but some of the sounds of the letters have been changed . . . . The two principal dialects Pwo and Sgaw have been reduced to writing, and strange to say that, although they are both formed with Burmese characters, distinct additional marks and strokes have been introduced to denote the same sounds."

Thus far my authorities, which are not very encouraging ; and so I have in the end been

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58 Information in this volume procured chiefly from Dr. Mason.

59 *Census Report*, p. 165. Dr. Bennett, in 1882, said (*Notes on Dialects*, p. 14) : — "A Sgau Karen has been known to read Pwo after a few hours' study, and the Pwo can easily read the Sgau, notwithstanding there is a great difference in the definition of many words."

60 Mason, *Nat. Prod. Burma*, 1850, gives a great number of Pwo Karen words, but there is nowhere any transcription described, and the character is a very strange one.

61 See also p. 13.

compelled to trust to my unhappy Karen teacher. From him I gather that the consonants adopted from the Burmese characters are as follows:[62] —

Gutturals	...	k	k'	gh	ḵ[63]	ng
Palatals	...	s	s'	sh[64]	ny	
Dentals	...	t[65]	t'	d	n	
Labials	...	p	p'	b	m	
Linguals	...	y	l	w		
Sibilants	...	þ[66]				
Aspirates	...	h	a[67]	ḩ[68]		

The ligatures are special and are taken partly from the Talaing Alphabet; *e. g.*, ၠ and ၡ y: and partly from the Burmese Alphabet; *e. g.*, ြ r, ျ l, ွ w, ှ gh (غ). Thus:— ကျ ky,[69] ကြ kr, ကၠ kl, ကွ kw, ဘှ bgh, ဘျ by.[70]

As in all Alphabets of Indian origin, short *a* is inherent in all consonants, and both Burmese and improvised symbols are adopted to express modifications of this inherent vowel, but, so far as the Burmese symbols are concerned, with uses so differing from the original that they must be given here.

Thus က *ka* is modified to suit the Sgau Karen gamut of sounds in the following manner: —

	ကၢ်	ကံ	ကၢ	ကု	ကူ	ကေ	ကဲ	ကိ	ကီ
Karen:	kâ	kî	kö	kü	kû	kê	kè	kô	kò
Burmese:	kâ	kàn	...	ku	kû	ka.[71]	kè	ki	kî

The special vowel sounds above are *kö*, something like German ö, nearest French *eu*, not far from "*cur*" in English. *Kü* near French *u*, but not it. *Kè* as in Burmese, near English "f*ai*r" or French "mer." *Kò* as in English "f*a*ll."

In addition to these direct vowels the missionary alphabet-makers have attempted to reproduce the tones of Karen by four symbols ၢ် ၣ် ၤ ၥ်, and the staccato accent by the symbol း, borrowing the Burmese heavy accent (which by the way is the Talaing staccato accent) for the purpose, because the Burmese staccato accent ့ had already been borrowed to represent the direct vowel *ê*. Karens, of course, hear the tones and foreigners usually cannot, and hence Mr. Martyr's remark about several characters being introduced to represent the same sounds. In transcriptions for foreigners into Roman characters I should not propose to notice the characters for tones, though I transcribe the staccato ကး by *kà*; but I distinctly think that the missionaries were right in introducing them, when concocting a character in which Karens were to read their own language. Any one who has floundered as often and as long as the present writer over the *Shân Dictionary*, in which, of course, Dr. Cushing had to follow the methods of a character long ago concocted by the literary Shans to express their own language, would understand the importance to a native Karen of being able to denote his tones by characters.

[62] I have adopted ' to distinguish aspirated consonants; and letters, where not explained, are pronounced as usual, or as nearly as may be for practical purposes.

[63] Gh = Arabic غ, often sounded as a surd after an aspirated consonant: ḵ = خ.

[64] The symbol for *sh* is adopted from the Burmese ligature ရှ, *hr* = *sh* in pronunciation.

[65] With English appreciation of dentals.

[66] English surd *th* = Arabic ث: symbol taken from the Burmese *s* = þ in pronunciation.

[67] The *spiritus lenis* of all Oriental tongues; ا, अ, အ, etc.: its position in this Alphabet is adopted from Shân, as also is that of þ.

[68] Written ဧ, borrowed from Talaing: a special letter for a very softly breathed *h*, sounded like *w* before *ô* and *ò*.

[69] As in Burmese, *k'y* = *ch* in pronunciation.

[70] The use of these ligatures is usually quite different from that in Burmese or Talaing.

[71] The symbol ့ is the stopped or staccato accent in Burmese.

Having thus explained how I came by the transcription of Karen herein adopted, I will proceed at once to the main subject in hand.

The Karen ponderary scale can be made out thus from the *Sgau Dictionary*: —

Page.		Karen Terms.	Burmese Equivalents.
704		wî	ywèjî (4 grs.)[72]
667; 1, 111	2	bghè	pè
585	2	s'ghô[73]	mû
1286	2	þî	màt
651	2	pö[74]	(half tickal)
664	2	bà[75]	kyàt (tickal)
690; 1, 180	10	rwè	(10 rupees, tickals)
655	10	pò	(100 rupees), pêkþâ (viss)
670	10	mö...	(1,000 rupees, ten viss)[76]

The *wî* is clearly then the *Adenanthera* seed or candareen. The word for the *Abrus* plant in Sgau Karen is given by Mason, *Natural Productions of Burma*, 1850, p. 196, as *þalêghò* and for the *Adenanthera* tree as *þalêghòp'adô* (*p'adô* = great). In the *Sgau Dictionary þalêghò* is defined as a "tree of the genus *Adenanthera*" (p. 1270). The Karen scale is most interesting in its use of *pö* for the half tickal, thus making the Troy weights each the half of the next higher denomination; and in its ingenious decimal division of the Avoirdupois scale,[77] growing out of the Troy scale.

I have given the words for weights above in their unattached forms. They do not however appear to be so used, but always in conjunction with a numeral; *e. g.*, they are to be found in the *Dictionary* as *tawî, tabghè,* and so on; all *s.v. ta*, the prefix for "one." *Tô* is a weight in a scale (p. 763), and *sò* is a scale, balance (p. 514): but the word for balance does not appear to be used also for the standard weight, as is usual in the East; *i. e.*, for the weight which turns the scale. Unless one may take the synonyms (p. 1180) *tarwè, sòrwè, sòpò* (*pò*, num. coeff. for viss, p. 1007) to indicate the standard Avoirdupois weight (*rwè, pò*) that turns the scale (*sò*).[78] That the Karens have a clear comprehension of a standard weight for turning the scale is to be seen from the term *lòtayö* on p. 1218 (*lò* to descend, p. 1215, and *tayö*, the force or impetus of gravity, p. 677), which means "to be of a definite weight," clearly by turning the balance.

My informant's statement of the Karen terms for British money shows the usual mixture of the ideas of bullion weights with cash denominations, but in simple form. Oddly enough he did not know any word for "pie," nor did he recognise a pie when shown one, but we get the word from the *Sgau Dictionary* (p. 212) where it is *kà*; and also from a sentence in the *Anglo-Karen Dictionary, s.v.* pice, which is of value here: —

þö	kà	mê	tô	ta-bê
three	pie	are	copper	one-piece

I. e., three pie make one pice.

72 My teacher gave me *ywèþà*: *þà* is seed in Karen, and *ywè* is Burmese. I should say that he picked up the name from his Burmese neighbours.

73 Pronounced *skô*.

74 Page 767 gives synonyms *tòkâ, tèkâ*, obviously for *takâ*, tickal.

75 *Bà* seems also to be used as a numeral co-efficient; *e. g.*, *sêbà*, *Anglo-Karen Vocab., s. v.*, "silver coin, rupee."

76 Curiously described in the *Dict.* as "ten *biketha*:" "*biketha*" being an attempt at the Burmese word *pêkþâ*; "*bike*" as in the well known slang word for bicycle.

77 The Karen decimal numeration series is, like that of most Far Eastern nations, remarkable: Thus *s'î*, ten, and then *kayâ*, 10 × 10, hundred: *kat'ô*, 100 × 10, thousand: *kalà*, 1,000 × 10, ten thousand: *kalò*, 10,000 × 10, hundred-thousand: *kakwè*, 100,000 × 10, million: *kabò*, 1,000,000 × 10, ten million: *kawâ*, 10,000,000 × 10, hundred-million. Each of these words is a unit, preceded by the prefix *ta*, one: *e. g.*, *tas'î*, *takayâ*, and so on. *Dict.*, p. 608.

78 See also *Dict.*, p. 516, *s.v.*, *sòpò*.

This shows that the Karens have adopted wholesale the British system of enumerating copper coinage. That they actually do so I gather from my informant, who, on being asked to write down how he enumerated pice, proceeded straight on end from one to thirty pice, thus — *tô* + number + *bê*! That is, he wrote :—

one pice	tôtabê	(*ta*, one)
two pice	tôk'ìbê...	(*k'i*, three)
three pice	tôbōbê	(*bo*, three)

and so on.

This shows that *bê* is really a numeral coefficient for "copper coin," as one also gathers to be the case from the *Anglo-Karen Dictionary*, which gives *tôtabê* for "one copper coin."[79]

For silver, *i. e.*, the rupee and its parts, he gave the following table :—

English.	Karen.	Sense of the Terms.
one anna	tabghè...	1 bghè
two annas	tas'ghô.,.	1 s'ghô
three „	böbghè	3 bghè
four „	tabî	1 bî
five „	yèbghè...	5 bghè
six „	kübghè	6 bghè
seven „	nwîbghè	7 bghè
eight „	tapö	1 pö
nine „	k'wîbghè	9 bghè
ten „	bghètas'î	bghè a ten
eleven „	s'îtabghè	11 bghè
twelve „	s'îk'ìbghè	12 bghè
thirteen „	s'îböbghè	13 bghè
fourteen „	s'îlwîbghè	14 bghè
fifteen „	s'îyèbghè	15 bghè
rupee	tabà	1 bà

The *Sgau Dictionary* discloses a confusion of mind among the Karens as to metals, not altogether surprising in tribes situated as they have been. Thus, we have, p. 495, *sé*, money of gold or silver, but clearly usually of silver :[80] p. 760, *tô*, brass and copper, also silver and superior brass: p. 1014, *p'ghâhôsòhô*, tin,[81] lead,[82] pewter, and spelter generally : p. 1224, *lwètôbò*, "precious kind of copper," *lwèt'â*, "precious kind of iron;" here *lwè* is a precious stone, *t'â* is iron (p. 793), and *bò* is yellow (p. 1105).

I may mention that my teacher only recognised *lwèt'â* as iron and *tôbò* as brass.[83] Distinctions between brass, copper and spelter seem to be *tôbò*, as above, yellow *tô*, and *tôkayô*, golden *tô* (p. 115) for brass : *tôghò*,[84] red *tô* (p. 395) for copper : *tôwâ*, white *tô* (p. 1224) for spelter.

I have no means of locating the qualities of Karen (terms for) silver to any scale, but that there are qualities vaguely undersood there can be little doubt. Witness the words *hasè* (p. 499), touchstone; *sép'ò*, silver refiner, and *pghâk'òsébê*, silver assayer (p. 1015); *pwèsâ*

[79] *Anglo-Karen Vocab.* has *tôpghâ* for "copper coin," *pghâ* being "tin."

[80] *E. g.*, *Anglo-Karen Vocab.* gives the words for "silver" as those for "money," "cash :" p. 27. See also *Anglo-Karen Dict.* p. 381.

[81] *P'ghâ* and *p'ghâwâ* (*wâ*, white) in *Anglo-Karen Vocab.* See also *Anglo-Karen Dict.*, *s. v.*

[82] My Karen teacher gave me *sâ* as lead, spelling it ၐဝ်: the *Dict.* p. 1014, gives *p'ghâ* as lead or tin.

[83] So also *Anglo-Karen Vocab.* p. 23, and *Anglo-Karen Dict.*, *s. v.*

[84] So also *Anglo-Karen Dict.*, *s. v.*

(Burmese however) silver assayer, appraiser (p. 1050). Besides these, I have unearthed the following terms: —

For "pure[85] silver:" —

Page 496.—*Séasò*[86] (*sò*, clean, p. 509): *séasòat'ì* (*t'ì*, water, p. 797:[87] *séatò* (*tò*, true, p. 765): *séatòalô*: *sêmòsò*[88] (*mò*, hammered, p. 1149).

Page 299. — *Klôpôséwâ* (money; white-pure-silver-white: pp. 299, 1001, 495, 1225).

For alloyed silver: —

Page 298. — *Klô*, lit., white.

Page 298. — *Klôhôséhó*, silver money.

Page 495 f. — *Pèsé*, *pèklôpèsè*, silver paid in advance (*pè*, payment in advance, p. 998).

For money: —

Page 495. — *Séhôt'ûhô* (*sé*, silver, *t'û*, gold).

Page 496. — *Sékamghî*, *sêkamghî-sêkamghâ*, *sêkamghî-sêkamghô*, silver chips, small silver change.

Page 496. — *Sényâ*, Burmese lump silver (*nyâ*, texture, substance, p. 595).

Page 496. — *Sédòp'lò*, Siamese stamped silver, "plano-convex pieces of specific value," as the *Dictionary* quaintly puts it (*dò*, measured, p. 887, *p'lo*, round).

Page 496. — *Séyûp'ô*, Siamese small silver (*yû*, bits, p. 1162, *p'ô*, small parts, p. 1063).

As regards gold the *Dictionary* has most curious information: — Thus, *t'û* is gold (p. 812): red gold is called male gold (*t'ûp'â*, p. 1051) and pale yellow gold is called female gold (*t'ûmô*, p. 1145). Red gold is considered the purer.[89] This, of course, is, within limits, a mistake, though it is shared by the Burmese and others; the redness of gold being caused by the less valuable copper, and not by the more valuable silver alloy of pale Oriental gold.

There are given on p. 813 a series of terms for "pure" (*i. e.*, I gather, "good quality, acceptable") gold: thus: —

T'ûsòt'ì (*sò*, pure, p. 509, *t'ì*, water, p. 797).

T'ûsòt'ìsònó (*nó*, water, p. 927).

T'ûtî (*tî*, perfect, p. 731).

T'ûtît'ûkanô.

T'ût'î (*t'î*, water, p. 927).

T'ûlî (?).

Other words for gold given *loc. cit.* have, as I understand, the meanings attached below: —

Lump gold	*t'ût'ò* (*t'ò*, convex, p. 839).
,, ,, ...	*t'ût'òlètô* (*lè*, burnt, p. 1204).
Alloyed gold ...	*t'ûmêû* (*mêû*, fire, p. 1138).
Impure gold, bullion.	*t'ûbabghè* (*babghè*, scum, froth, p. 1263).
Gold-dust	*t'ûkamû*, *t'ûkamû-t'ûkasè* (*kamû*, dust, p. 99).
,, ...	*t'ûkî* (*kî*, bits, p. 235).

[85] *Scil.* good, passable, marketable.

[86] *Sé* means money, but fundamentally barter.

[87] *Cf.* Shân *nàm*, water, = also fineness of metals.

[88] Also native silver bullion.

[89] The will-o'-the-whisp, *ignis fatuus*, is, according to the Karens, an animal of gold tinsel, which lays golden eggs: see *t'û* and *t'ûmìpghâ*, p. 812 f.

B.—Talaing.

It is a pity that a language with such a past literature and so many ancient documents in stone as the Talaing, also commonly known as the Mon and Peguan, must be treated as a minor and practically unwritten language, but I have no alternative. The Burmese conquest of the Talaing Country in the middle of the last Century and many other causes have operated to thrust back this once important and highly civilised tongue, until it can now only survive in rude dialectic forms among remote villages. These causes have also no doubt brought about the fact that the missionaries among the Talaings have almost as little to tell us as those among the Karens have much. The works and information at my disposal are :—

(1) Haswell,[90] *Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language*, 1874.
(2) Stevens, *English-Peguan Vocabulary*, 1896, based on Haswell.
(3) *British Burma Gazetteer*, Spearman,[91] Vol. I., 1880.
(4) *Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India*,[92] Forbes, 1881.
(5) *Notes on the Transliteration of the Burmese Alphabet*, Appx. on the vocal and consonantal sounds of the Peguan or Talaing Language, R. C. Temple, 1876, in which I followed Haswell, official publication.
(6) *Burma Census Report*, Eales, 1891.
(7) Various illiterate or slightly literate Talaing peasants.

The Talaings long ago converted the same **form of Alphabet** as that adopted by the Burmese and Shâns to their own use; a form which is very little suited to the requirements of their language. This Alphabet, being rich in consonantal and poor in vocal representation, has been made to do duty by modifications to express a language of exactly the opposite kind, — very rich in vocal and poor in consonantal sounds, and the result has been to bring into existence two difficult and puzzling series of modifications: one of the uses of the letters themselves, and the other of the additions to them. It is no doubt not an easy thing to learn to read Talaing.

So far as the books and information available to me permit, I would **describe the Talaing language and writing as follows** : —

Gutturals	...	k	k‘	ng[93]		
Palatals	...	ch	ch‘	s	ts[94]	ny
Dentals	...	t	t‘	n		
Labials	...	p	p‘	b[95]	m	
Linguals	...	y	r	l[96]	w	
Sibilants	...	s				
Aspirates	...	h	a			

Sonants corresponding to the surds are not heard in pronunciation, but are fully represented in the written character. The use of the sonants is to express modifications of the sounds of the following vowel symbols: *e. g.*, the inherent vowel in surds is *ā*, in sonants it is *e*. That is, the symbols *k* and *k‘* represent *kā* and *k‘ā*: but the symbols *g* and *g‘* represent *ke* and *k‘e*. So *k* + *â* is *kâ*, but *g* + *â* is *kêa*. This habit divides the Alphabet into surds and sonants, and for this purpose *s*, *h*, and special symbols[97] *l*, *b*, and *y* are surds, and *y*, *r*, *l*, *w*, and special symbol *b‘* are sonants.

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[90] Said by Mr. Stevens, page v., to be " the only white man of the Century in Burma, who ever mastered the Mon Language."

[91] Information chiefly from Dr. Mason.

[92] This contains, p. 99 ff., a neat comparison of Mon with the Cambodian and Annamese Languages.

[93] I use ‘ to express aspiration. The symbol for *ng* = *gn* when initial.

[94] Same symbols used for *ch*, *s*; *ch‘*, *ts*.

[95] With English appreciation of dentals.

[96] Special symbols for surd *l*.

[97] *Hl* (‘*l*) is also used to represent surd *l*, and *hw* (‘*w*) is pronounced *fw*, surd.

In this way there are **two inherent vowels,** *a* and *e,* and two sets of open vowel modifications thereof. Thus : —

Surd Modifications of Open Vowels.[98]

kā kâ kī kî kū kû kê kòa kōa kau kâu kò[99] kà kai kûe kôe kêau

Sonant Modifications of Open Vowels.

ke kêa ki kîa ku kôu ke kôa kôu keau kom kàa

But, as in Burmese and all the cognate tongues, final consonants also modify preceding vowels, and we thus get a double set of modifications, which renders the reading of Talaing very difficult.

On considering the effect of the final consonants there will be found to be an ordinary and a special modification of both surds and sonants with each vowel. Thus :—

Ordinary Modifications with Final Consonants.

	With initial surds.				With initial sonants.			
open	kā	kê	kau	kô[100]	ke	kêa	kau	kô[100]
closed	kòt	kāt	kôt	kât	kot	kàt	kòt	kut

Special Modifications with Final Consonants.

A. — Surds being initial.

(*a*) With final k.

open	kā	kâ	kī	kê	kô[100]
closed by k ...	kâk	kàik	kik	kâk, kîk	kaik

(*b*) With final ng.

open	kā	kâ	kī	kê	kô[100]
closed by ng ...	kâng	kàing	king	kâng, kîng	kaing

(*c*) With final w.

open	kā	kê	kau	kô[100]
closed by w ...	kò	kā	kô	kâ

(*d*) With final a (deep guttural sound).

open	kā	kau
closed by a ...	kô	kâ

B. — Sonants being initial.

(*a*) With final k.

open	kā	kâ	kī	kê	kô[100]
closed by k ...	kāak	kaik	kik	kàk, kik	kuk

(*b*) With final ng.

open	kā	kâ	kī	kê	kô[100]
closed by ng ...	kāang	kaing	king	kàng, king	kâng

Besides all this, there are irregularities,[1] recognised and dialectic, and the use of open vowels following sonants to express, in dissylables and compound words, **short inherent a, or a slightly sounded inherent vowel,** thus : —

written *kata :* pronounced *kātā ;*

,, *gata :* ,, *k'tā*, or *katā.*

This inherent *a*, or slightly sounded inherent vowel, is also expressed by ten sets of ligatures !

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98 The mark ¯ is used to show that vowels are long, and the mark ^ that they are pronounced so. The English reader will comprehend the difference at once by considering to himself the difference between *part* and *guard, fruit* and *prude, neat* and *need, soak* and *rogue, aught* and *fraud, make* and *made*, and so on.

99 This ò as in *or* has a sharp staccato sound.

100 This is written with the Burmese ô, but never as an open vowel, though it is sounded as an open ô.

1 See Haswell, p. xii.

I think that any one who has followed me through this description of the Talaing's mode of writing his language will admit that it must be difficult to read.[2]

Now, I very much regret to say that I have been unable to use the information thus put together for any other purpose than an attempt to adequately represent in transcription the contents of the *Vocabularies* at my disposal. The information verbally given me for the present purpose is so dialectic, that I have thought it best to give the Talaing metrological terms as I heard them, without adopting the scheme of sounds laid down even by so experienced a scholar as Mr. Haswell.

The **parts of the rupee** are parts of the former tickal, and the peasantry do not seem to distinguish by language between the coins and the bullion weights that the coins represent. The **parts of the tickal** follow the Burmese terms, thus : —

Burmese.	Talaing.
pè	pôa, bòa, pûa, bùö
mû	môu, mâu
màt	meh
kyàt	h'kî,[3] t'kî, t'kò
pêkþâ (viss)	w'sâ, p'sâ[4]

The **tickal** is the weight that turns the scale ; *e. g.*, *'lâ-h'kî* is a balance ;[5] *'nîm-'lâ-h'kî* is the weight (*'nîm*) of a tickal ; *lit.*, apparently of the balance.[6]

The silver money scale, *i. e.*, for the rupee and its parts, my general information states to be as follows : —

English.	Talaing.		Sense.	
	Dialect, Pegu.	Dialect, Maulmain.	Pegu.	Maulmain.
1 anna	môpôa	môpôa[7]	1 bôa	1 pôa
2 annas	mômôu	mûmâu	1 môu	1 mâu
3 „	pòipôa	pàipôa	3 bôa	3 pôa
4 „	mômeh	mûmeh	1 meh	1 meh
5 „	p'sônbôa	p'sônmûa	5 bôa	5 pôa
6 „	pòimôu[8]	k'râupôa	3 môu	6 pôa
7 „	h'pôhbôa	h'pôhpôa	7 bôa	7 pôa
8 „	bâameh[9]	pâameh	2 meh	2 meh
9 „	h'chîtbôa[10]	h'sitpòa	9 bòa	9 pôa
10 „	chauhbôa	sôhpôa	10 bôa	10 pòa
11 „	chauhmûabôa	sôhmûapôa	11 bôa	11 pôa
12 „	chauhbâabôa	sôhpâapôa	12 bôa	12 pôa
13 „	chauhpòibôa	sôhpàipôa	13 bôa	13 pôa
14 „	chauh'pònbôa	sôhpônpôa	14 bôa	14 pôa
15 „	chauh'sônbôa	sôhsônpôa	15 bôa	15 pôa
1 rupee	môh'kî	môh'kî	1 h'kî	1 h'kî

[2] See Stevens, pp. 91, 113.

[3] This *h* is a deep guttural, given as *k* by Haswell, and spelt *t* or *d*.

[4] This word is clearly the Indian *vîsa* or *vissa*.

[5] See Stevens, pp. 7, 12, *s. vv. balance* and *scales.*

[6] I may mention that a Talaing Karen, *i. e.*, a Pwo Karen, furnished the following words to me : — *'lâ-akî*, tickal : *mâṅ-arot*, brass ; *p'sôa*, iron : *sôn*, silver. These are purely Talaing. *Cf.* Haswell, p. xiii.

[7] A Talaing from Kòkarêk, Amherst District, prefixed *sòn*, silver, where the reckoning represented a silver coin : *e. g.*, Re. 1, *sòn-môh'kî* : 8 annas, *sòn-pâameh* : 4 annas, *sòn-mûmeh* : 2 annas, *sòn-mômâu*.

[8] Also *karâubôa* = 6 *bôa*.

[9] Also *h'chambôa* = 8 *bôa*.

[10] For these numbers, which agree fairly with Haswell's list, one man gave me *h'sam*, 8 ; *h'sit*, 9 ; *t'sauh*, 10 and teens. One is *mûa*, but *mô* in composition, as *môpôa*, *mômôu*, *mômeh*, *môh'kî*, *môp'sâ* (a viss, but synonym *môaw'sâ*). *Pòi*, three, is also *pài* (*pee* or *pi* in Haswell, p. 21). *Bâ*, two, is also *bôa* and *pâa*.

My informants recognised the Burmese word **ywê**, *Abrus* or *Adenanthera* seed, but called it *sôtpôa* and *màibôa*, *i. e.*, zinc *bôa* (*sôt*, zinc; Stevens, p. 128, has *srôt*), or seed *bôa* (*me*, seed), meaning thereby (?) zinc money or seed money.

The word for a **copper coin** is *'lôi*, or *'lûi*, and the numeral coefficient is *h'taik*,[11] the pice being enumerated precisely as in Burmese and the neighbouring idioms, as copper + number + coefficient, *e. g.*, one pice is *'lôi-mûa-h'taik* = copper-one-piece.

My informants were also not likely to know much about the **metals**, and what has been gathered is very little.

Gold: — good qualities are — *t'ämu'àh*, Haswell, p. 74: Stevens, p. 84: *t'òh'chauk*: *t'òh'chit*: *t'op'kit*, red gold. Bad qualities are — *môjô*, Burmese, billon: *t'òpärop*, Haswell. p. 74: *t'òparòp*.

Silver: — *sròn*, Haswell, pp. 128, 133: *sòn*.

Brass: — *mem'rut*, Haswell, p. 81: *p'ärut*, Haswell, p. 95: *p'rôt*: *p'rut*. Inferior brass — *h'rut-p'sòk* (? white brass). Bad brass — *'laik*,[12] Haswell, p. 116.

Copper: — *'lûi*, Haswell, p. 116: *p'rut-h'kit*, and *h'rut-k'kit*, *i. e.*, red brass.[13]

Tin, iron and lead are much mixed up: thus: —**Iron**: *päsòa*, Haswell, p. 88: *p'sòa*: *sòwâ*. **Tin**: — *päsòatàik*, Haswell, p. 88, white iron: *p'sòa-h'taing*, white iron: *p'äkauhp'äraing*, Haswell p. 94, white lead: *p'kàh-h'taing*, white lead. **Lead**: — *p'äkauk-p'äyaing*, Haswell, p. 94: *h'kûh-h'yaing*, or simply *h'kûh*.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR JAMES CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 140.)

The Hair. — The hair seems to have been considered an inlet for spirits, because it leads to the opening in the skull. Hair is also curiously affected by fear, and stands on end when a vision or ghost is seen. In a dry climate it crackles and becomes full of electricity. These may have been among **the reasons why the hair plays so noticeable a part in early beliefs and rites.** Because spirits enter through the hair, in the Kônkân the medium lets his hair fall loose, in order that his familiar spirit may enter into his body. It is believed by the Hindus that, if the medium forgets to untie the knot of his head hair, he will not be able to become possessed.[75] In the Dakhan, when a knowing man is called, he seizes the patient by the hair. A pregnant Chitpâvan woman should not let her hair hang loose, or she may be attacked by spirits.[76] The Liṅgâyaṭs of Dhâṛwâṛ say that they cut the hair of girls under five, as, if their hair is long, it might touch a woman in her monthly sickness, which they believe would give the child certain diseases.[77] The Śrîvaiśṇava Brâhmaṇs shave the moustache, because they hold that, if water touches the moustache in passing into the mouth, it becomes the same as liquor.[78] At their *saili katri sona*, or the hair-cutting ceremony among the Liṅgâyaṭs, the priest holds two betel-leaves in the form of a pair of scissors, and with them touches the longest hair on the child's head.[79] Among the Bijâpûr Bedars, when a woman, who has been out-casted for eating or committing adultery with a man of low caste, is let back into caste, her head is shaved, and her tongue burned with a burning *rui* twig.[80] When a Bijâpûr Bedar man is guilty of adultery with a kinswoman of the same *gotra*, or family-stock, his head and face are shaved, and he is

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11 *H'taik*, spelt *getaik*, in Stevens, p. 77.

12 Tin according to one informant!

13 *H'rut* is lead according to one informant!

75 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

76 K. Raghunâth's *Pâtâne Prabhus*.

77 *Dhârwâr Gazetteer*, p. 111.

78 *Op. cit.* p. 99.

79 *Op. cit.* p. 111.

80 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII. p. 94.

made to drink liquor.[81] Mourners among all high-caste Hindus shave the head except the top knot. So among the Kânara Sênvîs, when a death happens, the chief mourner shaves his face and head, except the top-knot.[82] The Belgaum Marâṭhâs shave the face after a death, and wrapping a piece of gold with the shaven hair burn it in the funeral pyre.[83] Among higher class Hindus, after shaving, a man or a woman is considered unclean, and will not eat or touch anything. This is, perhaps, because they are specially liable to be attacked by spirits as the hair is about, and a spirit may settle in it, and so in the person. So it was important to take care of the parings of nails and hair-clippings. Originally the idea seems to have been that spirits would pass through them into the owner, afterwards it was thought that the magician would work with them. So the ancient Persians drew a circle round parings of nails and hair-clipping, and poured earth on them.[84] Among the Kois of Bastar the white or harmless wizards let their hair grow, and become inspired by performing a quick dance.[85] In South India, Liṅgâyaṭs sometimes carry a *liṅg* in the hair,[86] and a man who has been troubled by an evil spirit lets his hair and nails grow for a year, and then offers them to a goddess.[87] The Kôl women, like the old Greek women, when they wish to become possessed, walk up a hill with their hair loose.[88] The dying Beni-Isrâ'îl is shaved, except the face.[89] Spirits enter through the hair. So the Pârsî corpse-bearers have to wash their hair in human urine.[90] The Pârsîs believe that spirits gather wherever hair and nails are left.[91] They believe that there is a great danger, unless the hair and nails are buried with prayers, that evil spirits will feast on them and work sorcery with them.[92] Young men offered their hair at the temple of Syria.[93] The Burmans wash their head only once a month, because the Burmans, and especially the people of Pegu, believe that frequent washing destroys and irritates the genius who dwells in the head and protects men.[94] The young Burmans, on entering into a monastery, get their locks cut off.[95] Japanese children have little patches of hair left tied with strings of ribbon.[96] Some Papuans of New Guinea turn their black wool or frizzle light red by rubbing it with burnt coral or wood ashes.[97] The hair-dress of early tribes is perhaps spiritual. The Wagogos of East Africa twist their wool into countless strings, which they braid with *baobab* fibre, and at the end tie little brass balls and coloured beads.[98] The Mandingos of Africa cut the child's hair and spit into its face[99] Zulu women leave a small tuft on the crown of the head.[100] Among the North American Indians many tribes cut their hair after a death.[1] The mention that the Dakotas after cutting the hair rub the head with white earth, suggests that the object was to keep off spirits.[2] On the other hand, in some cases, the cutting off the hair was a sacrifice; so in North America, the Nebraska Indians bound locks of women's hair with the body.[3] Other North American tribes wore their hair matted and dishevelled.[4] Among the North American Indians several tribes also keep a lock of hair as the ghost of the dead.[5] In this case the hair is kept as a memorial. In the Sandwich Islands, in 1799, to stop a volcano, the king cut his holy hair and threw it into a river. The Peruvians pulled a hair out of the eye-brows in worshipping. The Greek bride offered a lock to Aphrodite.[6] Till B. C. 300 the Romans never cut the hair.[7] Among the Romans there was (A. D. 100) a

81 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 94.

82 *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 165.

83 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 127.

84 *Dabistân*, Vol. I. p. 317.

85 *Jour. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 416.

86 Dubois, Vol. I. p. 157.

87 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 376.

88 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 261.

89 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 532.

90 Bleek's *Vendidâd*, p. 70.

91 Bleek's *Avesta Vendidâd*, p. 124.

92 *Op. cit.* p. 124.

93 *Inman*, Vol. II. p. 791.

94 Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 92.

95 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 87.

96 St. John's *Nipon*, p. 194.

97 Earl's *Papuans*, p. 5.

98 Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. I. p. 97.

99 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 431.

100 Gardiner's *Zulu Country*, p. 100.

1 Among the tribes who cut their hair short are the Dakotas (p. 161), Innuits (p. 157), Californians (p. 151), and the Pinas (p. 99). — *First Rep. Ethno. Com. Amer.* 1880.

2 *First Report of Ethnology*, Washington, p. 164.

3 *Op. cit.* p. 159.

4 *Op. cit.* pp. 96, 185.

5 *Op. cit.* pp. 108, 160.

6 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 291.

7 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book vii., Chap. 59.

belief that an unborn child gives its mother much trouble and pain when its hair begins to bud forth.[8] The hair of Russian priests is cut cross-wise in four places when he is ordained.[9] In Scotland, when horses are taken out of the stable by witches, and ridden at night, next morning their manes and tails are dishevelled and tangled.[10] In North England, there was a belief that, when a child is suffering from whooping cough, its head should be shaved, and the birds take the hair and the cough. So mix your hair with an ass's or dog's food, and you will pass him your scarlet fever.[11] Sir W. Scott, in his *Lays of the Last Minstrel*, Vol. II. p. 17, says: —

"Yet somewhat was he chilled with dread,
And his hair did bristle upon his head."

Spirits enter into the body through the hair, and bring on sickness. So in England, there was a belief or saying: — "You can be cured of ague by winding some hair round a pin and driving it into an aspen stem."[12] The king (of England?) after anointing should have his hair combed with an ivory or gold comb if the hair is not smooth.[13] In England, a nurse sometimes cuts some hair of a child's head who is sick with measles and whooping cough. She puts the hair between bread and butter, and leaves it for a dog to eat. The dog eats it, and gets the measles.[14] In Ireland, the hair is cut off a person's head who is sick of scarlet fever, and is put down an ass's mouth.[15] It is considered fatal in England if human hair is taken and worked by a bird into its nest.[16] Two girls sit up silent, each takes as many hairs out of her head as she is years old, and having put them in a cloth with the herb called true-love, she burns each hair separately, and says: — "I offer this my sacrifice to him most precious in my eyes. I charge thee now come forth to me that I this minute may thee see." The shape appears, and walks round the room.[17]

The Mouth. — On three occasions there is a special risk that spirits will pass into the body through the mouth — in eating, in sneezing, and in yawning. Perhaps because spirits enter through the mouth while **eating**, the higher class Hindus before beginning to eat make a circle of water round their dish, and sip a little water, repeating some verses.[18] So orthodox Liṅgâyaṭs do not like to take their meals in an open place, lest they may be affected by the Evil Eye.[19] Sometimes pious Hindu women during the four months of the *dakshinâyan*, — that is, from mid-June to the middle of September when the doors of heaven are closed and the influence of spirits is great, — make a vow of observing silence at meals.[20] In Kânara, at a Roman Catholic Baptism, the priest breathes three times into the child's mouth to drive away evil spirits, and to make room for the Holy Ghost.[21] In South India, (some) Brâhmaṇs eat in silence.[22] Burton (1621 A. D.)[23] notices two cases — one of a nun, who ate a lettuce without saying grace or making the sign of the cross, and was instantly possessed, and the other of a wench who was possessed by eating an unhallowed pomegranate. The Greek and Roman offerings of meat and drink before or after meat, and the English leaving part of a dish for Lady Manners, were due, perhaps, to the belief that spirits enter at food-time through the mouth; and so the Roman Catholic practice of making the sign of the cross before eating and the Protestant rule of grace before meat, may be attributed to the same belief.

Sneezing. — The convulsion of sneezing is generally thought to be caused by a spirit. According to one belief it is caused by a spirit going out, and according to another belief by a spirit coming in. Among Kôṅkân Hindus, when a man sneezes, it is customary to say *shatam*

[8] *Op. cit.* Book vii., Chap. 6.
[9] Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 53.
[10] Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 462.
[11] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 143.
[12] *Op. cit.* p. 151.
[13] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 291.
[14] Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 168.
[15] *Op. cit.* p. 170.
[16] *Op. cit.* p. 276.
[17] *Op. cit.* p. 186.
[18] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[19] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[20] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[21] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 388.
[22] Dubois, Vol. I. p. 249.
[23] Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 130.

jiv, or live long or a hundred years.[24] If a man sneezes while he is standing on the threshold it is considered very dangerous, and water is poured on his head.[25] In Dhârwâr, if A sneezes once when B is beginning some work, B stops for a time, and then begins afresh; if A sneezes twice together, B goes on with his work without stopping; if A sneezes on B's back, B's back is slightly pinched; and if A sneezes during a meal, some one of the party calls on him to name his birth-place.[26] The Siamese wish a long life to the person sneezing, for they believe that one of the judges of hell keeps a register wherein the duration of men's lives is written, and that when he opens this register, and looks upon any particular leaf, all those whose names happen to be entered in such leaf never fail to sneeze immediately.[27] When the king of Mesopotamia sneezes, acclamations are made in all parts of his dominions.[28] At Dahomey if the king sneezes, all courtiers turn the back, and slap the thigh, and all women of the court touch the ground with their forehead.[29] In Madagascar, if a child sneezes, the mother says: — "God bless you."[30] In Florida (1542), if the chief sneezed, the people said: — "May the sun guard you; may the sun be with you; may the sun shine on you."[31] Aristotle has a problem why sneezing from noon to midnight was good, but from midnight to noon unlucky.[32] St. Austen says that the ancients were wont to go to bed again if they sneezed while they put on their shoe.[33] Among the Romans and other Europeans, when a man sneezed, there was a custom of saying "God bless you," or otherwise to wish him well.[34] To the inquiry why people say "God bless you" when any one sneezes, the *British Apollo*, Vol. II. No. 10 (fol., London, 1709), answers: — "Violent sneezing was once an epidemical and mortal distemper from whence the custom specified took its rise."[35] In Langley's abridgment of *Polydore Virgil*, fol. 130, it is said there was a terrible plague whereby many as they sneezed died suddenly, whereof it grew into a custom that they that were present when any man sneezed should say "God help you."[36] The early Christian Church denounced omens from sneezing.[37] In Germany, if a professor sneezes, the students cry good health.[38]

Yawning. — The general belief about yawning is that a spirit jumps down the yawner's throat. So when a Hindu yawns, he snaps his finger and thumb, apparently the remnant of the elaborate old Pârsî plan of driving out a spirit, and repeats God's name. In South India, when a Brâhmaṇ yawns, to drive away demons and giants, he cracks his fingers to the right and left.[39] The Persians applied yawning to spirit-possession, and the Musalmâns thought Satan leapt into the open mouth.[40]

The Hand. — Spirits were believed to enter the body by the hands. The Pârsîs believe that unclean spirits enter through the nails.[41] They think the *drukhs naśus*, or spirit of corruption, passes from the corpse into the nails, and so Pârsî bearers always draw bags or fingerless gloves over their hands.[42] The Hindus attach much importance to the hand and forearm. The hand and forearm are in Gujarât and the Bombay Dakhan carved on *sati* stones — that is, stones raised in memory of a widow who has been sacrificed, — and the forearm of a woman who has died in child-bed is a most precious possession both to Hindn and to Mexican sorcerers.[43] In the Kôṅkân, sometimes the medium takes hold of the little finger to see whether it is a *jakhin* or some other *bhût* that has taken possession of a man, and among the Dakhan Râmośîs when an exorcist is called, he squeezes the patient's finger. The hand is a sign of blessing. Compare the Sati's hand and the hand on the wedded Musalmân's back. The Poona Uchlâs or pocket slitters

24 Information from Mr. P. B. Jośhi.
25 Information from Mr. P. B. Jośhi.
26 *Dhârwâr Gazetteer*, p. 50.
27 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 124.
28 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 124.
29 Burton's *Visit to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 210.
30 Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 285.
31 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 137.
32 *Op. cit.* p. 119.
33 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 119.
34 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 101.
35 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 125.
36 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 125.
37 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 9.
38 *Op. cit.* p. 137.
39 Dubois, Vol. I. p. 465.
40 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 102.
41 Bleek's *Avesta Vendidâd*, p. 22.
42 *Op. cit.* pp. 22 and 43.
43 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 364.

strew sand on the spot where the dead breathed his last. They cover the spot with a basket, and next morning lift the basket. They trust to find the mark of a palm. The palm shows the dead is pleased, and from the palm virtue goes out over the whole family.[44] The Poona Ṭhâkûrs, a wild tribe, on the fifth day after the birth of a child, dip a hand in red powder and water, and mark it on the wall in the lying-in room, and worship the mark.[45] When the Belgaum Bhoi or fisher agrees to break his family ties, to renounce the pleasures of the world, to obey the teacher or *guru*, and to follow him wherever he goes, the *guru* lays his hand on the Bhoi's head and says:— "Rise; from this day you are my disciple."[46] The Bijâpûr Liṅgâyaṭs at the festival called *Nandî-kodu* along with the Nandi's horn carry a hand which they call *Vyasantol*, or the hand of Vyâs the Puran writer.[47] All Brâhmaṇs, while performing their *sandhya* or prayer, pass the thumb over the other fingers, and repeat a verse.[48] In his evening prayer a Brâhmaṇ, after praying the goddess Gâyatri to enter him, cracks his fingers ten times, and shuts all the openings into the body, so that Gâyatri cannot get out.[49] The origin of the special respect which is paid to the hand may be that the wrist contains the pulse, an important sign of life, or, according to the early view, one of the chief spirits which lodge in the body of man. Hindus generally feel the pulse and draw blood from the forearm. Among the Jews the right hand was an emblem of fellowship. Abraham says:— "I have lifted my right hand."[50] In Egypt, hands and fingers were dedicated to the gods who healed the sick.[51] Among the Ainos of Japan, when one who has been away comes back, his friends take his hands and rub them.[52] Among the Niam-Niam of Africa there is a fashion of grasping right hands in such a way that the two middle fingers crackle.[53] The Romans usually joined right hands in sign of a bargain[54]; so did the Parthians and Persians.[55] The hand of justice was a part of the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire.[56] Among the Roman Catholics, in the service of the Mass, after the priest has elevated the Host, he never disjoins his fingers and thumbs, except when he is to take the Host, till after washing his fingers.[57] The laying on of hands at a Roman Catholic Baptism implies possession by God,[58] and in an adult Baptism the laying on of hands drives out the devil.[59] In the solemn plighting of troth in the Roman Catholic marriage the bride and bridegroom join their right hands.[60] In Middle-Age Europe, the thumb was held sacred and worshipped as *thumbbim polluix*.[61] Licking or biting thumbs was a sign of challenge, promise, or agreement among the English and Scotch.[62] In a fit of convulsion or shortness of breath hold your left thumb with your right hand.[63] It may be suggested that the idea that spirits enter by the hands explains the old English practice of giving presents of gloves at marriages and at funerals. So Mr. Cornelius Bee was buried on the 4th of January, 1671, without sermon, without wine; only gloves and rosemary.[64] The custom of giving gloves at weddings was prevalent in England.[65] Hutchinson, in his *History of Northumberland*, says:— "Children to avoid danger are taught to double the thumb within the hand. This was much practised whilst the terrors of witchcraft remained." It was also the custom to fold the thumbs of dead persons within the hands to prevent the power of evil spirits over the deceased.[66] In some parts of England, it is believed that the clergyman's touch cures rheumatism,[67] and in North-West England, a child's right hand is not washed that it may gather riches.[68]

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44 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 473.
45 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 426.
46 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 156.
47 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 229.
48 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
49 Dubois, Vol. I. p. 372.
50 Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 291.
51 Jones' *Crowns*, p. 345.
52 St. John's *Nipon*, p. 29.
53 Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 27.
54 Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 292.
55 *Op. cit.* Do.
56 Jones' *Crowns*, p. 345.
57 *Golden Manual*, p. 261.
58 *Op. cit.* p. 670.
59 *Op. cit.* p. 793.
60 *Op. cit.* p. 699.
61 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 180.
62 Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 359.
63 St. Austin in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 343.
64 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 244.
65 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 125.
66 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 180.
67 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 161.
68 *Op. cit.* p. 16.

The Foot. — The foot is a great spirit-entry. So in the *Mahabhârata*, in the tale of Nala and Damayanti, it is stated that one day Nala washed his hands and lips with purifying water, but forgot to wash his feet, and so the evil spirit Kâḷî entered his body.[69] Among the higher class Hindus of Bombay, when the bridegroom comes to the bride's house, the father-in-law washes his feet.[70] No Hindu will take his meals without washing his hands and feet; and among the higher class Hindus, when a man goes to a house of mourning, or where a death has taken place, on his return home he does not enter his house until he has washed his hands and feet. If he enters the house without washing his feet it is considered unlucky, and he is blamed by the elderly members of his house for coming in with *bharula pâi*, or (spirit) laden feet.[71] In Dhârwâṛ, rheumatism is cured by a person who was born feet first, by rubbing the place that pains with his feet.[72] Among the Liṅgâyaṭs in the Bombay Karnâtak, and among the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas in Bombay Kânara, the religious teacher or *guru* washes his feet in water, and the disciples drink the water, and are purified, — that is, are freed from evil spirits. Among the Dhârwâṛ Liṅgâyaṭs, when a child is born, a Liṅgâyaṭ priest is called, his feet are washed in water, and the water is called *dhulpâdodak*, or feet-dust water. The water is rubbed over the bodies of those present, and a few drops of it are sprinkled on the walls to purify the house.[73] When a Dhârwâṛ Liṅgâyaṭ dies, the chief priest lays his right foot on the head of the body, and the *mathapati*, or Liṅgâyaṭ beadle, lays flowers and red powder on the priest's feet.[74] When the dead is buried, the priest stands on the grave, a cocoanut is broken at his feet, flowers and red powder are laid on them, and the party return home.[75] Among the Jadars of Belgaum the Liṅgâyaṭ priest lays his foot on the head of the deceased.[76] In Kânara, the Śênvî *guru* gives his followers water to drink in which his feet have been washed.[77] Before the body of a Medar, or Kânara bamboo-worker, is carried to the burial ground, a Liṅgâyaṭ priest sets his right foot on the head of the corpse. The priest's foot is worshipped by the relations of the dead, and washed, and the water is poured into the corpse's mouth.[78] The Havig Brâhmaṇs of Kânara drink the water in which their guide has washed his feet.[79] The Kânara Musalmâns tie the great toes of the dead tightly together.[80] In Kâṭhiâwâṛ, men take an oath by putting the hand on Śiva's foot.[81] The Jogîs of Kâṭhiâwâṛ brand the right front toe before burial.[82] Spirits enter by the foot-route, and so in Kâṭhiâwâṛ, in their pregnancy ceremony, Râjput women walk on cloth.[83] It is apparently to keep out spirits that, among the Mundas and Oraons of South-West Bengal, the bridegroom treads on the bride's toe during the marriage ceremony,[84] the Gond bridegroom sets his foot on the bride's foot,[85] and a chicken is killed, and the body laid under the girl's foot.[86] The Kur fathers-in-law wash the feet of the young couple.[87] The Bhuyâs of Bengal place the toes of a new king on their ears and head.[88] In worshipping a Brâhmaṇ woman in Bengal, women paint the edges of her feet.[89] Śûdrâs in Bengal carry a cup filled with water, and ask Brâhmaṇs to put their toes in, and they drink the water.[90] In magic the sorcerer orders the spirit in the name of the teacher's feet.[91] With the Hindus one of the first duties of hospitality is to give the guest *pâdya* or water to wash his feet.[92] In the *Padma Purâṇa*, the great king of Lilipa falls on his face before an ascetic, washes his feet, drinks some of the water, and puts more on his head.[93] The Pârsî rule, that one should never walk barefoot,[94] is, perhaps, due to the

[69] Arnold's *Indian Idylls*, p. 65.
[70] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[71] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[72] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.
[73] *Dhârwâr Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 111.
[74] *Op. cit.* p. 114.
[75] *Op. cit.* p. 115.
[76] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI. p. 139.
[77] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 148.
[78] *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 341.
[79] Information from Mr. De Souza.
[80] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 409.
[81] Information from Col. Barton.
[82] Information from Col. Barton.
[83] Information from Col. Barton.
[84] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 194, 253
[85] Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. I., p. v.
[86] *Op. cit.* App. I., p. v.
[87] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 234.
[88] *Op. cit.* p. 147.
[89] Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 75.
[90] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 68.
[91] Dubois, Vol. II. p. 60.
[92] Arnold's *Indian Idylls*, p. 212.
[93] Dubois, Vol. II. p. 229.
[94] *Dabistân*, Vol. I. p. 329.

supposition that the foot is a spirit-entry. The great toe of Pyrrhus, the Persian king, cured spleen, and was kept in a temple.[95] Among the Beni-Isrâ'îls the feet of the bride and bridegroom are washed by the girl's sister at her house.[96] Burmese women are careful to cover the feet while praying.[97] The Burmese king never walks when he is out of doors.[98] The emperor of Japan never touches ground with his feet out of doors.[99] Before the revolution of 1868 the emperor of Japan used never to leave his palace or be seen. If he walked, as he rarely did, mats were laid to keep him from touching the earth.[100] The Samoan bride and her party walk on path-way of cloth.[1] The knees and ankle-joints of Motu children are often tied round with a piece of string or bark.[2] In the Kongo country, when the chief drinks, his big toes are pulled.[3] The big toe is worshipped in Egba, in Africa.[4] In East Africa, the Wataitas believe that strangers passing through their fields with shoes on bring witchery on the crops.[5] It seems to be a wide-spread belief that the stains of battle or any blood-stains give the spirit of the dead an inlet through which he can enter and haunt the body of the person who killed them. Among the Basutos of South Africa warriors returning from battle must wash to cleanse the blood-stains, or the shades of their victims will disturb their sleep.[6] They wash in a stream and have holy water sprinkled over them from a cow's tail.[7] So Hector cannot pray till he has washed off the blood, and Æneas may not touch the household gods till he has bathed in the running stream.[8] According to Pliny[9] a maiden's toe cures a man in falling sickness. To cure fever rub the soles with blood.[10] In an old-fashioned Russian adoption ceremony the adopting father puts his foot on his adopted son's neck.[11] The Celts in West Europe (B. C. 200 to A. D. 600) used for coronations stones with feet carved on them.[12] In a Roman Catholic Baptism the priest goes outside of the Church to meet the person, because he is still the slave of sin, and cannot be allowed into the House of God,[13] that is, because with him evil spirits would come in. At the coronation feast of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII., two lords sat at her feet under the table.[14]

The Ear. — The ear is a spirit-entry, and so perhaps the Hindus pierce the ears of their children, and put in gold or pearl ornaments to keep off spirits. It is deemed unlucky not to bore the ear of an infant, and orthodox Brâhmaṇs consider it wrong and polluting to touch a child whose ears are not bored after they have bathed and before they have taken their morning meals.[15] Among several classes of Gosâvîs in Belgaum, ear-boring is one of the chief ceremonies.[16] The Davrîs, a Marâṭhî-speaking class of drumming beggars in Belgaum, bore their children's ears at twelve, and the teacher or *guru* puts in the holes a pair of light silver rings.[17] Among the Belgaum Mudliars even the poorest must wear an ornament in the ear.[18] Among the half Marâṭhâ Râjputs of Belgaum women bore ten holes in each ear in which they wear gold rings stuck with pearls.[19] Among the Roman Catholics of Kânara, at Baptism, the priest touches a child's nostrils and ears with spittle.[20] Among the Dhruva Prabhus of Poona, when the boy reaches the bride's house, her brother comes out and pinches his ears, and in return is given a turban,[21] and among the Kôṅknî Kolîs of Poona, when the bridegroom reaches the bride's marriage porch he is met by her brother, who pinches the bride-

95 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book vii., Chap. 2.
96 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 523.
97 Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 226.
98 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 119.
99 Silver's *Japan*, p. 20.
100 Reed's *Japan*, Vol. II. p. 182.
1 Pritchard's *Polynesian Remains*, p. 137.
2 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 480.
3 Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 213.
4 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 149.
5 New's *East Africa*, p. 318.
6 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 433.
7 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 433.
8 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 439.
9 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii., Chap. 4.
10 *Op. cit.* Book xxviii., Chap. 7.
11 Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 410.
12 Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, pp. 303-309.
13 *Golden Manual*, p. 639.
14 Burton's *Visit to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 245.
15 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
16 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI. p. 183.
17 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 180.
18 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 97.
19 *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 130.
20 *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 388.
21 *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 190.

groom's ear.[22] The ears of a dead Tailang Brâhmaṇ in Poona are stuffed with *tulaśî* (sweet basil) leaves.[23] The initiation ceremony in many Hindu classes is called ear-cleansing or *kân phunkanê*. The priest breathes some words into the child's ear, and the ear is clean, — that is, the evil spirits are driven out of it. So among the Dakhan Mhârs, when a child is to be initiated, the *guru* takes it on his knee, breathes into both its ears, and mutters some mystic words into the right ear.[24] When performing religious ceremonies, if a Brâhmaṇ sneezes, or spits, he must touch his right ear. According to the rule of *Śâstras* after sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, sleeping, dressing and crying, a man should touch his right ear before he sips water.[25] This was probably to keep spirits from getting in by the ear. The Brâhmaṇs state the object was to remove impurity (that is, to scare evil spirits), the reason they assign being that water or the Ganges, the *Vêdas*, the sun, the moon and the air live in a Brâhmaṇ's right ear.[26] When a Beni-Isrâ'îl child is brought in after taking it out of doors for the first time it is laid on a sheet with seven or nine pinches of gram round it and two pieces of cocoa-kernel. Several children come up, take the babe by the ear, and say: — "Come and eat rice-cakes," and pick up some of the boiled gram, and as they run out, they are struck on the back by a knotted handkerchief.[27] Among the Beni-Isrâ'îls, when the bridegroom after the wedding enters the girl's house her brother squeezes his right ear.[28] Aaron's right ear was marked with blood; so was his right thumb and his right great toe.[29] Ear-boring is an important ceremony in a Burman girl's life.[30] They put jewels, amber and glass ornaments in the ear.[31] The Polynesians bore the lobe of the ear to wear ornaments.[32] The Papuans of North Guinea pierce the ear, and insert ornaments of tobacco rolled in a Pandan leaf.[33] The men of the Arru Islands in the west of New Guinea drill four or five holes in their ears, and fill them with pieces of brass wire, and the women make many holes and draw through them copper or tin wire, and sometimes a sea plant which is also used as an armlet.[34] Boring large holes in the ear is a great point of honour with the Philippine Islanders.[35] The Nubian men wear one ear-ring of silver or copper in the right ear.[36] The Wagogos of East Africa enlarge ear lobes to a monstrous extent, and put in rings.[37] In England, a pig used to be cured of lameness by making a hole in its ear.[38]

The Nose. — Spirits enter through the nose, and so when a medium in the Kônkân wishes to get his familiar spirit to enter his body he invariably smells a flower.[39] **Most Hindu women bore their left nostrils, and put gold and pearl rings in them.** Sometimes, when a male infant dies soon after birth, or suffers from sickness, Hindu women make a vow to a goddess, that if their son lives, or does not suffer from sickness, they will bore his nose and put in a nose-ring.[40] The Mâdhava Brâhmaṇ women of Dhârwâr bore their nostrils and wear one or other of the following ornaments, *viz.*, *mukhrai*, a gem-studded gold nose-ring; *bulak*, a gem-studded crescent worn in the central cartilage of the nose; *mughâthi*, a thick pin worn in the left nostril; and *archandra*, a gem-studded gold crescent worn in the right nostril.[41] Dhârwâr Râjput women wear a nose-ring about six inches in diameter, part of the ring passes through a hole in the left nostril, and part is lifted up and tied by a string to the hair above the forehead.[42] At a Baptism among the Kânara Roman Catholics the priest touches the child's nostrils and ears with spittle, and then he orders the evil spirit to leave the child, and rubs a

[22] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 392.
[23] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 183.
[24] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 441.
[25] Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 126.
[26] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 126.
[27] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 528.
[28] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 522.
[29] *Exodus*, xxix. 21.
[30] Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 56.
[31] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 60, 61.
[32] Pritchard's *Polynesian Remains*, p. 428.
[33] Earl's *Papuans*, p. 70.
[34] *Op. cit.* p. 98.
[35] Careri in *Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 429.
[36] Burkhardt's *Nubia*, p. 141.
[37] Cameron's *Across Africa*, pp. 95, 96.
[38] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 283.
[39] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[40] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[41] *Dhârwâr Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 66.
[42] *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 144.

little oil at the middle of the collar bone and at the end of the spine.[43] All Brâhmaṇs in their *sandhya* or daily prayer press their nose with their fingers and hold the breath. So in his daily prayer an ascetic holds his nostril with one hand, and puts the other on his head.[44] The Hindus require that if a person kills insects he must repeat a verse and squeeze his nose.[45] A man, who can draw breath from the lower part of the body and raise it to the head, can never sicken, is free from hunger and death, and is above the gods.[46] Among the Australians the nose is almost always bored, and a long bone thrust through it.[47] Boring their nose is quite a ceremony with the aborigines of Central Australia, and once a year hundreds of them gather together in order to bore the noses of the younger men.[48] The Papuans of New Guinea pierce the central cartilage of the nose and put in a piece of stick, bone, or hog's tusk.[49]

5. Spirit Seasons.

The months of the *dakshinâyan* or southing sun, that is, the declining sun, are considered unlucky by the Hindus. and during these months no thread-girding or marriage ceremonies are performed. The gates of heaven are closed, and Vishṇû, the guardian deity, is believed to sleep for four months; consequently the influence of spirits is greater during the southing than during the northing sun. *Pitrupaksha*, or the departed ancestor's fortnight, when the spirits of all the dead come on earth, also falls in the *dakshinâyan* or southing months. All Tuesdays, Saturdays, Sundays, new-moon and full-moon days, and the nine days of the month of *Âshvin* (October-November), called the *Navarâtra* or nine nights are times on which spirits are specially numerous and aggressive. Other occasions on which spirits are likely to attack, are on great social events, as birth, thread-girding, marriage, coming of age, pregnancy and death; also during eating, meeting and bargaining, and in all times of prosperity.

Eating. — Dinner is a spirit-time, and so all Brâhmaṇs before taking their meals sprinkle a circle of water round their dishes, put five pinches of food to the right of their dish, and sip water. The several rites observed before a Brâhmaṇ caste feast is begun, seem to find their explanation in the belief that **at the time of eating there is special risk of spirit attacks.** Round each dish lines of quartz or red powder are drawn, and incense sticks, fixed in small pieces of plantain, are kept burning. The host goes round to each guest, pours a spoonful of the holy water into his right hand, rubs his brow with sandal or saffron paste, and lays a basil leaf or a flower in his hand. Then, while the family priest repeats verses, the host sprinkles water on the guests and dishes, and taking a little water and sandal-paste in a ladle throws it on the ground. The family priest calls aloud the name of the family god, and the host and guests join in the shout "*Har, Har, Mâhâdev*, Victory to Mâhâdev." At the end of the dinner betelnuts and leaves, and copper or silver coins, are handed to the guests, scented oils and powders are rubbed on their arms, and garlands of flowers and nosegays are placed in their hands. As the priest-guests leave, they throw grains of rice over the host's head. In Bombay, when a horse takes his food on a new-moon night, the horse-keeper lays a cloth over his withers. The Telugu Brâhmaṇs of Poona repeat the name of Govind before they begin dinner.[50] The Poona Sênvîs at the beginning of dinner shout out "*Har, Har, Mâhâdev*," and when half finished chant verses. Dakhan Mhârs never eat without first saying the word *krishṇârpan*, or dedicated to the god Kṛishṇa. Among the Karnâṭak Kunbîs one of the *guru's* or teacher's chief rules is that the disciples should not eat while a dead neighbour is unburied, or go on eating after the light is put out.[51] The Kulâchârî Hatgars, a class of Brâhmaṇic hand-loom weavers in Belgaum, dine in silk or freshly washed cotton, offer some of the food to the gods, lay out some pinches, and make a circle

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43 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 388.

44 Dubois, Vol. II. p. 175:

45 Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 151.

46 *Dabistân*, Vol. II. p. 135.

47 Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 102.

48 *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. V. p. 317.

49 Earl's *Papuans*, p. 47.

50 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 180.

51 Information from Mr. Kalyânrâv.

of water round the plate.[52] Karnâṭak Vaiśyas take three sips of holy water, and make fresh sect marks before eating.[53] In Bengal, no Brâhmaṇ will eat unless he weals his sacred thread, and no Vaiśya without putting on a *tulasî* necklace.[54] The Jenu Kurubars of Coorg pronounce Kâḷi's name over their food.[55] The Paleyas, a wild Coorg class, call on their gods Galiga, Khorti, and Kalwiti when eating.[56] In Mecca, after dinner, rosewater is sprinkled on the beards of guests, and aloewood is burnt before them.[57] The Persians say a prayer before eating, and observe inviolable silence during the repast.[58] In China, besides pouring out wine, the feast is begun by a drink; so also among the Persians.[59] Dr. Livingstone says the Balondas of South Africa returned to a thicket when porridge was cooked, and all stood up and clapped their hands.[60] The Musalmâns of Morocco begin their meals in God's name, and end with a wash and thanks to God.[61] The New Caledonian women never drink facing a medicine man (wizard), but always turn their back towards him.[62] That the Romans shared the experience that dinner was a spirit-time, is shewn by their crowning their heads with chaplets of bay and laurel, and fastening a rose over the table.[63] Burton[64] (1621 A. D.) notices two cases — one of a nun who ate a lettuce without saying grace or making the sign of the cross, and was instantly possessed; and another by eating an unhallowed pomegranate. The Greek and Roman offerings of meat and drink before or after meat, and the English leaving part of a dish for Lady Manners were due perhaps to the belief that spirits enter at food-time. So also the Roman Catholic practice of making the sign of the cross before eating, and the Protestant rule of grace before meat may be attributed to the same belief.[65]

Times of Meeting and Bargain. — Spirits are likely to attack at the time of bargaining. So the Bombay Baniâs, at the time of making a bargain, **conceal their hands under a cloth,** and the Dakhan Chitpâvan at a wedding closes the bargain with the musicians by giving each a betel-nut.[66] Among the Chitpâvans, when the betrothal ceremony is over, the fathers of the bride and bridegroom tie to the hems of each other's garments five betel-nuts and five pieces of turmeric, and at a Chitpâvan wedding, when the girl is formally given, the father of the girl pours over the hand of the boy a ladleful of water.[67] Among the Karnâṭak Mâdhava Brâhmaṇs when the bride's father finally agrees to give his daughter to the bridegroom, he ties turmeric roots, betel-nuts and rice into a corner of the bridegroom's shoulder cloth.[68] The Afghans swear to a contract over a stone.[69] In making a covenant the Jews cut a beast in two, and make the parties pass between the parts.[70] In Lancashire, when you buy cattle, you should always get back a little coin for luck.[71] The Hindus repeat the names of their gods when they meet one another. Thus, the Gujarât Hindus say: "*Jai Gôpâl*, or victory to Gôpâl;" and the Dakhan Hindus say: "*Râm, Râm*, or victory to Râm." The original object of this may, perhaps, be to scare spirits. The Aborigines of the Andamans salute by lifting up their leg and slapping the thigh.[72]

Auspicious Events. — On all occasions of joy and mirth, as birth, marriage, coming of age, and pregnancy, **the influence of spirits is great,** — that is, men are more likely to be attacked on such occasions than at other times. The fifth and sixth nights after a birth are held in dread by all Hindus.[73] Spirits are likely to attack at the time of a wedding: so among

[52] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI. p. 136.
[53] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.
[54] Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 222.
[55] Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 215.
[56] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 215.
[57] Burkhardt's *Arabia*, Vol. I. p. 365.
[58] *Dabistân*, Vol. I. p. 296.
[59] Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 65.
[60] Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in Africa*, p. 304.
[61] Rohlf's *Morocco*, p. 189.
[62] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 207.
[63] From MS. notes.
[64] Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 130.
[65] From MS. notes.
[66] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 123.
[67] *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 128.
[68] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.
[69] Fosberry in *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 188.
[70] Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 242.
[71] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 119.
[72] Earl's *Papuans*, p. 166.
[73] Details of the rites performed at a birth, wedding, coming of age, and pregnancy are given under the head Customs."

the Ratnâgiri Marâṭhâs at their wedding, when the lucky moment comes, the priest shouts "take care," the guests clap hands, and when the people outside hear the clapping they **fire guns.** The reason why they fire guns is to keep off Kâl. If they did not frighten Kâl he would seize the bride and bridegroom, or their fathers and mothers. Whoever Kâl seizes falls senseless or in a fit.[74] The Mângellas, Phudgîs and Vâdvals of Ṭhâṇâ have a strong belief that at the lucky moment the bride and bridegroom or their parents are likely to be attacked by spirits, and especially among the Mângellas frequent cases occur in which the bridegroom or his father or mother get possessed, or fall in a fit just when the lucky moment comes.[75] To this day the Swedish bridegroom has a great fear of the trolls and spirits which inhabit Sweden. As an antidote he sews into his clothes strong smelling herbs, such as garlic, cloves, and rosemary, and the young women carry boughs of these, and deck themselves with loads of jewellery, gold bells and grelots as large as apples.[76] Coming of age and pregnancy are also times at which spirits attack men. At her coming of age the Chitpâvan girl is treated with special care. She is seated in a wooden frame with lamps on either side, is decorated with flowers and ornaments, and is feasted with rich dishes. A Chitpâvan girl who is pregnant is not allowed to let her hair fall loose, or to go out of doors, or to sit under a tree, or to ride on a horse or an elephant.[77] The Hottentots make their boys men at a feast, where oxen and sheep are slaughtered.[78] Among the New Caledonians a girl's first monthly sickness is much feared; when the first periodical sickness comes on, the girls are fed by their mothers or nearest female relations, and on no account will they touch their food with their own hands. They are at this time also careful not to touch their heads, and keep a small stick to scratch their heads with. They remain outside the lodge all the time they are in this state, in a hut made for the purpose. During all this period they wear a skull-cap made of skin; this is never taken off until their first monthly sickness ceases; they also wear a strip of black paint, about one inch wide, across their eyes, and hang a fringe of shells and bones. Their reason for hanging fringes before their eyes is to hinder any bad medicine man harming them during this critical period.[79] In building or entering a new house or church there is a danger of spirits attacking the enterer: so the Hindus perform a ceremony, called *vâstu shânti* or quieting of the spirit Vâstu, before coming to live in a newly built house. The first person who enters a new church in Germany becomes the property of the devil. So they send in a pig or a dog.[80]

Among Hindus, at the beginning of any work, **Ganpati,** the lord of the *ganas* or troops **is invoked,** and some propitiatory rites are performed. **All beginnings are special spirit-times.** So Hindus take care to wear new clothes on a lucky day, and when they wear a new cloth they apply a little red powder to its edges, and sometimes offer a few threads from the clothes to their family god.[81] In Belgaum, whee a Chitpâvan gets a new waist cloth before he puts it on he rubs turmeric and red powder on the corners. He then folds it, and lays it before the house gods, praying them to give him a better one next year. He finally lays it across a horse's back before he puts it on.[82] Dhâṛwâṛ Mâdhva Brâhmaṇs, especially the women, will not take a new robe as a present unless the giver marks it with red powder.[83] In Scotland, when a child wears new clothes for the first time, other children or the elders of the house pinch him, giving him what is called a tailor's nip. "A nip for new, a bite for blue" is a Durham rhyme for wearing new clothes.[84] Originally, at the time of wearing a new coat, a glass of liquor was given, and if the wearer refused, a button was cut off. On the Scottish borders people never put on a new coat without putting money in the right pocket.[85]

[74] Information from peon Bâbâjî.

[75] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

[76] Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 720.

[77] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII., Part I., p. 144.

[78] Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 52.

[79] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. VII. pp. 203, 207.

[80] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 121.

[81] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

[82] Information from Mr. Kalyânrâv.

[83] Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.

[84] Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 119.

[85] *Op. cit.* p. 119.

New-moon and Full-moon days. — Spirits are believed to be more numerous and dangerous on new-moon and full-moon days than at other times. This belief is general among Hindu physicians from their experience that men suffering from special diseases have a great fear that their sickness will increase on the days of new and full moon.[86] On all new-moon days Brâhmaṇs offer water and sesamum seed to their ancestors; and those who are very pious, called *agnihotris* or fire-sacrificers, kindle a sacred fire on all new-moon and full-moon days.[87] Dhârwâṛ Radders on all, except the December new-moon, offer fried cakes to the goddess Lakshamava, and throw cakes to the four quarters of heaven.[88] In Southern India, on all new-moon days, Brâhmaṇs offer sesamum seed and water to their dead father, grandfather, and great-grandfather.[89] On those new-moon and full-moon days on which an eclipse takes place the influence of spirits is said to be exceedingly high; on these days Hindus dip their household gods in water that they may not be defiled, and lay sacred grass blades or basil leaves on their own clothes and food. When the eclipse is over, all bathe, and change their sacred thread, and any cooked food that may be in the house is thrown away. On eclipse-days many exorcists and wizards stand in water and repeat or study the *mantrâs* or incantations which give them power over spirits, and all new candidates for the study of exorcism, sorcery or witchcraft are initiated on eclipse days.[90] The washermen of Mysore on the new-moon a shapeless stone, and occasionally feast in honour of deceased ancestors.[91] Among the Musalmâns, on the new-moon which comes after the new year, the blood of a goat is sprinkled on the sides of their doors.[92] Fryer (p. 94) says (in 1673) on a new-moon night the Musalmân widows of Surat used to go to the grave to repeat a doleful dirge, and bestowed a sacramental wafer, and asked their prayers for the dead. No young Musalmân girl will go out either on a new-moon or on a Thursday evening.[93]

The Musalmâns of the Mâldive Islands rejoice when they see the new moon, and offer him incense, and fire guns.[94] At the sight of the new moon the Hottentots crowd together, make merry all night, dance, jump, and sing.[95] According to Pliny,[96] monkeys and marmosets are sad and heavy in the wane of the moon, but adore and joy at the new moon, testifying their delight by hopping and dancing. The Peruvians had a yearly water-sprinkling on the first day of the September moon.[97]

Besides new-moon and full-moon days the other Hindu special spirit-days are Tuesdays, Saturdays and Sundays, the day on which the sun enters the sign of Capricorn, nine days in the month of Âśvin (October-November), and the *pitripaksha* or ancestor's fortnight in the month of Bhâdrapada or September. Hindu children are not allowed to go out at noon or in the evening on a Tuesday, lest they may be attacked by spirits who go on circuit at that time. New year's day and the days at the end of the year are also days on which spirits are numerous. So all Hindus in the Kôṅkân, on new year's day, rub their bodies with oil and sesamum, bathe, and then eat sugar and *nîm*[98] leaves.[99] Among the Halvakki Vakkals of Kânara, on the (April) new year's day or *yugade*, commemorative rites for all the spirits of the dead are performed.[100] On the five extra days of the Persian year spirits come back to earth.[1] Among the Egyptians there were three unlucky or black days which were dangerous to man.[2] Among the Chinese the beginning and end of the year together form a great spirit season. On the last day of the year, which is the day of the (dead) head of the house, the Chinese burn incense before their family tablets, and before dawn go to a temple, burn incense,

[86] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[87] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[88] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 141.
[89] Dubois, Vol. II. p. 22.
[90] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[91] Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. I. p. 338.
[92] Fryer, 1673, *Surat*, p. 108.
[93] Information from Mr. Fazal Latfullah.
[94] Francis Pyrard, p. 99.
[95] Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 37.
[96] Pliny's *Natural History*, Book viii., Chap. 53.
[97] Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 16.
[98] *Melia azadirachta*.
[99] Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
[100] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 206.
[1] *Dabistân*, Vol. I. p. 327.
[2] Jones' *Crowns*, p. 304.

and then visit friends and drink rice liquor. In the temple they make offerings of flesh, fowls and fruit, and make a troublesome noise with Chinese drums and fire-works. Illuminations begin on the first of the year, and on the thirteenth is a great feast of lanterns.[3] On new-year's day the Chinese remain awake to keep spirits from coming.[4] In Scotland, the month of May is unlucky; so it was in Rome.[5] In Northumberland, the first man who came in after the old year was dead brought a shovel of coal or whisky.[6] In England, in 1450, the twenty-eighth of every month was held unlucky.[7] In Saxon England, the last Monday of April, the beginning of August, and the first Monday of December were unlucky.[8] It is unlucky to marry on Friday according to Christian tradition because Christ was crucified on Friday.[9] The time of death is a great spirit-time. In Coorg it is believed that demon-spirits, called Kuli, carry off ancestral spirits at the hour of death. If people think that a demon has carried off an ancestor, they go to a medium who has power over the demon, and beg him to force the demon-spirit to let the ancestral ghost free. The people of the house sit round the medium, who throws a handful of rice on them, and the ancestral spirit lights on the back of one of them, who falls into a swoon and is carried into the house. When the possessed person recovers, the spirit is supposed to have gained its right place in one of the family. If mourners come from a distance to redeem the soul of the dead, they do not fall in a swoon, but the moment the spirit gets on the back of one of them all hurry home without looking back till the spirit and his carrier are safe in the family.[10] The belief that death makes the house unclean by turning it into an abode of bodiless spirits remains in England slightly Christianised. In Northumberland, the wrath of God rests on the death-visited house till the clergyman has come. Formerly the clergyman blessed a house after a death.[11] Times of prosperity or triumph are special spirit-times. The Hindu on any accession of fortune must perform mind-rites or *śrâddhas* to his ancestors.[12] Among the Hottentots the triumphing warrior is met by girls who sing, the priest cuts marks on his chest, and he is given a new name.[13] Among the Romans the triumphing hero was crowned with laurels, and close behind him Conscience in the form of a slave whispered "thou too art mortal."[14]

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., M.F.L.S.

No. 45. — *The Story of Kêśava.*

(A Variant of the Inexhaustible Bag.)

IN the declining days of the Dvâparayuga there lived, in a certain village near the **Kollimalai Mountains,** a poor Brâhmaṇ family, consisting of a husband and wife and half a dozen children. Most of the inhabitants of the village were more or less poor, and the poorest of all were the family just mentioned. Almost every day the father would go out begging and return with enough rice for a thin gruel. The hungry children had their portions first, and whatever remained was shared between the parents. None of these children was able to help the family in any way, as the eldest was a boy of only thirteen years of age. For what after all could a Brâhmaṇ boy of thirteen do in the way of helping his family? For the caste rules at the end of the Dvâparayuga were very strict. He could not dig nor bear a burden nor do any labour which could bring one or two *fanams* as wages. The only assistance he could

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3 Careri in Churchill, Vol. IV. pp. 387-389.

4 Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 252.

5 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 34.

6 *Op. cit.* p. 73.

7 Jones' *Crowns*, p. 308.

8 *Op. cit.* p. 304.

9 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 33; Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 241.

10 Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 261.

11 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 63.

12 Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 204.

13 Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 23.

14 From MS notes.

render was to accompany his father with a begging bowl, and this he sometimes did. Thus the family had very hard days to struggle with, and at last the pangs of hunger had become so great that the mistress of the family took her lord apart one day and spoke to him thus with her eyes swimming in tears: —

"O Kêśava, how long are we to endure this misery? Day after day and month after month, I have been most anxiously looking forward for a mitigation of our sufferings. But the great God has not yet been pleased. Surely we must have been the greatest of sinners in our previous births, and we must now try our best to alleviate our hardships by some penance. I will try my best to collect whatever may come in the shape of alms and maintain the children while my lord should go to some unfrequented spot in a remote jungle in the Kôllimaḷai mountains and there propitiate the deity in such a way that our poverty will be removed from us in this birth. We must live above want for at least a few days before we die."

"Agreed," said Kêśava, and on that very day he started for the Kôllimaḷai mountains. He chose an unfrequented spot. Tigers and bears were howling round about him, but he did not consider them more dangerous than hunger. He sat down, motionless as the stump of a tree, with closed eyes. Birds warbled sweet notes round about him and beasts of prey howled, but he heeded nothing. His whole attention was in the contemplation of God. For months he remained in the same posture. His eyes once closed were never opened. He became absorbed in contemplation, and whether he suffered from hunger or thirst he never knew. Creepers sprouted up round about him, and encircled his neck, and birds built their nests on his hair. Thus passed ten months.

On the first day of the eleventh month a certain person in the garb of a mendicant stood before Kêśava and asked him to open his eyes. Kêśava obeyed and saw a most holy person standing in the shape of a sanyâsin before him. He felt himself to be in the same state of health as when he had sat down for penance, but he knew not how long ago. The mendicant ordered Kêśava to relate his story. "My lord," said Kêśava, "I am a pauper with half a dozen children. They are all dying of hunger. Give me enough to feed them on and to live above want. That is all my prayer."

"Undoubtedly, your request will be granted," said the great God, for it was no other than the Almighty himself who had come down in the shape of a *sanyâsin*. Having thus spoken, he placed on Kêśava's head a bag of rice and ordered him to go home. He then disappeared. Kêśava was greatly pleased at the dawn of divine favour on him, and, though weak, he had strength enough for the journey. He was very intelligent, and understood at once that the *sanyâsin* before him was the great God himself.

So Kêśava returned home with joy and reached his house at evening. He called aloud to his wife by name, and asked her to help him in taking the bag down from his head. She did so, but when he lifted up his head there was another rice-bag on it! That too was soon brought down. And as soon as it was taken down, there appeared a third bag. A fourth, fifth, sixth, bag appeared in succession, and were taken down, and then the matter grew hopeless. Bags began to appear *ad infinitum*, and poor Kêśava had no time to be relieved of his burden or to go in to refresh himself. He was thoroughly exhausted, and asked his wife to go in and give him something to eat, while he remained outside with his burden.

Of course, there was no rice at home, but his wife took a small quantity from one of the bags, and ground it into flour in a hand-mill. She collected the flour, but, though the whole quantity was collected into a small heap, more still kept lying round the mill! She now divined the secret and cooked what she had already collected into a cake in all haste, and returned to her lord with it and a little water to drink.

Kêśava was standing with both his hands uplifted holding up the bag. So his wife broke a portion of the cake and thrust the bit into his mouth. She also gave him a spoonful of

water to help him to chew it. With all the difficulty of a heavy burden on his head Kêśava managed to chew the bit of cake and thus swallowed his first nourishment for ten months. As soon as the first mouthful was gulped down, what was his wonder to feel a similar bit of cake still in his mouth. He showed it to his wife and she at once became alarmed. She gave him, however, another spoonful of water. Soon the second bit also was chewed and swallowed down. But again a similar bit appeared. His suspicions were now confirmed. Without end bit after bit of the same size as the first appeared in his mouth. He became exhausted after swallowing a dozen and fell down dead on the ground with the bag still sticking to his head, like a tree cut at the root.

The sorrow of the poor wife can be better imagined than described. The hundred bags of rice already lowered down from Kêśava's head were lying in piles. She had given him only a bit of a single cake, and that had multiplied itself into a dozen and killed her lord. There he was lying — a corpse with the horrible bag still sticking to his head.

The villagers had of course assembled and seen everything that had transpired. To a certain extent they understood it and looked upon the death of Kêśava as a great calamity. But the dead body had to be cremated. So they made arrangements and prepared a bier of green leaves, and set on it the body which had the bag still sticking to its head. Four stout men bore it to the cremation ground. The funeral pile was ready and the burden was set down. But there was at once a similar burden on their shoulders. They threw it down and again a similar burden appeared. They were bewildered and soon there were one hundred dead bodies of Kêśava lying on the ground, and still there appeared to be no hope at all of the matter coming to an end. They cursed themselves for having thus got themselves involved in Kêśava's affairs. The whole village was horror-struck.

It was at this moment that a sanâysin suddenly made his appearance on the cremation ground. He approached the astonished villagers, and enquired of them the cause of their misery, and they related the whole story.

"Very well, my friends! Can you point out the original body of Kêśava which you brought here from his house?" said the mendicant.

The villagers tried their best, but could not succeed, for one body was so like the other. They pleaded their inability. The mendicant then poured a pot full of water on all the dead bodies, when they all disappeared, and the original Kêśava rose up with the bag still on his head. The astonished villagers now regarded the mendicant as a God sent to help them, if not the very God himself, and followed him with Kêśava and his bag to Kêśava's house. There they found Kêśava's wife just recovering from her swoon, and on hearing the story of her lord's return, she fell down on the feet of the mendicant and begged of him to grant her her lord without the bag on his head.

"I shall do more than that for you, madam!" said the *sanâysin.* He threw a handful of water on Kêśava's head, and the bag dropped down.

The mendicant next demanded the original bag that was brought from the Kôllimaḷai mountains to be pointed out to him. Here, too, there was the same inability and failure. So the mendicant poured a vessel full of water on all the bags, and they all disappeared, leaving only one behind, which was the original bag.

"Let this single bag be emptied in your granary, and the contents of your granary will never decrease. The quantity that you take out will at once be replenished then and there, and thus you will live above want."

Saying thus the *sanyâsin* vanished, and the whole village understood that it was all the work of God. They praised Kêśava for his devotion and good luck, and ever after Kêśava lived a happy man with his wife and children, and beyond want.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BURNING IN EFFIGY.

LATELY three convicts in Port Blair from Northern India had a dispute with a fourth, and were caught trying to wreak vengeance on him as follows:—

They made a figure of straw, to which they gave his name, and abused and beat it with shoes. Finally, they took it to a latrine where they made water on it, and were about to burn it, when the authorities came upon the scene and necessarily interfered.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A NOTION AS TO THE PLAGUE IN BOMBAY.

THIS is what I recently heard from the mouth of an old woman from Bândrâ, a village some ten miles from Bombay.

"It is believed that disease says it will go in advance, but so also say the wind and the rain. And thus a constant struggle between the three has always gone on. At length it happened that disease got the better of the other two, and it (to wit: the plague) came in advance, and played sad havoc throughout the Bombay Presidency. This dire disease had been hardly got rid of, when another followed, namely, cholera, which also carried away people by hundreds. The conflict now only remained between the wind and the rain, both of which wanted to be in advance of the other. The monsoons began early, but as quickly as clouds gathered and it was about to rain, the wind came howling and pressed the clouds onwards, so that the falling of the rain was checked: at least it did not fall in such quantities as it otherwise would have fallen. At times the rain prevailed over the wind, in which case there was a good downpour, with good results to man and beast."

GEO. F. D'PENHA.

CORRUPTION OF CHRISTIAN NAMES.

THERE is a Christian prisoner at Port Blair returned as "Venkatasawmy *alias* Chowtean, son of Samuel." Chowtean stands for Sêwaṭiâṅ = Sebastian. The *ch* in Chowtean arises from the well known difficulty that Dravidians have in distinguishing between *ch* and *s*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES ON SOUTHERN INDIA.

THE purpose of Herr Schmidt's visit to the Madras Presidency seems to have been to obtain anthropological measurements of the wilder hill tribes still found there, and, generally speaking, to study the characteristics of the different races and classes of people that inhabit the South of India. The measurements are probably reserved for an anthropological journal, but he gives a good many interesting facts about the uncivilised hill peoples.

In some instances he could note a gradual amelioration of condition and a slight rise in the scale of civilisation compared with a century or so ago. For instance, the Kamkars of the Tinnevelly District no longer abandon a whole village when a death takes place and form a new settlement at a distance from the old one; nor do they build their straw huts in trees to be out of the reach of tigers and wild elephants, as they did at a very recent date. Like many other degraded races, their muscular system is weak, and, curiously enough, for a jungle people, they seem to be very poor shots with a bow and arrow.[1] Almost their only industry is basket making, at which they are proficient. Other necessaries, such as knives, arrow-heads, pottery, and woven stuffs are obtained from Muhammadan pedlars.

At Cochin on the west coast, the Black Jews are so despised by their white co-religionists that regular marriages never take place between them. Yet concubinage between white males and black Jewesses is far from uncommon, with the result that every gradation of colour from lightest to the darkest is to be found among the Hebrew population.

The Malsers of the Anamala Hills — a short, slight-built, brown, forest people — are not, as we might imagine, hunters, but live on roots, chance carcases, and fish, which they catch in their hands, as they have no nets. They always marry within the village. About a hundred years ago they used to burn their dead, but now this is only done with old people, and the young are buried with the head to the south.

When a Badaga of the Eastern Nilgiri Hills is on the point of death, a small piece of money is placed in the dying man's mouth. He ought to swallow it if possible; but if too weak to do so, it is wrapped up in a piece of cloth and tied to his arm. When dead his body is laid on a pile of wood with his ornaments and implements. Next morning a dance, lasting till midday, is performed by men in front of the pile; the sins of the deceased are then transferred to a calf and the pyre is ignited. On the following day the ashes are thrown into a stream, and the larger bones are covered with large stones.

GEO. F. D'PENHA.

[1] [This is a characteristic also of all the Andamanese Tribes. — ED.]

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p.* 153.)

C. — Manipuri.

THE connection between Maṇipûr and Burma is of old standing, and many groups of Maṇipûrî families are to be found established all over Upper Burma. It is on this account that I have made such enquiries as I could into the interesting, if complicated, ponderary, pecuniary and accompt notions of the inhabitants of the Maṇipûr State ; an enquiry which is also otherwise of interest, as the conditions therein described are rapidly passing away and will probably have disappeared by the time the present youthful mediatised ruler of the State reaches his majority and is emancipated from the leading-strings of his British superintendents. And if, as I think, the Maṇipûr money system explains the divisions of Akbar's *jalálas*,[14] the enquiry becomes of general importance.

My sources of original information as to this language are more limited than one would wish, and consist of: —

(1) *Manipuri Grammar, Vocabulary and Phrase-book*, Primrose, official publication, 1888.

(2) *Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur*, Brown, official publication, 1873.

(3) An educated Maṇipûrî.

(4) Various Pôṇṇâs and Kaþès of Mandalay.[15]

The Maṇipûrî Language can, however, hardly be said to have been more than superficially studied by any writer whose work I have seen, and so I have felt myself to be at liberty to represent the words thereof in the forms that they appeared to assume to me, irrespective of the statements of others.

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14 As described in the *Âîn Akbarî* and explained in the previous Section of this Chapter.

15 The *Census Report, Burma*, Vol. I. p. 150, calls the Pôṇṇâs Maṇipûrî Brâhmans, following the usual notion on the subject in Burma, and the Kaþès captives deported by Shinbyûyin in 1764 A. D. : the Pôṇṇâs being immigrants of an earlier date. However this may be, it so happened that I saw a good deal of both Pôṇṇâs (Skr., not ancient, *punya*, Pali, *puñña*, pure) and Kaþès while in Mandalay in 1887-89, and to a certain extent won their confidence, visiting their temples, and being admitted to their ceremonies, which are so much to them and were then, at any rate, so carefully hidden from the outer world. I should say, from what I then saw and heard, that the Maṇipûrîs in Burma are divided into Pôṇṇâs, or higher caste Maṇipûrîs, and Kaþès, or lower caste or " no caste" Maṇipûrîs. I know that the Pôṇṇâs are not by any means all Brâhmaṇs, nor do they at all claim to be of that caste. The majority are among themselves called Satrîs (Chhatrîs, *i. e.*, Kshatriyas), and there are other caste distinctions among them. In Maṇipûr itself the usual caste distinctions are recognised. The Kaþè weavers, much Burmanised, of Eastern Mandalay, also recognised differences in caste status amongst themselves, and, beyond their common origin of habitation, had but little connection with the proud and exclusive Pôṇṇâs. Mr. Eales remarks in the *Census Report* that the reported difference in dialect between Pôṇṇâ and Kaþè is more fanciful than real, and is due to the greater Burmanisation of the one class over the other. In this I think he is right. I have MS. accounts of the Maṇipûrî ceremonies given me by the people, written in the Bengali character, and they are practically the same for both classes. But Mr. Eales seems to think that the Burmanisation has been greatest among the Pôṇṇâs. My experience was just the other way. The Pôṇṇâ, I found, stuck to his race and language : was proud and exclusive and kept his blood pure. The Kaþè, on the other hand, was free in his marriage relations and anxious to be absorbed into the prevailing Burmese population : many, to my knowledge, professing Buddhism, as opposed to their own ancestral modified Hinduism, with that object.

The Burmese word Pôṇṇâ is generally translated Brâhmaṇ, and is perhaps usually understood in that sense vaguely by the Burman population. In Stevenson's *Burmese Dictionary* we have Pôṇṇâmâ, Pôṇṇê and Pôṇṇêmâ, translated quaintly " a Brahminess." But I do not think that outside of Burma the counterparts of the word have ever signified a Brâhmaṇ. It has meant " pure, holy, righteous, a performer of the enjoined ceremonies," and was no doubt applied in Burma of old to the soothsayers and performers of ceremonies, who were real or supposititious Brâhmaṇs, — probably the latter.

The very interesting term Kaþè, Cassay in many old books, requires an essay to itself for elucidation.

As to the peculiarities appearing in my pages: the palatals *ch*, *j*, *sh*, *s*, *ts*, *z*, seem to be not clearly distinguished by Native speakers. *E. g.*, the same man will say Saurjît, Chaurjît and Chaurzît indiscriminately. So also will he say *sêl*, *shêl* and *śal*, the *ś* being distinctly palatal; *sendâbâ* and *shendâbâ*; *tsôp* and *jôp*. Similarly the liquids *r*, *l*, and *n* are not easily distinguishable: *e. g.*, *lûpâ* and *rûpâ* equal "rupee." *L* and *n* are mixed up in pronunciation in the manner not at all uncommon in India and Further India. I have not noticed that any one has remarked the existence of *sandhi* in Maṇipûrî, but that it does exist in an irregular form I have little doubt. *E. g.*, *sendâbâ* = *sêl* + *tâbâ*: *senmari* = *sêl* + *mari*. So *sâmâ* = *sâ* + *amâ*, but on the other hand we have *sani* and *sahûm* = *sâ* + *ani* and *sâ* + *ahûm*. And many of the puzzling and unexplained inflectional forms given in the long list of sentences in Primrose's *Grammar* seem to me to be only explicable on the assumption that *sandhi* exists in the language.[16]

With these preliminary remarks I will plunge into the very troubled waters of **Maṇipûrî account-keeping.**

In Maṇipûr itself there is **only one recognised indigenous coin** or form of currency, **known as sêl[17] to Europeans and as makhâi to the Natives,** which is a very small rude disk **of bell-metal,** *i. e.*, a mixture of brass and tin,[18] usually roughly stamped with the word *śrî*. It will, in the explanations following, be called by its established European name.

I have already shown (*ante*, Vol. XXVI, p. 290) how **the method of calculating the sêl is based on the assumption that 400 sêl = 5,000 cowries = 1 rupee,** about 5,000 cowries to the rupee being of old the ratio of account exchange in these parts. The interesting point for the present purpose is to trace out how it came about that 400 *sêl* were made to equal a rupee and to represent 5,000 cowries.

The standard scale for reckoning cowries is as follows (Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 2):—

4	cowries (kauṛîs) are	1	gaṇḍâ
20	gaṇḍâs	,, 1	paṇ
5	paṇ	,, 1	âṇâ (anna)
400	**cowries to the anna**		

It will have already been seen that **Akbar adopted 400 dâms as the final division of his upper standard money of account, the gold jalâla, which corresponded in weight to his upper standard Troy weight, the tôla.** It will also have been seen, that the Nepalese

[16] *Sandhi* seems to be heard and seen sometimes in the larger numerals, *e. g.*,

20 is *kul*, a score: then
30 is *kunthrâ* = *kul* + *tarâ* = a score and ten.
40 is *niphu*, *i. e.*, 2 score:
60 is *hûmphu*, *i. e.*, 3 score: then
70 is *hûmphudrâ* (spelt *hûmphutarâ*), *i. e.*, 3 score and ten:
80 is *mariphu*, *i. e.*, 4 score: then
90 is *mariphutarâ*, *i. e.*, 4 score and ten.

The philology of Maṇipûrî is no doubt interesting. *E. g.*, there is a clear connection with many surrounding Nâga words and with Burmese. It has, for instance, the Burmese accent ះ, and *ngâ*ះ, fish, is spelt in precisely the same way in both tongues. I also found archaisms in it, now lost in Burmese; *e. g.*, the Burmese, *pônjî*, a monk, the *poongy* (hard *g*) and *ponjy*, *ponjee*, of the Anglo-Indian, is spelt *b'unâkri*ះ, and is in Maṇipûrî pronounced *pônjrî*. I knew one official, who, seeing the word spelt *phunjyi* officially, always called it *fungy*: *u* as in *fun*, *g* hard. Just as the engineers on the Myit-ngè Bridge, a large work, always called it Mingy: *ng* as in *sing*.

[17] So written, but the pronunciation is much nearer *saḷ* (*s* palatal).

[18] The real meaning of the term *sêl* is bell-metal. Primrose, *Grammar*, p. 49, gives a phrase

kôri-gâ	kônngau-gâ	yânna-ragâ	sêl	ol-lî
brass-out-of	tin-out-of	made-about-to-be	bell-metal	mixed-is.

Bell-metal (*sêl*) is composed of brass and tin.

have adopted the scale of 400 dâms to their upper standard money of account, the *takkâ*, which is the rupee and which weighs a *tôla*.

Now it can be shown that there is no doubt about the origin of the Maṇipûrî scale of 400 sêl to the rupee of account being directly due to the system of reckoning 400 cowries to the anna, and the sêl of Maṇipûr being the dâm of Akbar's time and of modern Nêpâl.

In the first place the sêl are reckoned for account purposes by fours, that is, by the equivalents of *gaṇḍâs*,[19] in precisely the same way as are cowries. The only difference is that one sêl = $12\frac{1}{2}$ cowries, and therefore

4	sêl	are	50	cowries
8	"	"	100	"
12	"	"	150	"
80	"	"	1,000	"
400	"	"	5,000	"

Now four *sêl* are known by the name of "fifty," and multiples of four *sêl* up to 400 *sêl* are known by name as multiples of 50; thus, the name for 8 *sêl* is simply "one hundred:" for 12 *sêl* "one hundred and fifty:" for 80 *sêl* "one thousand." A rupee, *i. e.*, 400 *sêl*, is in reckoning known as "five thousand." This system of naming is not used for the intermediate denominations; *i. e.*, 2 *sêl* are not called "twenty-five;" nor are 3 *sêl* called "$37\frac{1}{2}$:" nor are 6 *sêl* called "75." Such denominations have a system of terminology resting on altogether a different basis. It is therefore clear that the sêl are counted by fours, each four being in accounts equal to 50 cowries and called by that name.

The actual nomenclature is as follows: —

Serial Nos. of quartettes.	No. of sêl.	Name.	Sense of name.
1	4	yângkhai[20] and yângkhai-amâ[21] ...	50
2	8	sâmâ[22]	100
3	12	sâmâ yângkhai	150
4	16	sani[23]	200
5	20	sani yângkhai	250
6	24	sahûm	300
7	28	sahûm yângkhai	350
8	32	sâmari	400
9	36	sâmari yângkhai	450

[19] To reckon by *gaṇḍâs* is to reckon by fours. Beames' Ed. of Elliot's *Glossary*, Vol. II. p. 315: Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 430: Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p. 220.

[20] In the vernacular enumeration given by Primrose, *Grammar*, p. 30, all these terms are preceded by the word *sêl: e. g., sêl yângkhai, sêl châmâ:* but I did not gather that this is really the custom, except when it is necessary to prevent obvious ambiguity.

[21] *Lit.*, one *yângkhai*.

[22] *Sa, sâ, cha, châ* is the prefix for 100: *cf.* Malay *sa.*

[23] Called by Primrose *chani* in Roman characters, but *chali* in Bengali characters: p. 30.

Serial Nos. of quartettes.	No. of sêl.	Name.	Sense of name.
10	40	sâmangâ...	500
11	44	sâmangâ yângkhai	550
12	48	sâtaruk	600
13	52	sâtaruk yângkhai	650
14	56	sâtarêt	700
15	60	sâtarêt yângkhai	750
16	64	sânipân[24]	800
17	68	sânipân yângkhai	850
18	72	sâmâpan...	900
19	76	sâmâpan yângkhai	950
20	80	lishing[25] and lishing-amâ	1,000
40	160	lishing-ani	2,000
60	240	lishing-ahûm	3,000
80	320	lishing-mari	4,000
100	400	lishing-mangâ[26]...	5,000

The following comparison can now be made to clinch the argument as to how the scale of *sêl* took its particular form : —

Reckoning by cowries.	Reckoning by sêl.
4 kauṛîs are 1 gaṇḍâ	4 sêl are 1 yângkhai
20 gaṇḍâ ,, 1 paṇ	20 yângkhai ,, 1 lishing
5 paṇ ,, 1 âṇâ	5 lishing ,, 1 lûpâ[27]

As I have already pointed out (*ante*, Vol. XXVI, p. 290), when the revenue of Silhet was paid in cowries, about 5,000 cowries were reckoned to the rupee. The actual reckoning in accounts was **5,120 cowries to the rupee.** This came about by the use of **another popular scale.** In the *Lîlâvatî*, as has been explained in the previous Section,

20 cowries are 1 kâkiṇî
4 kâkiṇî ,, 1 paṇa
16 paṇa ,, 1 dramma

1,280

[24] *Chânipâl* in the Bengali characters: Primrose, p. 30.

[25] Spelt *lising* and so transcribed by Primrose, p. 30.

[26] These terms mean really 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 *lishing*.

[27] Written *rûpâ*. This is the recognised term for a rupee in Maṇipûr: *vide* Primrose, *Grammar*, *passim*. It must not be understood that a Maṇipûrî would so express his scale if questioned.

This scale is preserved in modern times thus :[28]—

4 cowries	are	1 gaṇḍâ
20 gaṇḍâ	„	1 paṇ
16 paṇ	„	1 kahâwan
1,280		

Now both the *kahâwan* and the *dramma* of the *Lîlâvatî* are quarter *tôlas*, *i. e.*, they are the equivalents in cowries to the quarter rupee, and therefore by this scale the rupee would be equal to 1,280 × 4 = 5,120 cowries.

Both Elliot and Beames[29] have long ago explained that the *gaṇḍâ* of account and the *gaṇḍâ* of practice have never coincided ; nor, as a matter of fact have any other account and bullion denominations nominally the equivalents of each other. It is so with the *sêl*. *Sêl*, in practice as coins, have had no fixed exchange with rupees, but the exchange has varied with the quantities of silver coin in the market from time to time. Thus in 1873 Dr. Brown, *Manipur*, p. 89, tells us that *sêl* ran 428 to the rupee,[30] the usual variation lying between 420 and 450 to the rupee. The nomenclature of the intermediate denominations of the quartettes of sêl also shows that at one time, — it is not so now, as will be explained later on, — there must have been the same divergence between practice and account as regards *sêl* as there is as regards *gaṇḍâs* of cowries. That is, the *sêl* of account was one half the coined *sêl*, a fact which affects the mode of enumeration throughout, thus: — In account " one *sêl*" is called *makhâi amâ*,[31] *i. e.*, "a half": "two *sêl*" are called *sêlamâ*, *i. e.*, "*sêl* one": "three *sêl*" are called *sêlamâ makhâi*, *i. e.*, "*sêl* one and a half," and so on through all the minor denominations of each quartette. The full scale of enumeration is a combination of the names of the quartettes of fifties and of the just explained habit of counting the sêl of account as half the coined sêl, thus: —

Method of Enumerating Sêl.

English.	Manipûrî.	Sense of the Manipûrî.
1 sêl	makhâi-amâ[32]	1 half
2 „	sêlama[33] and phaigak-amâ[34] ...	1 sêl and 1 phaigak
3 „	sêlama makhâi	1 sêl and a half
4 „	yângkhai	fifty
5 „	yângkhai makhâi	fifty and a half
6 „	sêlahûm	3 sêl
7 „	sêlahûm makhâi	3 sêl and a half

[28] Beames' Ed. of Elliot's *Glossary*, Vol. II. p. 315.

[29] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 316.

[30] That is, the British rupee. Brown says that Burmese (peacock) rupees were also current, but I was assured that it was considered a swindle to pass Burmese rupees in Maṇipûr.

[31] *Makhai sel*, according to Primrose, p. 30 n., but this expression would be, I gather, incorrect.

[32] Also simply *makhôi*. If it be necessary to prefix *sêl* to *makhâi* for the sake of clearness, the term becomes *senmakhâi*.

[33] The words *sêlamâ*, *sêlahûm*, and *senmangâ* (*sêl* + *mangâ*) are treated as one word, *i. e.*, as separate terms in the language.

[34] Also simply *phaigak*. *Kak* is a term for the quarter *gaṇḍâ* of India, = one in the scale of quartettes, whence possibly *phaigak*. Beames' Ed. of Elliot, *Glossary*, Vol. II. p. 316.

English.	Maṇipûrî.	Sense of the Maṇipûrî.
8 sêl	sâmâ	100
9 „	sâmâ makhâi	100 and a half
10 „	senmangâ	5 sêl
11 „	senmangâ makhâi	5 sêl and a half
12 „	sâmâ yângkhai	150
13 „	sâmâ-yângkhai makhâi	150 and a half
14 „	sani sendâbâ	200 less a sêl
15 „	sani makhâi-tâbâ...	200 less a half
16 „	sani	200
17 „	sani makhâi	200 and a half
18 „	sani phaigak	200 and a phaigak
19 „	sani-phaigak makhâi	200 and a phaigak and a half
20 „	sani yângkhai	250
21 „	sani-yângkhai makhâi	250 and a half
22 „	sahûm sendâbâ	300 less a sêl
23 „	sahûm makhâi-tâbâ	300 less a half
24 „	sahûm	300
25 „	sahûm makhâi	300 and a half
26 „	sahûm phaigak	300 and a phaigak

And so on up to 32, 40, 48, 56, 64, 72, and 80 *sêl*, each octave, or double quartette, following the system of nomenclature seen in the octave 16-24.

According to this method of reckoning, the coined parts of the British rupee in silver would show in accounts as follows: —

The Rupee in Maṇipûrî Accounts.

English.	Value in sêl.	Maṇipûrî.	Sense.
Rupee	400 sêl ...	lishing mangâ	5,000
8-anna piece	200 sêl ...	lishing ani sâmangâ ...	2,500
4-anna piece	100 sêl ...	lishing amâ sani yângkhai.	1,250
2-anna piece	50 sêl ...	sâtaruk phaigak[35]... ...	600 and a phaigak[36]

[35] Also *sâtaruk s'lamâ*.

[36] The *phaigak* being 25 cowries, the expression = 625. Its form arises out of the scale just given, by which 50 *sêl* = 12 quartettes, *i. e.*, 48 + 2 (*phaigak*) *sêl*.

And in fact these coins do so show in accounts.

It will be readily understood that such a system of reckoning and such a complicated nomenclature could survive into everyday use in practical life among an essentially uneducated people, only if the real meaning of the terms used be not present in the minds of those who use them. This is the actual fact, and the above enquiry is therefore only useful for the purpose of grasping the meaning and origin of the phenomena of the system.

To the Maṇipûrî, when reckoning money and setting down accounts **the terms for his coinage present themselves to his mind merely as abstract words for enumerating it in the quaternary scale: thus :** —

1 sêl is simply a makhâi
2 sêl are simply a phaigak or sêlamâ
4 sêl are simply a yângkhai

This can be shown to be the case by the use of the terms

makhâi-amâ for 1 sêl, *lit.*, 1 makhâi
phaigak-amâ for 2 sêl, *lit.*, 1 phaigak
yângkhai-amâ for 4 sêl, *lit.*, 1 yângkhai

In this way the Maṇipûrî reckons thus : —

2 makhâi are 1 phaigak[37] or half-quartette
2 phaigak are 1 yângkhai or quartette

In the same mental attitude the Maṇipûrî continues his reckoning up to 20 quartettes, which make a *lishing*, thus : —

2 yângkhai are sâmâ
4 ,, ,, sani
6 ,, ,, sahûm
8 ,, ,, sâmari

And so on by the terms for "hundreds." In precisely the same way five *lishing* make a *lûpâ*, or rupee.

This abstract way of looking at the words used is also visible in the terms for the intermediate denominations for the odd parts of the quartettes, thus : —

3 sêl are phaigak makhâi, *i. e.*, a phaigak[37] and a makhâi, or a half quartette and a sêl.

5 sêl are yângkhai makhâi, *i. e.*, a yângkhai and a makhâi, or a quartette and a *sêl.*

The above terminology applies to the *sêl* as a money of account.

For reckoning the sêl as a coin the terminology is much simpler and more straightforward. Thus, the term for the coined *sêl* being *makhâi, sêl* in the form of coin are simply counted as any other article would be, and in this way the terms for the British-Indian silver coins are simplified down to the following : —

British-Indian silver coins in terms of coined Sêl.

English.	Maṇipûrî.	Sense.
Rupee	sâmari	400
8-anna piece	sani	200
4-anna piece	sâmâ	100
2-anna piece	yângkhai	50

37 It being understood that *sêlamâ* and *phaigak* are purely synonyms : merely convertible terms.

It will be observed that the meaning of all the terms used is thus duplicated, but in practical speech confusion would hardly ever arise. In case it should the full terms used are *makhâi sâmari, makhâi sani, makhâi sâmâ, makhâi yângkhai*, respectively, meaning 400, 200, 100, and 50 *sêl* (coined).

We now arrive at a point that is so puzzling to those who converse with Maṇipûrîs on money matters. The British-Indian silver pieces have long been current throughout the State and have names of their own irrespective of those given them in reference to their place in accounts and to the number of coined sêl each contains; thus: —

Names for the British-Indian silver pieces.

English.	Maṇipûrî.	Sense.
Rupee	lupâmâ	1 rupee
8-anna piece	makhâi[38]	half
4-anna piece	siki[39]	quarter
2-anna piece	ânnâ	anna[40]

It is for the above reasons that there are in common use three names for each denomination of British-Indian silver money, thus: —

Concurrent Maṇipuri Terms for British-Indian Silver Coins.

English.	Maṇipûrî Equivalents.		
	for the coins.	in cash.	in accounts.
Rupee ..	lûpâ, lûpâmâ	sâmari and makhâi-sâmari.	lishing mangâ
8-annas ..	makhâi and lûpâ-makhâi	sani and makhâi-sani ...	lishing-ani sâmangâ
4-annas ..	siki and lûpâ-siki ..	sâmâ and makhâi-sâmâ..	lishing-amâ sani-yângkhai
2-annas ..	ânnâ	yânkhai and makhâi-yânkhai.	sâtaruk phaigak

Copper money, British-Indian or other, has never, until quite lately been in use in Maṇipûr, and Brown, *Manipur*, p. 89, relates that an attempt to introduce pice in 1866 absolutely failed, as the *bâzâr* women[41] refused to have anything to say to it. The consequence has been that it does not clearly appear in the Maṇipûrî language until British-Indian copper coins (except the pie) were generally introduced after the mediatisation of the State in

[38] In full *lûpâ-makhâi*, half rupee.

[39] In full *lûpâ-siki*, quarter rupee. In conformity to the liking of all Orientals for fractional expressions, *siki-mangâ* or five *siki*, is used for "a rupee and a quarter."

[40] This is due to there being no copper coin in the country. The people had no idea of the British-Indian anna and adopted the term to express the lowest demomination of silver coin. Since the troubles of 1891 the British-Indian copper money has been known generally and the term *ânnâ* has come to mean one anna, as well as two annas, by a still further complication explained below.

[41] Women are the hucksters of the country to even a greater extent than in Burma.

consequence of the troubles of 1891. Now, however, though the people were, when I enquired, still confused about the matter, the terms are : —

British-Indian Copper Money.

English.	Maṇipûrî.
pice, quarter-anna piece	paishâ, paishâmâ
half-anna piece	paishâ-ani
one anna, four pice	paishâ-mari
pie	tâmrî[42]

It is known that the anna, *i. e.*, four pice, equals 25 *sêl* (coined), and that therefore the half-anna, pice and pie are, as the people express it, a "a little more" respectively than the 12, 6, and 2 *sêl*. It is for this reason that in their accompt nomenclature only a term for "anna" appears, that being *sahûm-makhâi*.[43]

Since 1891 annas have been enumerated seriatim, as is customary in British-India, thus : —

one anna ...	ânnâmâ
two annas ...	ânnâ-ani
three annas...	ânnâ-ahûm
four annas ...	ânnâ-mari

And so on. But it will be observed that some confusion is thus caused by **the use of the same term for the British-Indian anna and for the British-Indian two-anna piece,** as above explained. This will no doubt soon disappear, the latter sense of the word *ânnâ* becoming of necessity forgotten before long.

That the enumeration of the annas on the British-Indian plan was adopted by the Maṇipûrîs when dealing with Europeans befere 1891 is proved by a sentence in Primrose's *Grammar*, p. 85, 1887, which runs thus : —

Aingon- da rûpâ-ama-dagi ânnâ ani tâmâ-pirê
Us (me)-to rupee-one-from annas two back-gave
Gave me back a rupee less two annas, *i. e.*, fourteen annas.

The Maṇipûrîs cannot make bell-metal and resort to old pots and pans, broken pieces of images and utensils, procured from British-India, Assam (the Dêkhau of the Maṇipûrîs), and Burma; to old pieces dug up in their own country, and even to old *sêl* of former coinages. They consider the best metal to be that from old Assamese implements and utensils. **The minting of sêl** is well described by Brown, *Manipur*, p. 89 : — "The metal is first cast in little pellets; these are softened by fire and placed on an anvil; one blow of the hammer flattens the pellet into an irregularly round figure; a punch with the word *śrî* cut on it (in Bengali characters) is then driven on it by another blow, which completes the operation."

The minting of *sêl* goes back to at least the middle of the last Century, perhaps to the days of Râjâ Pamhaibâ,[44] 1714-54 A. D., when they were much larger than the present ones, — described as four or five times as large, the old *sêl* being square in form.[45] Those of Râjâ

[42] *Damṛî* is still the popular Indian word for the British-Indian *pâî* (pie).

[43] The half anna could in no case appear in the account scale, as the term available would be that for 12½ *sêl*, which is already appropriated by the term for 13 *sêl* : *vide* scale, *ante*, p. 174.

[44] The Gharîb Nawâz of History.

[45] In imitation of the neighbouring Assamese and Arakanese coinages.

Kartâ (the Jai Singh of the Chronicles, 1764-98 A. D.) were twice the size of the present coin. They did not always have the word *śrî* on them. *E. g.*, those of Râjâ Kartâ were marked with *śrî* and also with *mo, i. e.*, the Bengali form of the letter म, for "Maṇipûr :" as also were those of his sons Saurjît, Mârjît and Gambhîr Singh, of whom so much is to be found in Wilson's *Documents of the Burmese War*, 1827. Râjâ Noro (Nar Singh, 1834-50) marked his *sêl* with *ro, i. e.*, the Bengali form of the letter र.[46] Since then the mark has been *śrî.*

It is as well to note that Maṇipûrî sêl have more than once been largely forged by Kachârî and Bengali traders.

Although it is clear from the Maṇipûrî system of account keeping that cowries (*likhôl*) must once, and that not long ago, have been the currency of the country, there seems to be no tradition even of the fact nowadays,[47] and I could hear of no tradition as to when *sêl* were introduced. Not even the Nâga Tribes in the State use cowries — indeed the Nâgas, like the Kachins and some Shâns about Burma, only recognise silver as currency, the *ânnâ*, or two-anna piece, being the lowest denomination. I note, however, that Brown, p. 40, states that "the price of a wife (among the Tongkhul or Luhupâ[48] Nâgas) to those well off is one *mêthnâ* (a buffaloe); others pay in cowries or Maṇipûrî *sêl* about the value of ten rupees."

Brown relates, p. 89, a tradition that Saurjît "about 1815 coined silver of a square form of the same value and weight as the British rupee." It may be so, but I have never found confirmation for the statement. It is not a likely one, because the brothers Saurjît, Mârjît and Gambhîr Singh spent between 30 and 40 years in establishing and disestablishing each other on the throne, and none of them seem, about 1815, to have had anything approaching so firm a seat on it as to have time to trouble about the coinage.

The Maṇipûrîs have no indigenous avoirdupois scale, using nowadays the British-Indian scale when necessary. The reason is that, until of late, the custom was to buy unwrought iron, brass and metals by measurement and not by weight, and wrought metal articles by the bargain. Like all the Further Eastern nationalities they have scales of capacity, buying and selling grain by basket measurement.[49]

For their Troy weights the Maṇipûrîs have borrowed the modern Indian scale of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôla*, explained in the last Section of this Chapter ; thus : —

Maṇipûrî Troy Scale.

2	tsôp[50] (barleycorn)	are	1	sàngnîng (*abrus* seed)
12	sàngnîng	,,	1	senmakhâimâ[51]
2	senmakhâimâ	,,	1	sêlamâ
2	sêlamâ	,,	1	sêlani or mohar-makhâi (½ tôla)
2	sêlani	,,	1	senmari[51] or mohar (tôla)[52]
96	seeds to the tôla.			

(*To be continued.*)

[46] For the history given in the text *cf.* Brown, p. 58 ff.

[47] Traditions die out very fast in such places. Even the educated in Maṇipûr regard the Burmese War of 1825-6 as having occurred in the dim past, — much more than a hundred years ago ! The days of Pamhaibâ (1714-54) are spoken of as a *very* long time ago.

[48] *Luhup*, Maṇipûrî, a cap : Primrose, p. 18; Brown, p. 37.

[49] For these scales see Primrose, p. 24 f.

[50] *Tsôp* is also *jôp* = Bengali *job* (*jab*), Hindî *jau*, Skr. *yava*. *Cf.* Skr. *yuvarâjâ*, Maṇipûrî *jubrâj* and *jobrâj*, the heir apparent, a title of which so much was heard during the troubles in 1891. The Pâḷî form of this last word, *uparâjâ*, gave rise to an amusing "Hobson-Jobson," in the "Upper Roger" of Pegu, once an important personage to ship-masters and travellers, noticed indeed in Yule, but not so fully as it might have been.

[51] Spelt *sêl-makhâimâ* and *sêl-mari.*

[52] It must be understood that a Maṇipûrî would not thus describe his table, because *senmakhâimâ* means one half *sêl* : *sêlamâ* means one *sêl* : *sêlani* means two *sêl* : *senmari* means four *sêl.*

ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.

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(*Continued from Vol. XXVI. p.* 192.)

IRREGULAR VERBS.

179. Here follow the Irregular verbs, according to Mp. It should be noted that several of them are quite regular. Some of them do not agree with Elmslie's Vocabulary, or with Np., in their vocalization. [In the original, the various forms are given in the Persian character, without transliteration. As this does not show the pronunciation, I have endeavoured to remedy the defect by transliterating. Many of the forms given by Mp. are incorrect. In cases in which the forms are clearly wrong, I have corrected them. It is no use repeating erroneous forms. I am responsible for all footnotes to this list. — G. A. G.]

Irregular verbs (according to Mp.).

Infinitive.	Meaning.	Imperative 2nd sg.	Pres. (Fut.) 3rd sg.	Part. Perf. Pass.	Aorist 3rd sg.
آڈرن *ôḍạrun*	to knead, mix flour	*ôḍạr*	*ôḍạri*	*ôḍạrmut*	*ôḍạrun*
آسن *âsun*	to be	*âs*	*âsi*	*ôsmut*	*ôs*
آزماون *âzmâvun*	to try, to tempt	*âsmâv*	*âzmâvi*	*âzmôvmut*	*âzmôvun*
[اچن *atsun*	to enter	*ats*	*atsî*	*tsâmut*	*tsâv*]
اسن *asun*	to laugh	*as*	*asi*	*osmut*	*osun* (*os*)
الن *alun*	to tremble	*al*	*ali*	*alyômut*	*alyôv*
انن *anun*	to bring	*an*	*ani*	*onmut*	*onun* (*on*)
بزن *buzun*	to roast, fry	*buz*	*buzi*	*buzmut*	*buzun*
بوزن *bûzun*	to roast, fry	*bûz*	*bûzi*	*bûzmut*	*bûzun*
بہن *behun*	to set	*beh*	*behi*	*byûṭhmut*	*byûṭh*
پرچھن *pratshun*	to ask	*pratsh*	*pratshi*	*protshmut*	*protshun* (*protsh*)
پرڈن *praḍun*	to drip	*praḍ*	*praḍi*	*praḍyômut*	*praḍyôv*
پرزلن *prazalun*	to shine	*prazal*	*prazali*	*prazalyômut*	*prazalyôv*
پرزنن *parzanun*	to recognize	*parzan*	*parzani*	*parzonmut*	*parzonun* (*parzon*)
[پرسن *prasun*	to be born	*pras*	*prasi*	*pyâmut*	*pyâv*]
پرن *parun*	to read	*par*	*pari*	*pormut*	*porun*
پشرن *pushạrun*	to entrust	*pushạr*	*pushhạri*	*pushạrmut*	*pushạrun* (*pushạr*)
پیٔن *peun*	to fall	*peh*	*peyi*[19]	*pyaumut*	*pyauv*
تچھن *tachhun*	to pare	*tachh*	*tachhi*	*tochhmut*	*tochhun* (*tochh*)

[19] 1 sg. *pemạ*.

Infinitive.	Meaning.	Imperative 2nd sg.	Pres. (Fut.) 3rd sg.	Perf. Part. Pass.	Aorist 3rd sg.
تراوُن *trâvun*	to leave	*trâv*	*trâvi*	*trôvmut*	*trôvun* (*trôv*)
تُلُن *tulun*	to bear	*tul*	*tuli*	*tulmut*, f. *tujmuts*	*tulun* (*tul*)
تولُن *tûlun*	to lift up	*tûl*	*tûli*	*tûlmut*	*tûlun*
تھاوُن *thâvun*	to possess	*thâv*	*thâvi*	*thôvmut*	*thôvun*
چیُن *cheun*	to drink	*cheh*	*cheyi*[20]	*chyaumut*[21]	*chyaun*[22]
چیرُن *chîrun*	to squeeze out	*chîr*	*chîri*	*chyûrmut*	*chyûrun*
چھکُن *chhakun*	to scatter	*chhak*	*chhaki*	*chhokmut*	*chhokun*
چھلُن *chhalun*	to wash	*chhal*	*chhali*	*chholmut*	*chholun*
چاپُن *tsâpun*	to gnaw	*tsâp*	*tsâpi*	*tsôpmut*	*tsôpun*
چارُن *tsârun*	to pick up	*tsâr*	*tsâri*	*tsôrmut*	*tsôrun*
چٹُن *tsaṭun*	to cut	*tsaṭ*	*tsaṭi*	*tsoṭmut*	*tsoṭun*
چمبُن *tsombun*	to bore	*tsomb*	*tsombi*	*tsombmut*	*tsombun*
چلُن *tsalun*	to flee	*tsal*	*tsali*	*tsolmut*	*tsol*
چہُن *tsahun*	to taste	*tsah*	*tsahi*	*tsohmut*[23]	*tsohun*[23]
چیڈُن *tsêṭun*	to crush	*tsêṭ*	*tsêṭi*	*tsyûṭmut*	*tsyûṭun*
دزُن *dazun*	to burn	*daz*	*dazi*	*dodmut*	*dod*
دیُن *diun*	to give	*dih*	*diyi*[24]	*dyutmut*	*dyutun*
ڈوُن *ḍuvun*	to sweep	*ḍuv*	*ḍuvi*	*ḍuvmut*	*ḍuvun*
رچھُن *rachhun*	to protect	*rachh*	*rachhi*	*rochhmut*	*rochhun*
رنُن *ranun*	to cook	*ran*	*rani*	*ronmut*	*ronun*
روزُن *rôzun*	to remain	*rôz*	*rôzi*	*rûdmut*	*rûd*
زانُن *zânun*	to know	*zân*	*zâni*	*zônmut*	*zônun*
زیُن *zeun*[25]	to be born	*zeh*	*zeyi*[26]	*zâmut*	*zâv*
سوُن *suvun*	to sew	*suv*	*suvi*	*suvmut*	*suvun*
شُنگُن *shongun*	to sleep	*shong*	*shongi*	*shongmut*	*shong*
فیرُن *férun* (*phêrun*)	to wander	*fêr*	*fêri*	*fyûrmut*	*fyûr*

[20] 1 sg. *chemạ*.

[21] Elmslie, Wade, *chaumut*.

[22] Wade, *chaw*.

[23] Elmslie, *tsuh°*.

[24] 1 sg. *dimạ*.

[25] Pres. Part. *zevân*. The forms of this verb are taken from the *Kaśmîra-śabdâmṛita*. The original has Imperat. 2 sg. *ziv*, Fut. 3 sg. *ziwi* ; so Elmslie.

[26] 1 sg. *zemạ*.

Infinitive.	Meaning.	Imperative 2nd sg.	Pres. (Fut.) 3rd sg.	Perf. Part. Pass.	Aorist 3rd sg.
فهٹن *fhaṭun* (*phaṭun*)	to split	*phaṭ*	*phaṭi*	*phoṭmut*	*phoṭ*
فهٹن *fhuṭun* (*phuṭun*)	to break	*phuṭ*	*phuṭi*	*phuṭmut*	*phuṭ*
فهلن *fhollun* (*phollun*)	to bloom	*pholl*	*pholli*	*phollmut*	*pholl*
فهیانن *fhiânun*[27] (*phiânun*)	to strain, filter	*phiân*	*phiâni*	*phiônmut*	*phiônun*
کڈن *kaḍun*	to drag out	*kaḍ*	*kaḍi*	*koḍmut*	*koḍun*
کرن *karun*	to make	*kar*	*kari*	*kormut*	*korun*
کشن *kashun*	to itch	*kash*	*kashi*	*koshmut*	*koshun*
کهنن *khanun*	to dig	*khan*	*khani*	*khonmut*	*khonun*
کهین *kheun*	to eat	*kheh*	*kheyi*[28]	*khyaumut*[29]	*khyaun*[29]
گچهن *gatshun*	to go	*gatsh*	*gatshi*	*gômut*	*gauv*
گلن *galun*	to melt	*gal*	*gali*	*golmut*	*gol*
گنزرن *ganzạrun*	to count	*ganzạr*	*ganzạri*	*ganzạrmut*	*ganzạrun*
گندن *gindun*	to sport	*gind*	*gindi*	*gyandmut*	*gyandun*
گنڈن *ganḍun*	to bind	*ganḍ*	*ganḍi*	*gonḍmut*	*gonḍun*
گهن *gahun*[30]	to grind	*gah*	*gahi*	*gohmut*	*gohun*
لاین *lâyun*	to strike	*lây*	*lâyi*	*lôymut*	*lôyun*
لبن *labun*	to take	*lab*	*labi*	*lobmut*	*lobun*
لسن *lasun*	to live	*las*	*lasi*	*lûstmut*[31]	*lûst*[31]
لکهن *likhun*	to write	*likh*	*likhi*	*lyukhmut*	*lyukhun*
لمن *lamun*	to pull	*lam*	*lami*	*lommut*	*lomun*
لون *lewun*	to lick	*lev*	*lewi*	*lyuvmut*[32]	*lyuwun*[32]
لونن *lônnu*	to reap	*lôn*	*lôni*	*lûnmut*	*lûnun*
لین *layun*	to be worth	*lay*	*layi*	*loymut*	*loy*
مارن *mârun*	to slay	*mâr*	*mâri*	*môrmut*	*môrun*
مانن *mânun*	to esteem	*mân*	*mâni*	*mônmut*	*mônun*
متن *matun*	to be foolish	*mat*	*mati*	*matyômut*	*matyôv*

[27] The *Kaśmîra-śabdâmṛita* gives *phiârun*.
[28] 1 sg. *khemạ*.
[29] Wade, *kheômut*, *kheâw*.
[30] Elmslie, *guhun*.
[31] Elmslie, *los°*.
[32] Elmslie, *lyo°*.

Infinitive.	Meaning.	Imperative 2nd sg.	Pres. (Fut.) 3rd sg.	Perf. Part Pass.	Aorist 3rd sg.
مَتھُن *mathun*	to rub	*math*	*mathi*	*mothmut*	*mothun*
مُژَرُن *mutsarun*	to open	*mutsar*	*mutsari*	*mutsormut*[33]	*mutsorun*[33]
مَرُن *marun*	to die	*mar*	*mari*	*mûdmut* or *mûmut*	*mûd*
ملناوُن *milanâvun*	to mix	*milanâv*	*milanâvi*	*milanôvmut*	*milanôvun*
مَنگُن *mangun*	to ask	*mang*	*mangi*	*mongmut*	*mongun*
نَٹُن *naṭun*	to tremble	*naṭ*	*naṭi*	*naṭyôvmut*	*nâṭyôv*
نَمُن *namun*	to bow	*nam*	*nami*	*namyôvmut*	*namyôv*
نیرُن *nêrun*	to go out	*nêr*	*nêri*	*drâmut*	*drâv*
نیُن *niun*	to take	*nih*	*niyi*[34]	*nyûmut*[35]	*nyûn*
وَتھَرُن *watharun*	to spread	*wathar*	*wathari*	*wathormut*	*vathorun*
وُتھُن *wothun*	to stand up	*woth*	*wothi*	*wothmut*	*woth*
وِٹھُن *veṭhun*	to be fat	*veṭh*	*veṭhi*	*veṭhyômut*	*veṭhyôv*
وِژُن *vetsun*	to be contained	*vets*	*vetsi*	*vyutsmut*	*vyuts*
وَدُن *wadun*	to weep	*wad*	*wadi*	*wodmut*	*wodun*
وُڈُن *wuḍun*	to fly	*wuḍ*	*wuḍi*	*wuḍyômut*	*wuḍyôv*
وَسُن *wasun*	to descend	*was*	*wasi*	*wothmut*[36]	*woth*[36]
وَنُن *wanun*	to speak	*wan*	*wani*	*wonmut*	*wonun*
وُوُن *wowun*	to plant, sow	*wov*	*wovi*	*wovmut*	*wowun*
وُوَنُن *wônun*	to weave	*wôn*	*wôni*	*wûnmut*	*wûnun*
هارُن *hârun*	to let fall	*hâr*	*hâri*	*hôrmut*	*hôrun*
هاوُن *hâwun*	to show	*hâv*	*hâwi*	*hôvmut*	*hôwun*
هِچھُن *hechhun*	to teach	*hechh*	*hechhi*	*hyuchhmut*	*hyuchhun*
هِکُن *hekun*	to be able	*hek*	*heki*	*hyukmut*	*hyukun*
هُکھُن *hokhun*	to be dry	*hokh*	*hokhi*	*hokhmut*	*hokh*
هُنُن *hunun*	to swell	*hun*	*huni*	*hunyômut*	*hunyôv*
هیُن *heun*	to take	*heh*	*heyi*[37]	*hyotmut*	*hyotun*
یِژھُن *yitshun*	to wish	*yitsh*	*yitshi*	*yutshmut*	*yutshun*
[یُن *yun*	to come	*yih*	*yiyi*[38]	*âmut*	*âv*]

[33] Elmslie, *mutsur°*. [34] 1 sg. *nimą*. [35] Wade, *niumut*. [36] Elmslie, *wuth°*. [37] 1 sg. f. *hemą*. [38] 1 sg. *yimą*.

APPENDIX I.

180. **Examples of Aorists and Pluperfects**[39] :—

(1) اچھن *atsun*, to enter; aor. 3 pl. f. چایہ *tsâye*.

(2) اَنُن *anun*, to bring; aor. 3 sg. m. مےٚ اوٚن *me on*, by me; چےٚ اُنُت *tse onut*, by thee; 3 sg. m. تُہہ اُنوٚ *tohi onva*, by you; تِمو اوٚن *timav on*, by them; اُنُک *onuk*, by them; 3 sg. f. تَمِ اَن *tami an̄*, by him; اَسہ اَن *asê an̄*, by us; 3 pl. m تِمو اَن *timav ani*, by them; اَنِک *anik*, by them.

(3) اَدراوُن *adarâvun*, to wet (causal from اَدر *adar*, wet); aor. 3 sg. m. اَدروٗوُن *adarôvun*, by him.

(4) باگراوُن *bôgarâvun* (causal of باگرُن *bôgarun*, to divide); aor. 3 pl. m. باگراوِک *bôgarôvik*, by them.

(5) بَچُن *bachun*, to be saved; 3 pl. m., بَچِیی *bachyêy*.

(6) بَچراوُن *bacharâvun* (causal of No. 5), to save, to help; aor. 3 pl. m. بَچرآوِن *bacharôvin*, by him.

(7) بَخشُن *bakhshun*, to give; aor. 3 sg. m., مےٚ بَخشُی *me bakhshuy*, by me to thee; بَخشُنَس *bakhshunas*, by him to him; تِمَن بَخشُ *timan bakhshu*, by him to them (in which تَمِ *tami* precedes, but is separated by a تہٕ *ta*, and); 3 sg. f. تَمِ بَخش *tami bakhsh*, by him.

(8) بَدَلُن *badalun*, to alter oneself; plup. 3 sg. f. بَدَلییہ *badalyêya*.

(9) بڑُن *badun*, to become great, to increase; plup. 3 sg. m. بڑیوٗو *badyôv* : 3 pl. m. بڑیی *badyêy*.

(10) بَلُن *balun*, to become well: plup. 3 sg. m. بَلیوٗو *balyôv* : 3 sg. f. بَلییہ *balyêya*; 3 pl. m. بَلیی *balyêy*.

(11) بَلراوُن *balarâvun* (causal of the preceding), to make well, to heal; aor. 3 pl. m. تَمِ بَلرآوِ *tami balarôvi*, by him; بَلرآوِن *balarôvin*, by him.

(12) بَنُن *banun*, to be, happen; aor. 3 pl. m. بَنیی *banyêy*.

(13) بِہُن *behun*, to sit; aor. 3 sg. m. بیوٗٹھ *byûth* : 3 pl. m. بیٹھِ *bîthi*.

[39] All collected by the author in the course of reading.

(14) بِھناوُن *bihanâvun* (causal of the preceding), to put down; aor. 3 sg. m. بِھنوُوک *bihanôvuk,* by them.

(15) بوزُن *bôzun,* to hear; aor. 3 sg. m. بُوزُن *bûzun,* by him; (neut.) تَم بُوز *tami bûz,* by him; تِمو بُوز *timav bûz,* by them; بُوزُك *bûzuk,* by them; تُھہ بُوزوٕ *tohi bûzwa,* by you: 3 sg. fem. تَم بُوز *tami bûz,* by him; 3 pl. fem. تَم بوزٕ *tami bôza,* by him; تِمو بوزٕ *timav bôza,* by them.

(16) پرچھُن *pratshun,* to ask (the person asked is put in the dative. It is hence construed impersonally); aor. 3 sg. neut. پرُچھ *protsh.* تَم تِمن *tami timan,* (it was asked) by him to them, he asked them; تِمو تَس *timav tas,* by them to him, they asked him; تَم پرُچھُك *tami protshuk,* by him to them, he asked them; تَم پرُچھُنَس *tami protshunas,* by him to him, he asked him; تَم پرُچھُس *tami protshus,* by him to him, he asked him; پرُچھُنَك *protshunak,* by him to them, he asked them.

(17) پرُچھناوُن *protshanâvun* (causal of the preceding), to make to ask (the person asked in the dative); aor. 3 sg. neut. پرُچھنوونَس *protshanôvnas,* by him to him, he made him ask.

(18) پرُن *parun,* to read; aor. 3 sg. neut. تُھہ پروٕ *tohi porwa* (it was read by you), you have read; negatively and interrogatively, تُھہ پروٕنا *tohi porwa-nâ.*

(19) پرزلُن *prazalun,* to shine; plup. 3 sg. m. پرزلیوو *prazalyôv.*

(20) پرزناوُن *parzanâwun* (causal of پرزنُن *parzanun,* to recognize), to test; aor. 3 sg. mas. تِمو پرزنوو *timav parzanôv.*

(21) پَکُن *pakun,* to go, to wander (with پَتہٕ *pata,* to follow; with بوٹھ *bônth,* to pass by; with اورھُن پَھن *ôrihun pahan,*[40] to wander further); aor. 3 sg. m. پوکُ پوک *poku,* پوک *pok;* 3 sg. fem. پَچ *pach;* 1 pl. m. پَکِ *paki;* 2 .lp m. پَکِوٕ *pakiwa;* 3 pl. m. پَکِ *paki;* 3 pl. fem. پَچہ *pache.*

(22) پیُن *peun,* to fall; aor. 3 sg. m. پیُو *pyû* پِو *piv* (pronounce *peo*) [the correct form is پیَوو *pyauv*]; 3 sg. f. پیَہ *peya;* 3 pl. m. پیے *pyêy.*

[40 Elmslie, *ôryôr pakun,* to wander.]

(23) پھٹن *phuṭun*, to burst, to be rent; aor. 3 sg. m. پھٹ *phuṭ*.

(24) پھٹراوُن *phuṭarâvun* (causal of پھٹرُن *phuṭarun*, to break, tr.); 3 pl. f. پھٹراوِن *phuṭarâven*, by him.

(25) پھیرُن *phêrun* (پھیرُن *pherun*), to turn oneself; to turn back; to wander; with کُن *kun* (governing dative), to turn towards someone; with بُتھ *buṭh*, to turn away from someone (dat.); with پت *put*, to return; (شُہرت *shuhrat*, to be spread abroad (dat.)); aor. 3 sg. f. پھیر *phîr*, پھِر *phir*.

(26) ترُن *tarun*, to go across, to cross; with اپور *apôr* (یپور *yapôr*), to go across, to pass over; (ناوِ کیت *nâvi kyat*, in a ship).

(27) تراوُن *trâvun*, to leave, discard; send forth; let go; make over; with بُن *bon*, to let down; with نیبر *nebar*, to thrust out; with رود *rûd*, to cause to rain, to send rain; with وت *wat*, to make room; aor. 1 sg. m. چھ تروٗوتھس بہ *tse trôvthas bo*, by thee; 3 sg. m. تمِ تروٗو *tami trôv*, by him; اسہ تروٗو *asi trôv*, by us; تروٗوُن *trôvun*, by him; تروٗوُک *trôvuk*, by them; تروٗووٚ *trôvwa*, by you: 3 sg. f. تراوِن *trôvan*, by her; 3 pl. m. تراوِک *trôvik*, by them.

(28) تُلُن *tulun*, to lift up, bear; with تھود *thod*, to raise (the eyes); aor. 3 sg. m. مہ تُل *me tul*, by me: 3 sg. f. تمِ تُج *tami tuj*, by him; تُجک *tujak*, by them: 3 pl. masc. تُلوٚ *tuliwa*, by you; تُلِک *tulik*, by them: 3 pl. f. تمِ تُجے *tami tuje*, by him; تُجیوٚ *tujewa*, by you; تُجیک *tujek*, by them.

(29) تھوُن *thavun*, to set, to put, to place; to possess, to have; with ناد *nâd* (voice), to call, name (dative of person); with تل دُبرِت *tal dubrit* (*dubrun*, to hide), to conceal under something; aor. 3 sg. m. تھوُن *thavun*,[41] تھوُن *thovun*, by him; تھوُک *thovuk*, by them; 3 sg. f. تھوم *thavam*, by me; تھوِن *thavan*, by her or him; تمِ تھو *tami thav*, by him: 3 pl. m. تمِ تھوِ *tami thavi*, by him; 3 pl. f. تھوِت *thavet*, by thee.

(30) تھارُن *thârun*, to be terrified [hurried]; plup. II., 3 sg. m. تھاریوٗو *thâryôv*.

(31) ٹھہرُن *ṭhaharun*, to be standing, to abate (of wind); plup. II., 3 sg. m. ٹھہریوٗو *ṭhaharyôv*: 3 sg. f. ٹھہریٚیہ *ṭhaharyêya*.

[41] [From تھوُن we should expect aorist masc. to be always تھو *thov*, and never تھو *thav*. The singular masculine form with *a* instead of *o* is certainly wrong.]

(32) چاوُن *châvun* (causal of چێن *cheun*, to drink), to give to drink; 1 sg. m. تۄہہ چوٗوس بۄ *tohi chôvus bo*, by you: 2 sg. m. اسہ چوٗوک چھ *asi chôvuk tsa*, by us: 3 sg. m. چوٗوُن *chôvun*, by him.

(33) چھلُن *chhalun*, to wash; aor. 3 pl. m. چھلِن *chhalin*, by him.

(34) چھکُن *chhakun*, to scatter; aor. 1 sg. (impersonal) چھوکُم *chhokum*, by me; چھوکُت *chhokut*, by thee.

(35) چارُن *tsârun*, to collect; aor. 3 pl. f. چارِک *tsârek*, by them.

(36) چاھُن *tsâhun*, to taste; aor. 3 sg. m. تمہ چھ *tami tsuh*,[42] by him [should be *tsôh*].

(37) چٹُن *tsatun*, to cut; to pluck, gather; aor. 3 sg. m. چوٹُن *tsotun*, by him.

(38) چلُن *tsalun*, to flee (dative of person from); aor. 3 sg. m. چول *tsol*: 3 pl. m. چلہ *tsali*; with suffix *s*, چلِس *tsalis*.

(39) چھُنُن *tshunun*, to throw; with نالہ *nâli*, on the neck, to dress, to put round somebody's (dative) neck; with تراوِت *trôvit* (تراوُن *trâvun*, to abandon), to throw away, to pour out, to let go; with کڈِت *kadit* (کڈُن *kadun*, to drag), to drive out, to expel, to tear out, to persecute; with ناد *nâd*, voice, to call, to name; with چٹِت *tsatit* (چٹُن *tsatun*, to cut), to cut off; with مارِت *môri* (مارُن *mârun*, to kill), to kill; with کھیت *khet* (کھێن *khyun*, to eat), to eat up; aor. 3 sg. masc. تۄہہ چھُنوم *tohi tshhunwam*, by you to me; تمو چھُنھس *timav tshunhas*, by them to him; 3 sg. f. تمو چھُنھ *timav tshhuñ*, by them: 3 pl. m. تمو چھُنہ *timav tshhuni*, by them; چھُنِک *tshhunik*, by them; چھُنِن *tshhunin*, by him.

(40) دبراوُن *doburâvun* (causal of دبرُن *doburun*, to bury), to get buried; aor. 3 sg. f. دبراوِک *doburôvak*, by them.

(41) دپُن *dapun*, to say, speak (dative of person addressed): aor. 3 sg. (impersonal) تمہ دپ *tami dopu* (دوپ *dop*), by him; دوپُن *dopun*, by him; تمو دوپس *timav dopus*, by them to him, دوپنس *dopnas*, by him to him; دوپُک *dopuk*, to them; دپھس *dophas*, by them to him; دپھک *dophak*, by them to them; تمہ دوپُک *tami dopuk*, by him to them.

[42] [So Elmslie. We should expect *tsôh*.]

(42) دِین *diun*, to give; to permit, allow (with infinitive); with ناد *nâd*, voice, to call (dat. of person); with کھُونٹ *khûntu*, to vex (dat. of person); with خبر *khabar*, news, to notify; with بدلہ *badalą*, to requite; with سن *san* burglary, to break into a house (place broken into in the dative); with حساب *hisâb*, to give an account; with تعلیم *ta'lîm*, to instruct; with ھِشِر *hishir*, to compare (with سیت *sût*); aor. 3 sg. masc. دیُتُس *dyutus*, by him; تمِ دیُت *tąmi dyut*, by him; مہ دیُتُم *me dyutum*, by me; دیُتوہ *dyutwą*, by you; تُہہ دیُتوم *tohi dyutwam*, by you to me; دیُتُک *dyutuk*, by them; تمِ دیُتُے چھ *tąmi dyutuy tse*, by him to thee; تمِ دیُتُس *tąmi diutus*, by him to him; تمِ دِتِک *tąmi dituk*,[43] by him to them; دیُتھس *dyut(u)has*, by them to him; 3 pl. m. دِتِک *ditik*, by them; 3 sg. f. تمِ دِچ *tąmi dits*, by him; دِچن *ditsąn*, by him; 3 pl. f. تِمو دِچہ *timav ditsą*, by them; دِچن *ditsan*, by him; دِچک *ditsak*, by them; 3 sg. plup. II. (impersonal) دِچوو *ditsôv* (تِمن *timan*), it had been given to them: causal دیاوُن *dyâvun*.

(43) رٹُن *raṭun*, to grasp, seize, lay hold of; metaphorically, to grasp, understand; with تل *tal*, to choke under (something) [Matt. xiii. 22]; with مُول *môl*, a root, to take root [Matt. xiii. 6]; aor. 3 sg. m. رٹوہ *roṭwą*, by you; رٹوس *roṭwas*, I by you; رٹُن *rotun*, by him; رٹ *roṭ*, by him, by them; رٹُک *roṭuk*, by them; 3 pl. m. رٹِک *rąṭik*, by them; 3 pl. f. رچہ *rache*, by them.

(44) رٹناوُن *raṭanâvun* (causal of the preceding), to cause to seize; aor. 3 sg. m. رٹنووم *raṭanôvum*, by me; رٹنوو *raṭanôv*, by him; رٹنووک *raṭanôvuk*, by them.

(45) روزُن *rôzun*, to remain, to stop oneself, to be remaining anywhere, to dwell; with وُدنی *wodanê*, to stand still; with منتظِر *muntazir*, to wait for some one; with باقی *bâqî*, to remain, to be established; with خاطِرجمع *khâṭir jam'*, to be of good courage; with خبردار *khabardâr*, to be on one's guard; aor. 3 sg. m. رُودُ *rûdu* (رُود *rûd*): 3 sg. f. رُوز *rûz*: 3 pl. m. رُودِ *rûdi*.

(46) زانُن *zânun*, to perceive, to know, to understand; to observe, suppose; with حقیر *haqîr*, to consider mean, to despise; with پانس *pânas*, to consider one-

[43] [*Dyutuk* in paradigm, which is correct.]

self to be such and such; with نه - کنہ *na-keñh*, to consider as nothing, to despise; aor. 3 sg. (impersonal) تمو زون *timav zôn*, by them; زونك *zônuk*, by them; زونت *zônut*, by thee.

(47) زيٹھراون *zîṭharâvun* (from زيوٹھ *zyûṭh*, long), to extend; aor. 3 sg. m. زيٹھرو *zîṭharôv*.

(48) زين *zeun*, to be born, arise; aor. 3 sg. m. زاو *zâv*.

(49) زينن *zênun*, to win; aor. 3 pl. fem. زينه *zêne*, by him.

(50) سپنن *sapanun*, to be, happen; with قبول *qabûl*, to be accepted; with خراب *kharâb*, to be ruined; with دور *dûr*, to go to a distance; with جمع *jam'*, to assemble together; with روانه *rawâna*, to set out; with داخل *dâkhil*, to enter;[44] aor. 3 sg. m. سپن *sapon*: 3 sg. f. سپن *sapani* (سپن *sapañ*); 3 pl. m. سپن *sapani*.

(51) سمن *samun*, to meet, assemble; aor. 3 sg. m. + suff. *k*, سمك *samuk* (to them);[45] plup. II., 3 pl. m. سميي *samyêy*; 3 pl. f. سميه *samyêya*.

(52) سنبالن *sambâlun*, to repair, add on; aor. 3 pl. f. سنباجك *sambâjek*, by them.

(53) سوزن *sôzun*, to send, send away, dismiss; aor. 3 sg. m. سوز *sûz*: 3 sg. f. سوز *sûz*; 3 pl. m. سوزن *sûzin*, by him; تم تمو سوز *tami, timav sûzi*, by him, by them; سوزك *sûzik*, by them; 3 pl. f. سوزك *sôzak*, by them.

(54) شنگن *shongun*, to sleep; aor. 3 pl. m. سنگ *shongi*; 3 pl. f. شنجه *shonje*.

(55) فرمودن *formûdun*, to order; to say (applied respectfully, of a great person speaking); aor. 3 sg. (impersonal) تم فرمود *tami formûd*, by him; فرمودن *formûdun*, by him; فرموده *formûdwa*, by him, you.

(56) کڈن *kaḍun*, to drag out, tear out, cast out (with چهنن *tshunun*), send forth; with موله *mûla*, to root out (*funditus evertere*); aor. 3 sg. m. تم کڈ *tami koḍ*, by him; کڈک *koḍuk*, by them: 3 pl. m. اسه کڈ *asi kaḍi*, by us.

(57) کنن *kanun*, to sell; aor. 3 sg. m. کنن *konun*, by him.

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[44] *Sapanun* is used for forming intransitive and reflexive compound verbs, just as *karun* is used for transitives.

[45] [سمك *somuk* would be the correct form if it existed; but the verb is a non-listed intransitive one, and the form used is سميو *samyôv*.]

(58) کرن *karun*, to make (compounded with many Arabic and Persian nouns; *e. g.*, قید *qaid*, to imprison); aor. 3 sg. masc. کور *kor*, by him; کورت *korut*, by thee; کورم *korum*, by me; کورن *korun*, by him; کوروٚ *korwạ*, by you; کورك *koruk*, by them; کورنك *kor*^{u}*nak*, by him to them; کورس *korus*, by him to him; کورتس *kor tus*, by her to him; تۄهہ کوروں *tohi korwan*, by you he; کورنس *kor*^{u}*nas*, by him to him; کورنوٚ *kor*^{u}*nawạ*, by him to you; aor. 3 pl. m. تمو کر *timav kạr*^{i},[46] they by them; کرك *kạrik*, they by them; کرت *kạrit*, by thee; کرن *kạrin*, by them; کرهس *kạrihas*, by them to him.

(59) کرناون *karanávun* (causal of the foregoing), to cause to make; aor. 3 sg. m. کرنووت *karanôvut*, by thee; 3 sg. f. کرناوك *karanôvạk*.

(60) کهارن *khárun* (causal of کهسن *khasun*, No. 61), to cause to ascend, to lift up, to draw up, to fetch; aor. 3 sg. m. کهورك *khôruk*, by them.

(61) کهسن *khasun*, to ascend, mount; to rise (of the sun); to survive anything (*e. g.*, a disease); aor. 3 sg. m. کهت *khot*^{u} (کهت *khot*): 3 pl. m. کهت *khạt*^{i} [3 sg. f. کهچ *khạts*; plup. II., 3 sg. m. کهچوو *khàtsôv*]. (Double causal کهارناون *khâranávun*.)

(62) کهوچن *khôtsun*, to fear; aor. 1 sg. m. بہ کهوچس *bo khûtsus*; 3 sg. m. کهوچ *khûts*^{u} (کهوچ *khûts*); 3 pl. m. کهوچ *khûts*^{i}.

(63) کهین *kheun*, to eat; with کهونت *khûñt*^{u}, to be vexed; with گاسہ *gâsạ*, grass, to graze; aor. 3 sg. m. کهیو *khyav*,[47] by him or them; کهیوك *khyôk*, by them: 3 sg. f. کهین *kheyan*, by him.

(64) کهیاون *khyávun*, to cause to eat; with کهونت *khûñt*^{u}, to vex any one; aor. 2 sg. masc. کهیووك *khyôvuk*, thou by us.

(65) گندن *gandun*, to bind; aor. 3 sg. f. گندن *gandạn*, by him.

(66) لاگن *lágun*, to plough, to thrust against, to put against; with اتهہ *athạ*, a hand, to apply the hand, handle, touch; with نالہ *náli*, the bosom and neck, to put on, wear (clothes); with مزورہ *mazûri*, to labour, to hire, employ on hire; aor. 3 sg. m. لوگ (تمو) تم *tạmi* (*timav*) *lôg*^{u} (لوگ *lôg*), by him, by them; لوگن *lôgun*, by him to her; لوگی *lôguy*, by him to thee: 1 pl. m. (اس) لاگ *ạs*^{i} *lôg*^{i}, we were hired.

46 [The original has کر *kor* throughout the pl. which is an evident slip.]

47 [*The Kaśmîra-śabdâmṛita* gives کهیوو *khy°v* (*k'hyaův*).]

(67) لاین *lâyun*, to strike (with dative); with پیڈھ *peṭh*, to lean upon; with تھاپر *thâpar*, to give a blow; aor. 3 sg. m. لوین *lôyun*, by him; لویی *lôyuy*, by him to thee, لویھس *lôyuhas*, by them to him; لویك *lôyuk*, by them; 3 pl. m. لایھس *lôyihas*, by them to him.

(68) لبن *labun*, to take, receive; to find; aor. 3 sg. m. لبت *lobut*, by thee; تم لب *tami lob*, by him; لبوہ *lobwa* by you; 3 sg. f. لبك *labak*, by them.

(69) لدن *ladun*, to build; to load; to fill up; with قید *qaid*, to put in prison; with صلیبه *ṣalibi*, to crucify; aor. 3 sg. m. تم لد *tami lod*, by him; لدن *lodun*, by him.

(70) لگن *lagun*, to be, become; to appear, arise; to begin (with infinitive feminine); to be fit; to be bound (dat.); with قید *qaid*, to be imprisoned; with بچھه *bochhi*, hunger, to be hungry (dative of subject); with کھونت *khûntu*, to be vexed; aor. 3 sg. m. لگ *logu* (لگ *log*); لگس *logus*, to him; 3 sg. f. لج *laj*: لجس *lajas*, to him; 3 pl. m. لگ *lagi*; 3 pl. f. لجه *laje*.

(71) مارن *mârun*, to slay (causal of مرن *marun*, to die); aor. 3 sg. m. سه موروٗن *su môrwa-n*, he, by you; مورك *môruk*, by them; 3 pl. m. مآرك *môrik*, by them.

(72) مارناون *mâranâvun* (double-causal of the preceding), to get slain; aor. 3 pl. m. مارناٰون *mâranôvin*, by him.

(73) مانن *mânun*, to accept, approve, esteem; to consider, hold; to comply with; with حکم *hukum*, to obey; believe in; to hearken to anyone; aor. 3 pl. (impersonal) مونس *mônus*, to him.

(74) مچرن *mutsarun*, to open; to unloose, loosen; aor. 3 sg. f. [causal] مچرآو *mutsarôv*, by him.

(75) مرن *marun*, to die; aor. 3 sg. m. مود *mûdu* (مود *mûd*); 3 sg. fem. مي *moye*; 3 pl. m. مود *mûdi*.

[Wade gives, aor. 3 sg. مد *mud* (should be مود *mûd*); plup. II., 3 sg. m. مریو و *maryôv* (should be میوو *moyôv*); perfect part. pass. مودمت *mûdmut* (should be مود مت *mûdmut*).]

(76) مکلن *mokalun*, to be or become free; plup. II., 3 sg. m. مکلیوو *mokalyôv*.

(77) مکلاون *mokalâvun* (causal of the preceding), to set free, help, rescue; to finish, conclude (with part. absol.); with نش *nish*, to secure (against any-one); aor. 3 pl. f. تم مکلاوہ *tami mokalâwe*.

(78) مَنگُن *mangun*, to ask (acc. of thing, dat. of pers.); aor. 3 sg. m. مُنگُن *mongun*, by him; 3 sg. f. مَنجَن *manjan*, تَمِ مَنج *tami manj*, by him.

(79) مِلاوُن *milavun*, to add, to mix; to meet; to become one with anyone (سیت *sūt*, with); aor. 3 sg. f. مِلوَن *milavan*, by him.

(80) میلُن *mêlun*, to meet, obtain; to go to meet (dat.); with نَہ *na*, to have lost, to loose; with سیت *sūt*, to meet; to compare oneself; to reconcile; میلِت رُوزُن *mīlit rôzun*, to add to anything; aor. [3 sg. m. میول *myūl*] 3 sg. f. میج *mīj*; 3 pl. m. میلِ *mīli*.

(81) نَچُن *natsun*, to dance; aor. 3 sg. (impersonal) نُچ *nols*; 2 pl. m. نَچِوہ *natsiwa*.

(82) نیاوُن *nyâvun* (causal of نِیُن *niun*), to cause to take; aor. 1 sg. m. (بو) نیوُوس تُہِ *tohi nyôv-as* (*bo*), I—by you.

(83) نیرُن *nêrun*, to go out, to come out (also used with نیبَر *nebar*); with inf. fem. of purpose; aor. 2 sg. m. دراک *drâk*; 3 sg. m. دراو *drâv*; 3 sg. f. درایہ *drâye*; 3 pl. m. درآی *drôyi*; 3 pl. f. درایہ *drâye*; with suff. س *s*; دراس *drâs* (where we should expect درایس *drâye-s*).

(84) نِیُن *niun*, to take, bring, carry; with دُور *dôr*, to run; کَرُن نِیُن دِیُن *karun niun diun*, to traffic; with پَنُن میراث *panun mirâs*, to inherit; with چُورِہ *tsûri*, to steal: with لُوٹہ *lûṭa*, to rob; with تُلِت *tulit*, to carry off; with یکطرف *yaktaraf*, to take to oneself, to take to one side; with پانس سیت *pânas sūt*, to take with oneself; aor. 2 sg. m. نیوک *nyûk*,[48] by us; 3 sg. m. تَمِ نِو *tami niv* [*nyuv*], by him; نیُوک *nyûk*, by them; 3 sg. f. نیِہ *niya*, by him (her, them); 3 pl. m. تَمِ نین *tami nîn*, by him.

(85) واتُن *wâtun*, to arrive, enter (with نِش *nish*, into), to reach (a place), to attain to one's object; to completely finish; with گَرَہ *gara*, to come home; with اپُور *apôr*, to carry across: aor. 3 sg. m. ووت *wôt*; 3 pl. m. وآت *wôti*.

(86) وایُن *wâyun*, to blow, play (a musical instrument), to make to go; with شمشیر *shamshêr*, to draw a sword; with نَیِہ *nayi*, to play the flute; aor. 3 sg. (impersonal) اَسہ وای *asi wâyu*,[49] by us.

[48] [Wade has *niuk*, etc. For *niv* the *Kaśmīra-śabdâmṛita* gives نیوو *nyûv*.]
[49] [Elmslie has, as we should expect, *wôyu*. *Wâyu* is certainly wrong.]

(87) وُتھُن *wothun*, to rise up, stand up; to ascend; to disappear (of an illness), also with تھٕد *thod;* aor. 3 sg. m. وُتھُ *wothu* (وُتھ *woth*); 3 sg. f. وُچھ *wotsh;* 3 pl. m. وُتھ *wothi;* 3 pl. f. وُچھٕ *wotsha.*

(88) وَتھَراوُن *watharâvun* (causal of وَتھَرُن *watharun*), to spread out; aor. 3 sg. f. تِمو وَتھَراو *timau watharôv*, by them: 3 pl. f. وَتھَراوِک *watharâvek*, by them.

(89) وُچھُن *wuchhun*, to see; with وَتھ *wath*, to expect, wait for (some one); with کُن *kun*, to look towards (some body); aor. 2 sg. masc. وُچھُک *wuchhuk*, by us; 3 sg. m. وُچھُ *wuchhu* (وُچھ *wuchh*), تَمِ *tami*, تِمو *timau*, اَسِ *asi*, by him, by them, by us; وُچھُن *wuchhun*, by him; 3 sg. f. وُچھ *wuchh;* 3 pl. m. وُچھِ *wuchhi* (تَمِ *tami*, by him); وُچھِن *wuchhin*, by him; وُچھِک *wuchhik*, by them; 3 pl. f. تِمو وُچھٕ *timav wuchhe*, by them.

(90) وَدُن *wadun*, to weep; aor. 3 sg. imperson. وُدُن *wodun*, by him.

(91) وُزَناوُن *wuzanâvun*, to awaken (causal وُزُن *wuzun*, to be awake); aor. 3 sg. m. وُزَنوُوک *wuzanôvuk*, by him.

(92) وَلُن *walun*, to wrap up, cover, to wrap oneself up in something (acc.); aor. 3 sg. f. وَجَن *wajan*, by him.

(93) وَنُن *wanun*, to speak, say; to name; aor. 3 sg. unpers., تَمِ وَن *tami won*, by him, (her), them, وُنُن *wonun*, by him; تَمِ وُنُک *tami wonuk*, by him to them; وُنُک *wonuk*, by them; وُنُنَس *wonunas*, by him to him; تَمِ وُنُس *tami wonus*, by him to him; تِمو وُنُس *timau wonus*, by them to him. وُنُمَوَ *wonumawa*, by me to you; وُنُنَک *wonunak*, by him to them; 3 sg. f. تَمِ وَن *tami wañ;* 3 pl. f. تَمِ وَنٕ *tami wane*, by him.

(94) وَوُن *wawun*, to sow; aor. 3 sg. m. تَمِ وو *tami wow;* impersonal ووُم *wowum*, by me, ووُت *wowut*, by thee; 3 sg. f. وَوَن *wawan*, by him.

(95) هاوُن *hâwun*, to show; with دروی *drôy*, to swear; aor. 3 pl. m. هاوِن *hôvin*, by him, تَمِ هاوِ *tami hôvi*, by him; 3 pl. f. اَسِ هاوٕ *asi hâve*, by us.

(96) ہِچھِناوُن *hechhinâvun* (causal of ہِچھُن *hechhun*, to learn), to teach; aor. 3 sg. (impers.) تِمو ہِچھِناو *timav hechhinâv*,[50] by them; 3 pl. m. ہِچھِناوِوَ *hechhinôviva*, by him, to you; ہِچھِناوِن *hechhinôvin*, by him.

[50] [Should be ہِچھِنوو *hechhinôv*.]

(97) هکُن *hekun*, to be able (complement in participle absolute); aor. 3 sg. f. هیچ *hech*, by him.

(98) هۆکھُن *hokhun*, to become dry; aor. 3 sg. m. هۆکھ *hokh*.

(99) هیُن *heun*, to take; (with inf.) to begin,[51] with مولِ *moli*, to buy; with میُٹھ *myuthu*, to kiss; هنِہ آسُن *hini ásun*, to be guilty; with سیُت *sút*, to take with one; with حساب *hisáb*, to settle accounts with anyone; with خبر *khabar*, to obtain news about a thing, to inform oneself; aor. 3 sg. impers. تمِ تِمو هیُت *tami timav hyut*, by him (her), them; هیُتُن *hyutun* by him (her); هیُتُک *hyutuk*, by them; هیُتُنس *hyutunas*, by him to him; 3 sg. f. تمِ هیچ *tami hets*, by him; هیچَن *hetsan*, by him; هیچَک *hetsak*, by them; هیچوم *hetswam*, by you to me; هیچَے *hetsay*, by us to thee; 3 pl. m. هیتِن *hetin*, by him.

(100) یژھُن *yatshun*, to wish (complement in infin.); aor. 3 m. تمِ یۆژھ *tami yotshu*, by him (her); یۆژھُن *yotshun*, by him (her); تِمو یۆژھ *timau yotsh*, by them; یۆژھُوہ *yotshuwa*, by you.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

MR. SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT.

MANY readers of this Journal will hear with great regret of the recent death, prematurely, from fever, of **Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit**, of the Bombay Educational Department, who was for some years a contributor to this Journal and also did other valuable work.

Mr. Dikshit's speciality was mathematics and astromony; and he came to the front at just the time when his knowledge could prove most useful. I was fortunate enough to make his acquaintance at the end of 1886, when I was engaged in the preparation of my volume of *Gupta Inscriptions*. He saw one or other of my preliminary notes, and introduced himself to me because he was interested in the subject and found himself able to settle exactly and finally the vexed question of certain dates in the Gupta era. And, at my request, he proceeded to write two articles, which were first published in this Journal and were also given as Appendices II. and III. to my volume. The first of them (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI., 1887, p. 113) explained the process by which, with Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables, we may calculate correctly the week-day and the full Christian date for any given Hindû *tithi* or lunar day. The second of them (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII., 1888, pp 1, 312) dealt with the elucidation of the system of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter. In connection with the latter subject, he further made all the calculations — (some of them, I believe, extremely intricate and laborious) — for determining the years of the cycle that are cited in some of the Early Gupta records. And by his invaluable assistance he thus made complete the work that I then had in hand. Without his help, I must have left the long-disputed question of the

66 *E. g.*, کلِ هیُت وُچھُن *kali hyut wuchhun*, by the blind man was it begun to see; *i. e.*, he straightway saw; کلِ هِچہ کتھہ کرنِ *kali hitsa katha karañe*, by the dumb man it was begun to speak; *i. e.*, he straightway spoke. [The translator has made some corrections above. The Past Part. masc. of this verb is usually transliterated *hyut*, but *hyot* more nearly represents the sound.]

epoch of the Gupta era still open, within the limits of one year before and after the true date, to doubt and argument. With it, I was able to present my case in a complete and satisfactory form, and to prove for the first time what had often been maintained but had never been proved before, *viz.* that the Early Gupta kings rose to power, not in the first or second century A. D., but in the fourth century, and that, the given unqualified years being applied as current years, the exact epoch of the era used by them was A. D. 319-20 and the first current year of the era was A. D. 320-21.

As regards the matter dealt with in the first of Mr Dikshit's papers, — it was not altogether a new one. To mention the most well-known names, — Warren (1825), Prinsep (1834), Kero Lakshman Chhatre (1860), Cowasjee Patell (1866), and Cunningham (1883), had worked at it.[1] But the processes adopted by Prinsep, Cowasjee Patell, and Cunningham, gave results which were only approximate, — which might be correct or might not, — and were therefore of no real use for historical purposes requiring absolute and unquestionable accuracy. Warren's Tables could be made to yield accurate results: but the process was cumbrous; and the book was not free from mistakes which might easily vitiate any particular calculation. And Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables, which give the required accurate results by an easy process, are in the Marâthî language, and had not attracted European attention. It is curious that the last-mentioned work should have remained unknown to, or at any rate unused by, Cowasjee Patell, who had, in it, the means at hand for producing, in at least one particular branch of his subject, much better work than his predecessors had accomplished and than he himself turned out. But so it was. And it is to Mr. Dikshit that we are indebted for bringing it to notice, and for practically placing in our hands, for the first time, the means of dealing properly with the question that arises most frequently in the verification of the dates of ancient Hindû records. Mr. Dikshit, indeed, was not absolutely the first in the field; for, Dr. Schram, of Vienna, published his *Hilfstafeln für Chronologie* in 1883, and dealt, among other details, with that particular one. Also, Prof. Jacobi, of Kiel and Bonn, who began to publish soon after Mr. Dikshit, had evidently taken the matter up at an appreciably earlier time, and had begun to work at it before an impetus to that line of inquiry was given by Mr. Dikshit. But to Mr. Dikshit belongs the credit of first bringing the matter to the notice of English readers, and of making the real start in a most interesting and important line of study, absolutely necessary to all who wish to deal properly with the ancient records of India. And the value of the subject, and of the impetus to the inquiry into it that was given by Mr. Dikshit, may be estimated from the time and trouble that have been devoted to the elucidation of it by writers who have followed him in order of publication. Since the time when he began to write, we have become indebted to Dr. Jacobi for "Methods and Tables for verifying Hindû Dates, Tithis, Eclipses, Nakshatras, etc." (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII., 1888, p, 145); to Prof Kielhorn, for "the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII., 1889, pp. 193, 380), as well as for special articles on some of the various Hindû eras; to Dr. Schram for "Tables for the Approximate Conversion of Hindû Dates" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII., 1889, p. 290), in which he has placed before English readers those of his Tables which treat of the Hindû luni-solar year; to Dr. Jacobi, again, for "the Computation of Hindû Dates in Inscriptions, etc." (*Ep. Ind.* Vol I, 1892, p. 402), and for "Tables for calculating Hindû Dates in True Local Time" (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, 1894, p. 487); and to Prof Kielhorn, again, for a paper illustrating, with certain improvements, the use of "Warren's Rules for finding Jupiter's Place" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV., 1896, p 233).

As well as the two papers already referred to, Mr. Dikshit contributed to this Journal "a Table for the Abdapa, Tithi Śuddhi, and Tithi-Kêndra" (Vol. XVII., 1888, p. 268), which presented in a more convenient form, with some improvements by himself, the primary quantities that have to be taken in working with Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables; articles on "the Original Sûrya-Siddhânta" (Vol. XIX., 1890, p. 45), and on "the Rômaka Siddhântas" (*ibid.* p. 133), and some notes in connection with "the Pañchasiddhântikâ" (*ibid.* p. 439); an "Examination of some Errors in Warren's Kalasankalita" (Vol. XX., 1891, p. 35); a note on "the Date of Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jaṭâvarman" (Vol. XXII., 1893, p. 219); and a note on "the Age of the Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa" (Vol. XXIV., 1895, p. 245). These writings represent great application and hard work, as well as much learning. And still more clearly have those qualities been displayed by

[1] Prinsep (*Useful Tables,* 1858, p. 183) speaks of Tables by Jervis and Bentley, which would give more accurate results than his own Tables; but I have not been able to see them. There are, also, *L'Art de Vérifier le Dates* (a work of very old standing), and some book by M. Largeteau; these, again, I have not seen.

Mr. Dikshit's share in a work produced jointly by himself and Mr. Sewell, *viz.* the "Indian Calendar," with an Appendix by Dr. Schram on Eclipses of the Sun in India, published in 1896, which provides the materials for verifying the most customary details of all Hindû and Muhammadân dates from A. D. 300 onwards. The completion of this book realised an ambition which Mr Dikshit had entertained before the time when he began to co-operate with Mr. Sewell. The book is open, of course, to criticism and improvement in respect of various details, and has been criticised in respect of some of them. But it is a most useful and up-to-date work It has been everywhere very favourably received. And there is only one serious fault in it, fortunately easily capable of correction in a second edition, by omission; namely, that, in addition to providing for correct and unquestionable results, it also includes, and by placing them before the exact method even gives prominence to, some special means of making those approximate calculations of Hindû dates which, if accepted as yielding results, are so untrustworthy and useless, — with the dangerous advice that, if a result obtained by an approximate process is not in exact accordance with the given details of the date, and if those details include the week-day, then the result may be altered to suit the given details. These special means of making approximate calculations are two-fold: one is a system that was introduced into a previous work by Mr. W. S. Krishnasvami Naidu; the other is a method invented by Mr. T. Lakshmiah Naidu. Now, we are told in the very first words of the Preface that "this Volume is designed for the use, not only of those engaged in the decypherment of Indian inscriptions and the compilation of Indian history, but also of Judicial Courts and Government Offices in India." Approximate calculations must often be made, as a preliminary step, by the historian who is trying for exact results, — especially in cases in which there is a doubt as to the exact year in which the correct result is to be looked for. But it will very soon be found that the approximate calculations in such cases can be made, — either by using other methods, or by writing down from the "Indian Calendar" the first few quantities that are to be used for exact calculations, or even more readily still by a brief mental process, — much more easily and quickly than by either of the special means which Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit have put forward for them; and, after even the shortest practice, no one who has an exact result in view will ever take the trouble to use, for his preliminary approximate calculations, the means thus specially provided. For any such work, therefore, those means are not needed at all. And, in the other direction, it is a really dangerous matter that Indian Judges and Civil Officers should have the temptation to use such processes and accept such untrustworthy results. It will not be often that parties before a Court can engage Counsel competent to lay such questions properly before the Court. And it may happen, at any time, that, by means of these approximate processes, the agency of a Court of Justice may be used to send an innocent man to rigorous imprisonment for a forgery or to hang him for a murder of which he is guiltless, or to enable some miscreant to secure, by a forged will or other document, property to which he has no just claim I find it difficult to understand how Mr. Dikshit, with his habits of careful and painstaking accuracy, came to lend the authority of his name for such a use of processes of this nature.

In addition to the work that he did on his own account for publication under his own name, Mr. Dikshit was always ready, and was ever willing to find time, to examine a difficult date for anyone else, to elucidate any matter of doubt in his special line of work, and to render any other assistance that lay in his power. And great and varied was the help that I myself received from him, before the time when I became able to use the Tables freely and make calculations for myself. It was a real pleasure to invoke his aid; because he always had in view, not the finding of fault with work done by others from a desire to write for the exaltation of himself, but a genuine wish to remove difficulties and impart knowledge During the last few years of my service in India, and since then, I was not so much in communication with him as previously; partly because higher official position and increased work and responsibilities prevented me from engaging much in antiquarian researches beyond completing a contribution that I had promised for the "Bombay Gazetteer," and partly because, since my return to England, I have not until lately been engaged in matters in which he could help. But certain questions have accumulated from time to time in connection with topics dealt with in the "Indian Calendar" and with other matters, in respect of which I had the intention of consulting him eventually. And it was, therefore, with more than ordinary sorrow that I received the unexpected news of his death. The loss of him will be greatly felt. It is a real misfortune that he should have passed away without revising his work in the "Indian Calendar." And it will, I fear, be very difficult to find anyone to take his place, to complete his published work in those details in which it is capable of

expansion or improvement, and to give from the Native point of view the practical assistance that even the best European scholar must need more or less in the special subjects with which he was so well acquainted.

J. F. FLEET.

London, 6th July, 1898.

SOME REMARKS ON THE SVASTIKA.

THE svastika is called by the Jains sâthis, who give it the first place among the eight chief auspicious marks of their faith. It would be well to repeat here, in view of what follows, the Jain[1] version of this symbol as given by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, who was told by a learned *yati* that the Jains believe it to be the figure of 'Siddha'. They believe that, according to a man's *karma,* he is subject to one of the following four conditions in the next life, — he either becomes a god or *dêva,* or goes to hell (*narka*), or is born again as a man, or is born as a lower animal. But a Siddha in his next life attains to *nirvâṇa* and is therefore beyond the pale of these four conditions. "The *svastika* represents such a Siddha in the following way. The point or *bindu* in the centre from which the four paths branch out is *jiva* or life, and the four paths symbolise the four conditions of life. But as a Siddha is free from all these, the end of each line is turned to show that the four states are closed for him."

The Buddhist doctrines mostly resemble those of the Jains, and it is just possible that the former might have held the *svastika* in the same light as the latter. In the Nasik inscription No. 10 of Ushavadâta, the symbol is placed immediately after the word '*siddham,*' a juxtaposition which corroborates the above Jain interpretation. We find the *svastika* either at the the beginning or end or at both ends of an inscription and it might mean *svasti* or *siddham.*

The Hindus revere this mark as auspicious and draw it on many religious occasions. At the Navarâtra (*i. e.,* the first ten days of the month of Aśvin) it is drawn on the wall behind the family gods. It is also drawn on walls with numerous figures by women at the Gaurî festivals, when the image of Gaurî is placed on a pedestal and decorated with flowers, pictures and paintings. At marriages and thread placing ceremonies it is drawn on clothes, pots and fruit. It is also marked out on the wall where the marriage or *upanâyana* time is written and measured with water by means of a pot called *ghaṭkapâtra.* It appears again on the feet of the bride and bridegroom. At the first tonsure or *châul* of boys it is drawn with *kunkam* on their shaven heads. It is drawn on the head of a boy at his thread placing (*upanâyana*) ceremony. It is drawn on the right thigh of a bridegroom in one of the marriage ceremonies. During the *châtur mâsya, i. e.,* four months of a year, some women vow to draw thirteen *svastikas* daily, and at the end of the term give *dakshinâ* (alms) to Brâhmaṇs. The *svastika* is also drawn on horoscopes, purses, account books and treasury boxes by the Hindus and Jains alike. It is tatooed by women on the arms. In the morning *svastikas* are drawn in great many varieties by women in the open yard opposite a door, after the ground is sprinkled with cow-dung and water. On the Sumukurta, *i. e.,* the day fixed for a marriage ceremony, the people of Gujarât and Kachh describe on the floor a red circle with a *svastika* in it, which is called *ghauṇrî-svastika.* This symbol is also drawn on ground, smeared with cow-dung, on which the family god Kuldêvata is placed.

Y. S. VAVIKAR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BAO.

HERE is an additional quotation regarding this curious word, noted *ante,* Vol. XXII. p. 165.

1782. — "Par une coutume barbare, lorsqu'on bâtit une Pagode, les premières personnes qui passent sont jettées dans les fondemens. Cette horrible cérémonie est cependant assez ordinaire, parce que ces peuples consacrent presque toutes leurs richesses à la construction de pareils edifices, ce qui est parmi eux une œuvre très-méritoire, de même que fonder des **Baos,** ou de contribuer aux funérailles de leurs Talapoins, qu'ils brûles avec pompe." — Sonnerat, *Voyage,* Vol. II. p. 47.

In a footnote to the same page Sonnerat says, by way of explaining *bao,* that it is "espece de couvent."

I may add that the earlier part of the paragraph above quoted is, as far as I know, a libel, though a very old idea.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] The Hâthigumpâ Inscriptions, Udayagiri Caves, p. 7.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 178.)

D.—Kachin-Nâga Group.

MY sources of information for the **Kachin Language** are: —

(1) *Grammar of the Kachin Language*, Hanson, 1896.

(2) *Handbook of the Kachin or Chingpaw Language*, Hertz, 1895, official publication.

(3) *Kachin Vocabulary*, Symington, 1892.

(4) *Burma Census Report*, Eales,[53] 1891.

(5) *Outline Grammar of the Singpho Language*, Needham, 1889 : official publication, Assam.

(6) A Kachin peasant from the hills of the Myitkyinà District.

Kachin[54] is the Burmese appellation for a number of more or less closely connected tribes, inhabiting the hills within and without the Chinese (Yünnan) and Assamese borders of Upper Burma, and speaking a difficult, unwritten language in a bewildering variety of dialects. **The Assamese appellation is Singpho,** based on their own name for themselves, which is also variously represented as Chingpaw, Chinghpaw, Jinghpaw, and Singpaw[55] (Chingp'ŏ), and meaning roughly a Highlander.

By common assent **the language of the Kachin Tribes is connected generally with that of the Nâga Tribes,** and is now usually known as belonging to **the Kachin-Nâga Group.**

The books available to me on Kachin itself are slight, but they are all written in a systematic, capable manner. It seems, moreover, that a definite system of representing the language on paper has been officially arrived at, but as it would only cause confusion to use it in these pages, I have felt myself to be at liberty to represent the language on the lines I have followed in representing the Far-Eastern Languages generally, instead of adopting bodily the system of the Burma Government.

In this way I would specially treat only the following points in writing Kachin, ignoring the tones for the present purpose. The frequently used, but scarcely heard, inherent vowel, — like that represented in Talaing by the use of sonant syllables —, will be written ' : *e. g.*, *l'kŏng*, two; *m'sum*, three. The sound nearly approaching that of *ö* in German, or *cur* in English, will be written *ö*. There is a distinct initial *pf*, as in German, which will be so written, and *kh* will represent the harsh surd guttural heard in the Arabic خ. *K*, *t*, *p*, when initial are sounded as *gk*, *dt*, *bp*, but this habit need not be represented on paper, as it merely means that the Kachins have an explosive way of talking, just as some "slight" stammerers have in speaking the European languages.

In devising words to represent the only coined currency they know, the Kachins have followed the plan so systematically adopted by the minor peoples inhabiting Burma and so often explained in these pages. Up till quite lately they were aware only of British rupees and their silver parts. Pice and copper money they seem hardly to have grasped as yet, and the odd annas in the rupee still seem to be a great puzzle to them. All these points are brought out clearly in the Kachin money table, so far as I have been able to make head or tail of it. The Myitkyinà Kachin, though quite positive as to his words, differs so much from the writers of the books, who by the way fairly agree together, that I will give the book words and his words separately.

[53] Appx. A contains an excellent monograph by Mr. E. C. S. George on the Kachins of the Bhamo District.

[54] Kakhyin and Kakhyeng in many books of a generation back.

[55] Mr. Hanson, *Kachin Grammar*, p. 6, remarks on the uncertainty of pronunciation in the dialects.

Book Money Table of the Kachins (Silver).

Book.[56]	English.	Kachin.	Sense of the Kachin.
Han. 95	1 anna	pê-mî	1 pê[57]
Han. 95, S. 21 ..	2 annas	mû-mî	1 mû[57]
" " ..	4 "	t'î-mî, tî-mî... ..	1 t'î, 1 tî[59]
S. 21	6 "	mû-m'sum, tî-mû ..	3 mû, tî and mû
"	8 "	tî-l'kòng	2 tî
"	10 "	tî-l'kòng-mû ..	2 tî and mû
"	12 "	tî-m'sum	3 tî
S. 21, Han. 95, Her. 42	1 rupee	làp-mî	1 piece[59]
Han. 95...	" "	gyàp-mî	1 piece[60]
Her. 42	" "	diṅgâ[61]	coin (*taṅkâ*)
S. 14, 16	" "	kumprò	silver piece
S. 21...	2½ rupees	hòng-mî	1 hòng[62]
Han. 95	" "	ròng-mî	1 ròng
"	10 "	k'àn-mî	1 k'àn[63]
"	50 "	gak'àn	a k'àn of halves (*ga*)[64]
"	75 "	pàn-mî	1 pàn[65]
Han. 95, S. 95, Her. 42, 47	100 "	joi-mî, soi-mî ...	1 viss[66]

Book Money Table of the Kachins (Copper).

Book.	English.	Kachin.	Sense of the Kachin.
Han. 95	1 pie	kà-mî	1 kà[67]
"	1 pice	p'aisâṅ	pice
S. 21	4 "	p'aisàṅ-làp-m'lî ...	pice pieces 4[68]

[56] Han. = Hanson: S. = Symington: Her. = Hertz.

[57] Burmese and Shân.

[58] Shân *t'ê, tê*; *ante*, p. 11, and *Shân Dict.*, p. 270.

[59] Shân *lup, luk*; *ante*, p. 9, and *Shân Dict.*, p. 477.

[60] Shân. Symington, p. 89, has *jap-mi* = 1 tickal.

[61] Burmese.

[62] Shân, *haung*; *ante*, p. 15, and *Shân Dict.*, p. 252.

[63] *Shân*; *ante*, p. 15, and *Shân Dict.*, p. 71.

[64] Practically, half a viss.

[65] Explained as "a *gak'àn*, and 10 *ròngs*." It is the Shân *pàn* for Rs. 80: *ante*, p. 15, and *Shân Dict.*, p. 308.

[66] Shân, *soi*.

[67] Means *Abrus* seed: see below in the Myitkyinâ Kachin's terms.

[68] Note that the Kachins place their numeral coefficients like the Chinese, and not like the Burmans and Shâns; *i.e.*, before and not after the numeral.

The Myitkyinà Kachin's Money Table.

English.	Kachin.	Sense of the Kachin.
1 anna	nî-sàp[69]	2 pieces[70] (? half-annas)
2 annas	mûsî[70]	a mû
3 „	kyî-sum-kyàp	copper 3 pieces[71]
4 „	tîsî[72]	a tî
5 „	ngôlum	5 lum[73]
6 „	tê-n'mî-pu-n'm'ngâ[74]... ...	1 tî and ? 5
8 „	tî-l'kông-mû	2 tî and mû[75]
10 „	tî-l'kông-mô	2 tî and mû
12 „	tî-m'sum	3 tî
14 „	tì-m'sum-mû	3 tî and mû
1 rupee	kyàp-mî	1 piece
$1\frac{1}{4}$ „ [76]	ngünchàm[77]	silver ?
$1\frac{1}{2}$ „ [76]	làp-mî-tî-l'kòng	1 rupee and 2 tî
$1\frac{3}{4}$ „ [76]	làp-mî-tî-m'sum	1 rupee and 3 tî

From the above tables and information the following points become clear. The Kachins really divide their rupee by the silver pieces (2 and 4 annas), which they find current, on the principle of the surrounding system of Troy weight, being still hazy and uncertain as to the use of the newly introduced copper money, and practically unable to express or comprehend the intermediate British divisions of the rupee into annas, which last denomination is a money of account. Thus :—

2	pê	are	1 mû
2	mû	„	1 tî
4	tî	„	1 kyàp or làp
$2\frac{1}{2}$	làp	„	1 hòng or ròng
4	ròng	„	1 k'àn
5	k'àn	„	1 gak'àn
2	gak'àn	„	1 joi

As regards Kachin bullion weights, my information is chiefly gathered from Mr. Hanson (p. 95) and Mr. Symington (p. 20).

69 For *kyàp*. Thus, *chyàp*, *chàp*, *sàp* = *jàp*, *gyàp* = *kyàp*.

70 Burmese *mûzî* : *s'î* = *zî*, a seed.

71 *Kyî* = Bur., copper : *sum*, Kachin, three : *kyàp*, Shân, piece.

72 Burmese *s'i*, *zî*.

73 *Lum* ; see Kachin Troy Table, either for *lem* or *dum*.

74 It will be seen that this man is consistently confused as to the "odd annas" in a rupee, and he collapsed altogether when asked to go beyond "six annas."

75 This is clearly a wrong form : *tî-l'kòng* being sufficient.

76 He gave these words on being shown five, six and seven four-anna pieces.

77 Shân, silver.

Kachin Troy Weights.

M'lem = *Abrus* seed. Lem-mî = 1 lem.

2	lem	are	1 dum
2	dum	,,	1 pê
2	pê	,,	1 mû

Kachin Avoirdupois Weights.

gak'àn = half a viss
joi[78]-mi = 1 viss

The viss, **joi**, is the weight that turns the scale, as can be seen in the phrase, *joi cheng e*,[79] "it balances, it weighs:" *cheng*, a weight, being borrowed from Burmese-Shân, while *joi* is used for the scales as well as for the standard weight, a viss.

The Myitkyinà Kachin recognised the *Abrus* seed as **kàcheng**, *i. e.*, *kà*-weight, which seems to indicate that the true meaning of the term *kà-mî*, given by Mr. Hanson for "one pie," is "one *Abrus* seed." But he had, nevertheless, no true idea of Troy weight, though he seemed to show some glimmering of it in his term for pice, *kyî-cheng-chyàp* (or *kyàp*), copper-weight-piece.

I have already remarked that the Kachin books available are slight, and there is not much to be obtained from them as to **the metals**, while the Myitkyinà Kachin differed greatly from them in his terminology.

Thus: — **silver** is in the books *kump'rò, kumprò, gump'rò*.[80] According to the Myitkyinà Kachin it is *kamp'rông*. **Gold** is in the books *jà, ajà*, and gold-dust is *jàmun, jàyun*. **Brass** and **copper** are in the books *m'grî*, but the Myitkyinà Kachin gives them as *ky'nûi* and *kyîneh* respectively. **Iron** in the books is *p'rî, prî*,[81] but the Myitkyinà Kachin called it *samt'kòng*, a term which he also used for **tin**, while in the books tin is *p'rî p'rò*, *i. e.*, white iron. In the books **lead** is *chû, achû, m'jû, chûi*, and **zinc** is *p'rî-p'rò*, but according to the Myitkyinà Kachin this last is *samtòtum*.

I will now proceed to **compare the Singphô terms for currency and the metals**, so far as I am able, with those of the Kachins, though there is some difficulty as to this, as Mr. Needham in his works does not pay much attention to money or barter, and what information he gives has to be extracted piecemeal from his *Grammars*.

The ordinary Singphô word for **money** is as usual that for **silver**,[82] *kump'rông*, which will be at once recognised; but at p. 13 is to be found *dalá*[83] *aimá*, one **rupee**. Here we have apparently reference to a numeral coefficient *dâr* for money in Kuki-Lushai, seen again seemingly in Chin (Lai) *dâr*, brass, Kachârî (Bòṛò) *darbî*, gold, and in Ao-Nâga *tàribi*, silver. The Miri numeral coefficient for rupee is *bâr*.

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[78] Also *choi*, Hertz, p. 47.

[79] Symington, pp. 96, 80.

[80] *P'rò* means white and undoubtedly *kump'rò* means "white *kum*:" *kum* being, I take it, a root for "metal" or for "the metal *par excellence*." For there is in the "Nâga" Languages a persistent set of roots, *kông, râng, yông*, with the sense of "*the* metal," meaning sometimes gold, sometimes silver, sometimes iron, and sometimes several metals indifferently. *E. g.*, Kachin, *kump'rò, kamp'rông*; Singpho, *kump'rông*; Miri, *mûrkông, kôngê*; silver: — Kachin, *samt'kòng* (also iron); Maṇipûrî, *kôngau*; tin: —

Lhota, *râng, ôrâng, râmpiàk*; Hill Tipperâ (Lushai), *râng*; Empeo, *rângkâng, gông, kâng*; Angami, *rakâ*; silver: — Kûki-Lûshai, *rângmâjâk*; Hill Tipperâ, *rângchâr*; gold: — Ao, *rângin*; lead: — Ao, *meràng* (also *in*) iron: —

Ao, *yongmen*; brass: — Ao, *yongmenin*; copper: — Lhota, *yôngchâk*; brass, copper, tin, iron.

[81] *L'kî* was also given me by one man, and may be dialectic.

[82] Needham, pp. 18, 78, 103, 111.

[83] See also Needham, p. 107.

The words for **the metals**[84] generally in Kachin and Singphô seem to be identical, thus:[85] —

	Silver.	Gold.	Brass.	Iron.
Kachin ...	kump'rò, kamp'rông ...	jà	m'grî	p'rî
Singphô ...	kump'rông	jâ	magî	m'p'rî

I notice also that the word for **weight** in Singphô is *chen* (p. 117), and that the Kachin word *gà-àn*, (*gà*) **half**, has its counterpart in the Singphô *n'kau* or *kau-mâ* (one-half).[86] But it is in the numerals that the **identity of Kachin and Singphô** comes out, so far as the present enquiry is concerned.

Comparative Table of Kachin and Singphô Numerals.

English.	Kachin.	Singpho.
1	l'ngai, ngai	ai
suffixed	mî, mà	mâ
2	l'kòng, l'kwang	n'k'ông
suffixed	nî	....
3	m'sum, m'sôm	masûm
4	m'lî	malî
5	m'ngâ	mangâ
6	krû, krup, kruk	k'rû
7	s'nit	sinit
8	m'tsàt, m'sàt	masat
9	j'k'û, s'k'û, ch'kû, ch'kon ...	chakû
10	shî,[87] sî	sî, tsî, shî
11	shîl'ngai, sel'ngai	sî-ai
20	k'un	k'un
21	k'unl'ngai	k'un-ai
30	sumshî, sômsî	dumsî

[84] See Needham, pp. 87, 97, 100.

[85] The great difference, so far as I can judge, between the Singphô and Kachin dialects, which would tend t make them mutually unintelligible, is that the accent in Kachin is on the last syllable, whereas in Singphô it is on the first: *e. g.*, *m'grî'* in Kachin would, in practice, have a very different sound to *ma'gî* in Singphô, and they would not be to the ear at all identical words.

[86] Needham, pp. 72, 98.

[87] According to the Myitkyinà Kachin, the "teens" run thus: — *se-l'ngai*, *sə-l'kòng*, *sə-l'm'sum*, *sə-l'm'lî*, and so on to *se-l'j'ku*, 19.

English.	Kachin.	Singpho.
40	m'lîshî, m'lîsî	malîsî
100	l'tsà, l'sà[88]	lachâ, latsâ
200	nitsà, nisà	n'k'òngchâ
1,000[89]	chingmî, singmî	hing
10,000	munmî	hingtsî
100,000	senmî	....
1,000,000	wànmî	....
10,000,000	rîmî	....

Ordinarily, therefore, I gather that **a Singphô would count his rupees** thus: — *dalâ-mâ, dalâ-n'k'òng, dalâ-masùm.* But that the Singphôs use the generic term *kump'rông* also, may be seen from the expressions *kump'rông lachâ*, 100 rupees; *kump'rông k'un*, 20 rupees, in Needham's *Grammar*, pp. 76, 78. Similarly **a Kachin would ordinarily count his rupees** by the coefficient term *làp* (*gyàp*), thus: —*làp-mî, làp-nî, làp-m'sum.* Or he might count them by borrowing the Burmese word *dingâ*, a coin (Hertz, p. 38, Symington, p. 66), thus: — *dingâ-mî, dingâ-nî, dingâ-m'sum.* But he might also count them by using the generic term *kump'rò*, *vide* Symington's expressions *kump'rò-l'sà*, Rs. 100; *kump'rò-l'sà-m'ngà-shî*, Rs. 150 (pp. 14, 16). It is therefore clear that a Kachin would at once understand a Singphô in a bargain, though it must not be assumed that a Singphô, with his surroundings, would have any idea of the Kachin's method of dividing his rupees, that style of calculation belonging to the Burmese-Shân side of the ranges dividing Burma from India,[90] and being utterly foreign to any Indian people.

It may help to explain the numerals of these tribes to note here **how the Myitkyinà Kachin was induced to deliver up his terms,** for an attempt to extract them out of him direct failed altogether. A number of pebbles were collected and he was told to count them one by one.[91] He accordingly took up the pebbles one by one and enumerated them on his fingers, turning one finger down at each enumeration, and when he had reached five he pushed the pebbles aside. He then proceeded to count five more in the same way and pushed them aside, and then said, pointing to the two little heaps: — *l'kòng m'ngâ sî,* "two fives (are) ten."

[88] The Myitkyinà Kachin collapsed at 100, being unable to understand numerals beyond this point.

[89] 1,000 seems to be the end of the Singphô numeral denominations, but the Kachin denominations follow that of the Burma Tribes generally: — thus,

	tsâ	...	100
10	ching	...	1,000
10	mun	...	10,000
10	sen	...	100,000
10	wàn	...	1,000,000
10	ri	...	10,000,000

Symington, p. 61, is a little confused (probably his teachers were), and gives *ching, mun* and *sing* as the equivalents for a *lâkh*, 100,000.

[90] The Kachins have a word for cowry, *shâwun* (Symington, p. 38), but the Singphôs probably have not.

[91] I have found this plan by far the most effective with such semi-savages. The heavy, puzzled look disappears at once from their faces, intelligence takes its place, and then slowly and painfully the numbers come out one by one. But I warn the enquirer that much patience and a trained ear are necessary to a successful result. The educated, literary Manipûrî official, quoted in the section on Manipûrî Weights, enumerated on his fingers, evidently from sheer habit.

He proceeded onwards in precisely the same way up to twenty and then said, pointing to the four heaps: — *m'lí m'ngá k'un*, "four fives (are) twenty." So on to *k'ruk m'ngá sômsî*, "six fives (are) thirty." Then by coaxing he went on to *k'un m'ngá l'sà* "(a) score (of) fives (are a) hundred." After this he subsided, having reached his tether as regards enumeration, and was apparently unable to recognise the book words given for a thousand and onwards.

My sources of information on **the Nâga Languages** most nearly connected geographically with the Singphô are:—

(1) *Outline Grammar of the Lhota Naga Language*, Witter, 1888, official publication, Assam.

(2) *Outline Grammar of the Ao Naga Language*, Mrs. Clark, 1893, official publication, Assam.

(3) *The Ao Naga Language of Southern Assam*, Avery, American Journal of Philology, Vol. VII., No. 3, *c.* 1886.[92]

(4) *Outline Grammar of the Angami Naga Language*, McCabe, 1887, official publication, Assam.

(5) *Outline Grammar of the Shaiyang-Miri Language*, Needham, 1886, official publication, Assam.

(6) A Nâga from Sibsâgar and two Nâgas from Maṇipûr.

To take **the Lhota-Nâga Language** first, I find the money table to run as below, but it has an unstable appearance. In fact, **instability** seems to be **a main,** though distracting, **feature** of the Language. *E. g.*, Mr. Witter remarks, p. 8 f., on the instability of both the vowel and consonantal sounds, and the instability of the words themselves can be ascertained by trying to make out the sentences given with the *Grammar* and by noting the variety of form given in the various parts of Mr. Witter's book for the words of currency and money. The probability is that the dialect differs on every hill side on which it is spoken, and that the speakers use it very much as the speakers of highly developed written languages use slang, *i. e.*, they are quite indifferent as to form, provided their meaning is understood, trusting rather to inference than to convention for the correct conveyance of their meaning.

Lhota-Nâga Silver-money Table.

English.	Lhota-Nâga.	Sense of Vernacular.
1 anna[93]	pôisà mezü, rângmyô mezü ...	4 pice, 4 red coins
2 annas	môiyâ matsaṅgâ	1 môiyâ
....	rângterü êhm	coin small white
4 annas	môiyâ ennî	2 môiyâ
6 "	môiyâ et'am	3 môiyâ
8 "	râmpiâk pôko	half rupee
....	rângmyô[94] tîzâ...	8 red coins

[92] A reprint sent me by the late Prof. Avery, based on notes supplied in 1884 by Mr. Clark, the husband of the authoress of the *Ao Nâga Grammar* above quoted.

[93] Witter, pp. 88, 89.

[94] This looks as if the word *rângmyô* were used indiscriminately for pice and anna, which is as likely as not.

English.	Lhota-Nâga.	Sense of Vernacular.
....	adhôli[95]...	(*adhêlâ*, half rupee)
10 annas	môiyâ mûngo	5 môiyâ
2 „	môiyâ tîrôk	6 môiyâ
14 „	môiyâ tîing	7 môiyâ
1 rupee	ôrâng matsañgâ	1 rupee
....	râmpiâk matsañgâ	1 „
....	piâkâ, ôpiâk[96]	rupee
1½ rupee[97]	piâkâ sü pôko	rupee plus half

What the expressions for the odd annas are I am not sure, but, from the general indications given, they are probably expressed either by *rângmyô* + numeral (*e. g.*, *rângmyô et'am*, 3 annas, *rângmyô mûngo*, 5 annas), or by the use of *sü pôko*, "plus a half" (*e. g.*, *môiyâ sü pôko*, *môiyâ* and a half = 3 annas; *môiyâ ennî sü pôko*, 2 *môiyâ* and a half = 5 annas).

Lhota-Naga Copper-money Table.

English.	Lhota-Nâga.	Sense of Vernacular.
1 pie	rângmyô terûwô	smaller than red coin
1 pice	rângmyô matsañgâ	1 red coin
....	pôisà matsañgâ	1 „
2 pice	pôisà[98] ennî	2 red coins
3 „	pôisà et'am	3 „
4 „ (anna)	pôisà mezü	4 „

The metals are badly expressed by the Lhota Nâgas, owing, no doubt, to their small acquaintance with them. Thus, the word for **silver** is given as *ôrâng*, but no word is given for **gold** at all, and one word, *yôngchâk*, does duty for **brass, copper, tin** and **iron,** *i. e.*, really for any metal not silver or money, while *p'yôntsü* is used for **lead.**

The words given for **weight** and the scales have an apparent connection with that for **cowry,** which is odd and unusual. *E. g.*, weight is *efû* (p. 158); balance is *êf'û* (p. 90); cowry is *f'ûfo* (p. 143). There are words to express the actual balancing of articles weighed against each other in *ek'aing* and *k'itî* (p. 168), the first having a most suspiciously borrowed appearance.

Three words are translated "counterfeit money" by Mr. Witter, *viz.*, *rângtâp*, *ôrâng-n'tapô*, *rângyîmô*; a fact which it rather surprises one to find in the language of such a tribe, but they

[95] Witter, p. 70. It is clearly the Indian *adhêlâ*: see Beames' ed. of Elliot, *Glossary*, Vol. II. p. 2.
[96] Witter, p. 81. Also at p. 128 there is given *ôts'eñ*, which also means wages.
[97] Witter, p. 81.
[98] *Rângmyô* is throughout a synonym for *pôisâ*.

can be compared with the *kumprè tàp e* of the *Kachin Vocabulary* of Mr. Symington, p. 65, translated "to mint, coin."

The Lhota Nâga numerals (p. 26 ff.) present no particular difficulties, but there are some peculiarities valuable for comparison with other Nâga tongues and for counting out money.

1	... ek'â[99]	11	... tarô sü[4] ek'â
2	... ennî, ônî[100]	20	... mekwî, mekwü, mekü[5]
3	... et'am	30	... t'amdrô[2]
4	... mezü	40	... zûro[2]
5	... mûngo	50	... tîingyâ
6	... tîrôk	60	... rôkro[2]
7	... tîing, ts'ang	70	... ek'â ts'ang, ek'â tîing
8	... tîzâ	80	... ek'â tîzâ
9	... tôkû[1]	90	... ek'â tôkû
10	... tarô,[2] tarò, terô, tâto[3]	100	... ek'â tarô',[2] n'zo, n'zü, n'zôâ[6]
		1,000	... t'ângâ[7]

The usual way of expressing the intermediate numbers is that shown above in the case of **11** : *i. e.*, *tarô sü* (or *sî*) *mezü* is ten plus four or fourteen, *mekwü sü mezü* is twenty plus four or twenty-four : but 16 to 19, 26 to 29, etc., are alternatively expressed thus: —

16	... mezünâ mekwü m'pen	... by-four 20 short
17	... et'amnâ mekwü m'pâm	... by-three 20 short
18	... ennînâ mekwü m'pen	... by-two 20 short
19	... ek'ânâ mekwü m'pâm	... by-one 20 short

The tendency in reckoning is to carry the mind on to the next coming ten and to subtract from it.

Passing on to **Ao Nâga**, one finds that Mrs. Clark has not paid much attention to recording currency, and except incidentally there is no mention of money matters in her book. It must be remembered also, in reading what follows, that **instability of form** is as characteristic of Ao Nâga words as of those of any other Nâga tongue.

The word *sen* is used for **money** (pp. 61, 66, 69, 75, 140) borrowed one fancies from the *sél* (*sen*) of the neighbouring Maṇipûrî State, especially as it turns up in the expression for **"small money,"** *tànak sen*[9] (pp. 57, 106).[10] **A rupee** is ordinarily *tàtsak*

[99] This is only used in enumerating. When used with other words, "one" is represented by the suffixed numeral coefficients *matsangâ*, *n'tsangâ*, for things, and *n'chûâ*, *n'chyûâ*, for mankind. Fundamentally the term *ek'â* would seem to signify "a ten" in decimal notation: *cf.* the terms for 70, 80, 90, 100.

[100] Witter, p. 154.

[1] Also *ek'ânâ tâto m'pâm* = by-one ten short : = one less ten.

[2] The terms *tarô*, *t'amdro*, *zûro*, *rôkro*, evidently mean 1, 3, 4, 6 tens.

[3] Witter, p. 27.

[4] Or *sî*.

[5] Witter, p. 154.

[6] Witter, pp. 119, 132.

[7] Also *n'zo n'zo tòtaro* (= 10 *n'zo*), p. 151. *Cf.* Bur. *t'aung*.

[9] Mrs. Clark does not distinguish between long and short vowels, and these have to be guessed at, but her *a* is always broad, and I have given it, therefore, as *à*.

[10] It is also seen in the expressions for "debt," p. 109: — *sen-tsö*, *sen-àtsö*, *sen-àpu*, in which *àtsö* and *àpu* mean "borrow" (pp. 54, 98) and *sen* means "money."

and also *tepàk* (pp. 54, 57, 64, 66, 156).[11] For **pice** the Indian form *pôisà* is found in a phrase on p. 65 : —

tànurzi kechi pôisà àngu àzi àzàk rìzungà àyur
boy-the what pice gets that all keeps
The boy keeps all the pice he gets.

In the Vocabulary, however, is to be found the (?) Assamese form *sorotià*, made to do duty for "pice" on p. 147 and for "anna" (4 pice) on p. 90. It is quite likely that these Nâgas use the same term for both.

The word for **cowry** is given as *zabû* (p. 107).

Money is counted apparently in a straightforward way. Thus we find : —

pp. 57, 64 ...	tàtsak kà ...	one rupee
p. 54 ...	tàtsak ànà ...	two rupees
p. 66 ...	tàtsak àsam ...	three rupees

The words for **the metals** partake of the regular Nâga forms, iron being the metal *par excellence*, as the same word, *in*, does duty for both iron and metal (pp. 132, 139).

Gold is *hon* (Assamese), p. 124. **Silver** is *tàribi* (pp. 70, 160). **Iron** is *in*, and *meràng* (p. 132), and with iron **lead** seems in some measure to be confounded, as one guesses from the term *rângin* (*i. e.*, *râng*-metal), but there is a synonym (p. 135) *tsöin* given for lead. **Brass**, *yongmen* (p. 99), is undoubtedly mixed up with **copper**, *yongmenin*, *i. e.*, *yongmen*-metal (p. 106).

The Ao Nâga numerals have a **puzzling**, and curiously, but not uniquely, developed method of carrying the mind, after the first ten, on to the coming ten for numbers beyond five, as shown below : otherwise these numerals are much those of the Nâga and the allied tongues generally. Thus : —

Ao-Naga Numerals.

1	kà	6	trôk[13]
2	ànà	7	tenet
3	àsam	8	tî
4	pezö[12]	9	takô
5	pungû	10	ter

11	terikà	ten and one
12	teriànà	ten and two
13	teriàsam	ten and three
14	teripezö	ten and four
15	teripungû	ten and five
16	metsö[14]-màben-trôk	twenty-not-brought-six
17	metsö-màben-tenet	twenty-not-brought-seven

[11] *Tâtsak*, I gather, means "wage-measure;" see *Ao Grammar*, *s. vv.* measure and wages.

[12] I gather that Mrs. Clark's final short *a*, which she writes Y̆, is the German ö, or near it, and I rather suspect that she writes the sound sometimes as *er*, following the English sound of that combination of letters.

[13] Should be, I take it, properly written *teròk*. [14] Should apparently be properly written *metsar*.

18	metsö-màben-tî	twenty-not-brought-eight
19	metsö-màben-takô	twenty-not-brought-nine
20	metsö	(? a score)
21	metsarikà	twenty and one
22	metsariànà	twenty and two
23	metsariàsam	twenty and three
24	metsaripezö	twenty and four
25	metsaripungû	twenty and five
26	semar[15]-màben-trôk	30-not-brought-6
27	semar-màben-tenet	30-not-brought-7
28	semar-màben-tî	30-not-brought-8
29	semar-màben-takô	30-not-brought-9
30	semar	....
31	semarikà	30 and 1
36	lir[15]-màben-trôk	40-not-brought-6
40	lir	....
41	lirikà	40 and 1
46	tenêm-màben-trôk	50-not-brought-6
50	tenêm	....
51	tenemikà	50 and 1
56	rôkar[15]-màben-trôk	60-not-brought-6
60	rôkar	....
61	rôkarikà	60 and 1
66	tenêmsermetsö-màben-trôk	50-and-20 not-brought-6
70	tenêmsermetsö	50-and-20
71	tenêmsermetsarikà	50-and-20 and 1
76	liranasö-màben-trôk	twice-40 not-brought-6
80	liranasö	twice-40
81	liranasarikà	twice-40 and 1
86	telangtakô-màben-trôk	9-(before)-100 not-brought-6
90	telangtakô	9-(before)-100 (*lit.*, 100-9)[16]
91	telangtakôserkâ	9-(before)-100 and 1

[15] The final *r* in *semar*, *lir*, *rôkar*, is evidently the *ro* of Lhota, and signifies "a ten." Probably the final *ö* in *metsö* signifies the same thing.

[16] I take this curious expression to mean "the 9 before 100."

96...	telang-màbeu-trôk	100-not-brought-6
100	telang, noklang	....
1,000	meyirizang, meirzang[17]	....

The Ao Nâgas do not weigh the metals, so far as I can make out, probably measuring them; but they have a neat set of measures of capacity, on which they have based a sort of avoirdupois weight for their great requirement, fermented rice for making *yi* (rice-beer):[18] —

Ao-Naga Measures of Capacity.

Name.	Meaning.	Use.	Approximate actual weight.
àentzö molok ...	egg basket... ...	value of an egg in paddy ...	1¼ sêrs
2 yi molok... ..	beer basket ...	value in paddy of standard measure of rice made ready for brewing *yi* (rice-beer).	2½ sêrs
2 puà	Indian quarter *sêr*...	....	5 sêrs
4 (and 2) imzi ..	village	village standard	20 (and 10) sêrs

The real standard, *i. e.*, the weight that does not vary, is, however, **the puà,** for the Bengali *pawâ*, magnified from the quarter *sêr*, which it really is, to the five-*sêr* weight (*pasêrî*), probably because five *sêrs* of paddy are equivalent in value to one quarter *sêr* of some article that these people still commonly buy, or have in the past habitually bought, with paddy (unhusked rice).

Another common measure, evolved as above, is the *nabû molok*, wage basket, 2½ to the *puà*, and hence equal to about two *sêrs* which represents a day's wages in paddy.

Ao-Nâga Avoirdupois Weights.[19]

2 tsamà-s'ong are 1 s'ongtî = 1¼ sêrs
1 s'ongtî ... ... = 2½ sêrs

Some villages have a weight called *puàkapbà* (? short *puà*), intermediate between the *s'ongtî* and the *tsamà-s'ong* (p. 49).

The word for scales is *s'ongtî*, and the term *tsamà-s'ong* seems to mean half-a-*s'ong*, or half the weight that turns the scale. The word *seret* is also given (p. 157) as a synonym for scales, and the expression *seret-lung* (*lit.*, scale-stone) is given for "scale-weights." But I gather from a sentence on p. 71 that *seret* is really borrowed from the Indian word *sêr* and means that weight or its equivalent, thus: —

shizang *seret-kà* *màbensà*
potatoes *sêr*-one insufficient
(translated) "the potatoes are a seer short weight."

[17] Mrs. Clark very properly remarks (p. 45) that the above mode of reckoning puzzles children and makes them carry forward the wrong figures in addition. So much is this the case, that in "the schools an effort is being made to discard the above irregularities and count regularly thus: *teri-trôk*, sixteen; *metsari trôk*, twenty-six; and so on." One does not wonder at it. In computing money the system must be a very difficult one to work.

[18] Clark, p. 49. Compare this with the Maṇipûrî double scale; — one for rice and the other for paddy; Primrose, *Grammar*, p. 24.

[19] Clark, p. 49.

One has to search the sentences given in McCabe's *Angami Grammar* for the views of the Angâmîs as to currency. From these can be gathered the following table:—

p. 36	pice	paisâ
pp. 26, 40	2 annas	moyâ
p. 40	8 annas	duli
p. 37 ff.	rupee	rakâ

If we may accept that *duli* = *adhôlî* (Lhota-Nâga) = *adhêlâ* (Indian), and that *rakâ* = a form of the general Nâga word *râng*, then the above table agrees with what may be called the normal Nâga forms. "Small money" is *kepetse* (p. 54).

The word for **metal** (p. 73) is given as *t'ejö*, but I gather, or rather guess, that *jö*[20] is metal and that the *t'e* = iron. Then for **gold** we have no word at all, but **silver** is *rakâ-jö* (p. 85); **lead** is *mîsitsâ-jö* (*misî*, Maṇipûrî: p. 71); **copper** is *presa-jö* (*p'rî*, Kachin-Singphô, iron: p. 56); while **iron** is *t'ezhe*[21] (p. 70) and **tin** *rizhü* and *zhüsi*, where *zhe*, *zhü* probably equal *jö*. **Brass** is (p. 52) *merêni* or *meseni*, but I perceive that *merêni* (p. 60) also = "ear-ring," and perhaps the metal takes its name from the ornament.

At p. 26 we have *moyâ* and *moyâ po* (one *moyâ*) for "two annas," and on p. 40 *moyâ sê* (three *moyâ*) for "six annas." Rupees turn up at several points in the book; *e. g.*,

p. 26	rakâ po	one rupee
p. 39	rakâ sê	three rupees
p. 37	rakâ pangu	five rupees
p. 38	rakâ t'et'â	eight rupees

At p. 40 we have *duli*, eight annas, and at p. 39 *rakâ kennâ di duli*, rupees two and a *duli*, for Rs. 2-8-0. On this evidence, I should say that the Angâmî Nâgas count their money quite straightforwardly in rupees, two-anna pieces, and half rupees. Thus their scale would be:—

4 moyâ are 1 duli
2 duli „ 1 rakâ

The Angâmî Nâgas reckon on the same principles as do the Ao Nâgas. Thus:—

Angâmî Nâga Numerals.

1 ...	po	2 ...	kennâ
3 ...	sê	4 ...	dâ
5 ...	pangu	6 ...	suru
7 ...	t'enâ	8 ...	t'et'â
9 ..	tekwü	10 ...	ker[22]

11 ..	ker-o-pokrö	ten and one more
12 ...	ker-o-kennâ	ten and two more
13 ...	ker-o-sê	ten and three more
14 ...	ker-o-dâ	ten and four more

[20] *Cf.* Kachin and Singpho, *jâ*, gold.
[21] *Zh* = French *j*.
[22] The *r* in *ker* and *ser* no doubt means "a ten." *Cf.* Ao numerals.

15	ker-o-pangu	ten and five more
16	ker-o-suru	ten and six more
17	mekwü pemo t'enâ	20-short-of-seven[23]
18	mekwü pemo t'et'â	20-short-of-eight
19	mekwü pemo tekwü	20-short-of-nine
20	mekwü	…………
21	mekwü-pokrö	20 one more
27	ser pemo t'enä	30-short-of-seven
30	ser[23a]	…………
31	ser-o-pokrö	30 one more
37	ḷidâ pemo t'enâ	40-short-of-seven
40	ḷidâ[24]	…………
41	ḷidâ pokrö	40 one more
50	ḷipangu[24]	60 … lisuru[24]
70	ḷit'enâ[24]	80 … lit'et'a[24]
90	ḷitekwü[24]	100 … krâ
101	krâ di po, krâ mu po	hundred and one
1,000	niê po	one *niê* (thousand)

In their measures, which are only of capacity, the Angâmî Nâgas actually do what one may suspect the Ao Nâgas to do from Mrs. Clark's statements, *viz.*, base them on a day's wages in rice. Thus: —

Angâmî Measures of Capacity.

	zhâr'â	about	1	sêr
12	utsâ	„	12	sêrs
2	r'âzhö	„	24	sêrs
2	bê	„	48	sêrs = about $1\frac{1}{4}$ maunds
15	chü	„	(15 to) 20 maunds	

The *zhâr'â* is the measure of a day's wages (*zhâ, zâ*).

Mr. Needham's *Miri Grammar*, though referring directly to the Shaiyang Clan, is practically a *Grammar* of the whole **Miri-Abor**[25] **tongue**, spoken by a large section of the Nâgas.

As has already been remarked, Mr. Needham hardly ever mentions money matters, and his Vocabulary is for the present purpose unfortunately only too deficient.

I take that **the Miris really calculate money thus**: — Large pieces silver, *mûrkông, i. e.*, rupees, with a numeral coefficient *bâr;* small pieces silver, *i. e.*, two-anna bits, numeral

[23] *I. e.*, the seven before twenty.

[23a] See footnote 22 above.

[24] These words mean respectively 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, *ḷi*: *ḷi* being "a ten" evidently.

[25] Mr. Needham's *Vocabulary* shows that the difference between Miri and Abor is inappreciable.

coefficient *pîr*; pice, borrowing the Assamese or Indian word, *pôisâ* or *paisâ*, with numeral coefficient *pîr* added. Money is generically spoken of as *mûrkông* or *mûrkô* (pp. 27, 44, 103, 136).

The words for the metals, except iron, are absent from the *Vocabulary*, save as materials for bracelets. Thus, iron is *yôkdin* (pp. 107, 132 : *cf.* Maṇipûrî *yôt*, Primrose, p. 17).

The words for bracelets are — of brass, *kapüng* (p. 117); of silver, *kôngê* (p. 117: *cf.* the rupee, *mûrkông*); and of a metal called lead, but (?) really bell-metal, *pâgrâng*, in which the Nâga word for metal, *râng*, comes out again.

The Miri numerals are extremely simple, and this tribe's ideas of counting are distinctly Indo-Chinese : —

Miri-Abor Numerals.

1	âtêrkò[26]			suffixed forms : âkò, kò
2	ânyîkò	3		âûmkò
4	âpîkò	5		ângâkò
6	âkêngkò, âkîkò	7		kînitkò
8	pînyîkò, puinyîkò[27]	9		kònângkò
10	êingkò			....
11	êingkò lâng âtêrkò			ten and one
20	êing-ânyîkò			two tens
21	êing-ânyîkò lâng âtêrkò			two tens and one
30	êing-âûmkò			three tens
90	êing-kònângkò			nine tens
100	lingkò[28]			....

Numeral coefficients are widely used and precede the numerals, as in Chinese and Nâga generally : *e. g.*, *bâr*, num. coeff. for rupee; *pîr*, num. coeff. for small silver (2 and 4-anna pieces) and pice :[29] then :—

Re. 1	bâr-kò, â-bâr-kò
Rs. 2	bâr-nyîkò, bâr-nyî, â-bâr-nyîkò
,, 3	bâr-ûmkò, bâr-ûm, â-bâr-ûmkò
2-anna-bit 1	pîr-kò (? â-pîr-kò)
,, 2	pîr-nyîkò, pîr-nyî (? â-pîr-nyîkò)
,, 3	pîr-ûmkò, pîr-ûm (? â-pîr-ûmkò)

[26] *Kò* is evidently a suffix meaning "one," and the idea of the numerals is "a one," "a two," "a three," and so on. The moveable prefix *â* of the first six numerals seems to imply a fixed quantity, "only" (p. 20); so that the expressions *â-têr-kò*, *â-nyî-kò* signify really "only a one," "only a two." *Kò* turns up again on p. 27 of Mr. Needham's interesting pamphlet, *A few Dîgârô (Târoon), Mîjû (M'jû) and Tibetian Words*, 1886, Government Publication, Assam, in the "teens" of the Mîjûs : thus 11, *kàp-mâ-komôkò*, *i. e.*, 10 and 1, and so on to 19.

[27] Twice four.

[28] But at p. 103 *lüngò mûrkô* is translated "500 rupees:" here *ò* in *lüngò* means "only," and so, perhaps, *ling* or *lüng* means any large number — 100 and beyond.

[29] I gather that there is a word only for the two-anna piece, as in the case of the other Nâga tongues.

But there is an odd exception to the rule in omitting the numeral coefficients with 7, 8 and 9: thus, *pui*, num. coeff. for round things: then:—

	âpui puikò	1 egg
	âpui puinyî	2 eggs
	âpui puikêng	6 eggs
	âpui pui-êing	10 eggs
But	âpui kînit	7 eggs
	âpui pînyî	8 eggs
	âpui kònâng	9 eggs

So far as the instances given are concerned, the Miris count their money chiefly by means of the coefficients. Thus:—

pp. 36, 58	Re. 1	â-bâr-kò
p. 93	Rs. 4	bâr-pîkò
p. 92	„ 10	bâr-êingkò

But on p. 20 the full expressions are to be found —

Rs. 4	mûrkông bâr-pîkò
„ 5	mûrkông bâr-ngâkò

I have now taken those who have been good enough to follow me through all the unfortunately, but unavoidably, incomplete evidence available to me as to the Kachin-Nâga Group of tongues, and it will be seen that the numerals and the words for the metals compare as shown below. I have added Maṇipûrî to the comparison, as being a link between the Kachin-Nâga and the Chin-Lushai Groups, though I do not wish it to be thereby inferred that the two groups of tongues should not really be described as members of a larger general group of languages, embracing all the modes of speech adopted by the populations occupying the hills between India and Burma and the hills of the North and North-East frontiers of India and of the North frontier of Burma.[30]

Comparative Table of the Kachin-Nâga Numerals.

	Kachin.	Singphô.	Lhota.	Ao.	Angâmî.	Miri-Abor.	Maṇipûrî.
1	l'ngai[31] ...	ai ...	ek'â ..	kà	po ...	âtêrkò... ...	amà
suf.	mî[32] ...	mâ ...	matsañgâ.	......	......	kò	mà
2	l'kòng[33] ...	n'k'ông ...	ennî, ônî...	ànà	kennâ ..	ânyîkò... ...	ani
suf.	nî... ...	......	......	......	.. ...	......	ni
3	m'sum[34] ..	masum ..	et'am ...	âsam ...	sê ...	âûmkò... ...	ahum
4	m'lî ...	malî ...	mezü ...	pezö ...	dâ ...	âpîkò	mari
5	m'ngâ ...	mangâ ...	mûngo ...	pungû ...	pangû ...	ângâkò ...	mangâ
6	krû[35] ...	k'rû ...	tîrôk ...	trôk... ...	suru ...	âkêngkò[36] ...	taruk

[30] See Houghton, *Language of the Southern Chins and its Affinities*, 1892, Appx., p. xi.
[31] Also *n'gai*.
[32] Also *mà*.
[33] Also *l'kwang*.
[34] Also *m'som*.
[35] Also *krup, kruk*.
[36] Also *âkikò*.

	Kachin.	Singphô.	Lhota.	Ao.	Angâmî.	Miri-Abor.	Manipûrî.
7	s'nit ...	sinit ...	tîing[37] ...	tenet ...	t'enâ ...	kînitkò ..	tarêt
8	m'tsàt[38] ...	masàt ...	tîzâ ...	tî	t'et'â ...	pînyîkò ...	nipân
9	j'k'û[39] ..	chakû ..	tôkû ...	takô... ...	tekwü ...	kònângkò ...	mâpan
10	shî, sî ...	sî, shî[40] ...	tarô, terô .	ter	ker ...	êingkò ...	tarâ
20	k'un ...	k'un ...	mekwî[41]..	metsö[42] ...	mekwü ...	êingânyîkò ...	kul
30	sumshî ...	dumsî ...	t'amdrô ...	semar ...	ser ...	êingâûmkò ..	kunt'râ
40	m'lîshî ...	malîsî ...	zûro ...	lir	lidâ ..	êingâpîkò ...	niphu
50	m'ngâshî..	mangâsî...	tîingyâ ...	tenêm ...	lipangu ..	êingângâkò ...	yângk'ai
60	krûshî ...	k'rûsî ...	rôkro ..	rôkar ..	lisuru ...	êingâkîkò ..	hûmp'u
70	s'nitshî ...	sinitsî ...	ek'âts'ang[43]	tenêmser-metsö	lit'enâ ..	êingkînitkò ...	hûmp'utarâ
80	m'tsàtshî...	masàtsî ...	ek'âtîzâ ...	liranasö ...	lit'et'â ...	êingpînyîkò ...	marip'u
90	j'kushî ...	chakûsî ..	ek'âtôkû...	telangtakô...	litekwü ...	êingkònângkò.	mariphutarâ
100	l'tsà[44] ..	lâchâ[45] ...	ek'âtarô[46].	telang[47] ...	krâ ...	lingkò ...	châmà[48]
1000	chingmî[49]..	hing ...	t'ângâ ...	meyirzang ...	niêpo ...	(?) lüng ..	lising

It is not my purpose here to prove the connection of the above words, but I have no hesitation in saying that they afford most interesting mutual evidence of a common origin.

Comparative Table of the Kachin-Nâga Terms for the Metals.

Metal.	Kachin.[50]	Singphô.	Lhota.	Ao.	Angâmî.	Miri-Abor.	Manipûrî.
gold .	jà ...	jâ	......	hon... ...	......	......	sana
silver ...	kump'rò[51]	k'umprông...	ôrâng ...	tàribi ...	rakâjö ...	? kôngê .	rûpâ[52]
copper ...	m'grî ..	......	yôngchâk .	yôngmenin .	presajö ...	......	kôri
brass ..	m'grî ..	magî ..	yôngchâk .	yongmen ...	merêni[53] ...	? kapüng	pit'râî
tin ...	p'rîp'rò ...	......	yôngchâk .	......	rîzhü, zhüsi .	.....	kôngau
spelter...	.....	......	......	......	......	pâgrâng.	sêl
iron ...	p'rî, prî ...	m'prî ..	yôngchâk .	in, meràng .	t'ezhe ...	yôkdin...	yôt
lead ...	......	chû, m'jû ...	p'yôntsü...	rângin[54] ..	mîsitsâjö ...	......	misî
zinc ..	......	p'rîp'rò ..	......	......	......	......	......

37 Also *ts'ang*.
38 Also *m'sàt*.
39 Also *s'k'û, ch'k'û*.
40 Also *tsî*.
41 Also *mekwü, mekü*.
42 ? should be *metsar*.
43 Also *ek'â tîing*.
44 Also *l'sà*.
45 Also *latsâ*.
46 Also *n'zo, n'zü, n'zôa*.
47 Also *nôklang*.
48 Also *sâmâ*.
49 Also *sing-mî*.
50 See *ante*, p. 200. The Myitkyinà Kachin gave quite a different series of words.
51 Also *kamp'rông*.
52 Also *lûpâ*.
53 Also *meseni*.
54 Also *tsöin*.

Of course, in such a matter as the nomenclature of the metals, savage tribes will borrow largely from those around them, and such a table as the above is valuable chiefly for tracing such influences.

I have had two opportunities of personally examining **Nâgas** as to their vocabulary. One man came **from the Naga Hills District,** and called himself a **Sibsâgar Nâga,** obviously for the benefit of the Englishman, but I could not get a better description of himself out of him. His vocabulary showed him to belong to what are called the Mithan and Tablung Nâgas in Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 71, and I here give the information gleaned from this man for what it may be worth.

He named **the metals** as follows: — gold, *saktôt ;* silver, *shaksônwà ;* brass, *hàpànà ;* lead, *nakûwà ;* tin, *sauopà ;* iron, *yàn.* His **money** was named thus: — rupee, *tàkà* (Indian, *takâ*): 8-anna-piece, *h'tôlî* (Indian, *adhêlâ*) : 4-anna-piece, *yekî* (*cf.* Shân, *ante*, p. 12): 2-anna-piece, *asàt* : pice, *paisâ, pôiyâ, e. g.*, one anna, *pôiyâ-alî, i. e.*, pice four. For rupee (the coin) he had a synonymous term, *ngünkau*, which has a distinct Far-Eastern look, and he recognised the *Abrus* seed at once as *gêtahà.*

He clearly **calculated money,** like the other Nâgas, **by the silver coins,** and his table ran thus: —

2	asàt	are	1	yekî
2	yekî	„	1	h'tôlî
2	h'tôlî	„	1	tàkà

But his chief method of dividing the rupee was by the *yekî* or four-anna-piece. Thus, he at once named the following fractions, on the coins being put down for him to name: —

Re. $1\frac{1}{4}$ ... yekî agâ ... five yekî

Re. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ... yekî agôk ... six yekî

Re. $1\frac{3}{4}$ ... yekî amit ... seven yekî

His numeration was interesting, thus: —

1 ...	chàng	2 ...	ennî	3 ...	arên
4 ...	alî	5 ...	agâ	6 ...	agôk
7 ...	amit	8 ...	asàt	9 ...	akû
10 ...	bôn	11 ...	bôn-bâ-chàng	12 ...	bôn-ennî
20 ...	hâ	30 ...	hâhan	40 ...	panit
50 ...	pâpun	60 ...	parêm	70 ...	pamit
80 ...	pasàt	90 ...	pakû	100 ...	pagâ
200 ...	ennî-pagâ	1,000 ...	pahâ		

Two other men whom I examined I can only describe as **Maṇipûrî Nâgas,** for they certainly came from the hills of Maṇipûr, and belonged to the same tribe and village, though what their precise tribe was called I could not discover.[55]

These men also divided **the rupee by its silver coined parts,** but with a curious nomenclature, thus: —

2-anna bit ...mûlê (*mû* weight, Burmese)

4-anna bit ...sîkî (Indian)

8-anna bit ...s'nà-pôh (half rupee, *s'nà*)

rupee... ...s'nà (= also silver)

[55] I rather gather that it requires a considerable practical experience of the Nâgas to make out the tribe of any individual with certainty.

For the intermediate annas they used the Burmese form *p'aisâṅ* of the Indian *paisâ*, calling the anna *p'aisâṅ m'tai*, four pice, and reckoning thus: —

1	anna ...	p'aisâṅ m'tai	4 pice
2	annas ...	mûlê	a *mû* weight
3	„ ...	mûlê-alî p'aisâṅ-m'tai ...	1 *mû* 4 pice
4	„ ...	sîkî	....
5	„ ...	sîkî-alî p'aisâṅ-m'tai ...	1 *sîkî* 4 pice
6	„ ...	mûlê asêh	3 *mû*

And so on, multiplying out the *mûlê* and *sîkî* for the even annas, adding *p'aisâṅ m'tai* for the odd annas, and using *s'nà pôh* for eight annas. This method shows a little more systematic thought than is usual with the wild tribes.

One rupee was called *s'nà kalî*, and, on being shown the coins, they at once called Re. 1½ *s'nà-kalî s'nà-pôh, i. e.*, one rupee (and) one half, and Re. 1¼ *sîkî-m'ngû, i. e.*, five *sîkî*, which is correct and again shows active reasoning powers.

For the metals they gave an interesting series of terms: — gold and copper, *nit:* silver, *s'nà* (properly *sônâ*, Indian for gold, *vide* Lûshai terms to be given later on): brass, *hunglî:* iron, *hû:* lead, *lingsing*.

Their numerals were as follows:—

1 ...	âlî	2 ...	ân'hai ...	3 ...	âsêh
4 ...	m'tai ...	5 ...	m'ngû ...	6 ...	churû
7 ...	ânêh ..	8 ...	âchet ...	9 ...	âkau
10 ...	kirau[56] ..	11 ...	kîr[56]-âlî ...	12 ...	kir-âhai
13 ...	kir-âsêh ...	14 ...	kirû[56]-m'tai ...	15 ...	kirû-m'ngû
16 ...	kirû-churû ...	17 ...	kirû-ânêh ...	18 ...	kirû-âchet
19 ..	kirû-âkau ...	20 ...	m'kai... ...	21 ...	m'kai-âlî
30 ...	shirû[56] ..	40 ...	râi[57]-m'tai ...	50 ...	râi-m'ngû
60 ...	râi-chirû ...	70 ...	râi-ânêh ...	80 ...	rai-âcheh
90 ...	râi-akûh ...	100 ...	kihai ...		

(*To be continued.*)

ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARDT.

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(*Continued from p.* 193.)

PART II.

THE NOUN.

181. It is a matter for regret that the noun is not nearly so fully treated as the verb in the manuscript grammar quoted by me as Mp. All that it says about nouns and their declension can be summed up in a few lines, and consists merely of a statement of the changes

[56] We may fairly take the *rau, r, rû* in these words as 'a ten': *kir, kirau, kirû* meaning 'one ten,' and *shirû* '3 ten.'

[57] *Râi* is clearly 'a ten' in all these words.

which certain vowels undergo in Declension and Conjugation, with a few examples. The following pages, therefore, do not owe much to this MS.

182. The other authorities, in the Roman character, mentioned by me in §§ 1 and ff., are extremely incomplete as regards nouns, and treat them very superficially.[52]

It thus happens that the solution of many difficulties can only be arrived at by the study of existing texts, and these, it must be confessed, do not always sufficiently assist us, in ascertaining satisfactorily the correct forms of words. For example, in Np. the vowel points are often omitted, or written without adherence to any fixed rule. Thus, ـَ *a* and ـِ *i* are not unoften interchanged : *e. g.*, هَنڈ *haṇḍi*, beside هِنڈ *hinḍi*; and again ؤ *ô* is sometimes written for آ ـَ *â* (*ô̂*), thus ماج or موج *môj*, a mother, and so many others.[53]

So also in the texts written in the Dêvanâgarî character there is a similar want of system in writing words and forms. *E. g.*, तसन्द् and तसोन्द्, निरेड़्, but नेरेत, which are good examples of the difficulty of fixing the pronunciation.[54]

I regret, therefore, that the following pages cannot be affirmed to rest in every point on a secure basis ; but they may serve to assist further studies in Kâśmîrî.[55]

I. — Gender.

183. The gender of substantives and adjectives is either masculine or feminine. In the case of pronouns, it may also be neuter. When masculine nouns are changed to feminines we find the same changes of final consonants, which we observed in the case of verbs (see § 158).[56]

184. [We thus get the following changes.[57] They only occur either in the formation of feminines from masculines, or in the declension of feminine nouns.

Final	گ	*g*	becomes	ج	*j*	
„	ل	*l*	„	ج	*j*	
„	ڈ	*ḍ*	„	ج	*j*	(only in declension)[58]
„	ٹ	*ṭ*	„	چ	*ch*	(only in declension)[58]
„	ٹھ	*ṭh*	„	چھ	*chh*	(only in declension)[58]
„	ک	*k*	„	چ	*ch*	
„	کھ	*kh*	„	چھ	*chh*	
„	ت	*t*	„	ڇ	*ts*	

[52] The MS. marked *b* by me must be excepted. Even in this, however, the Personal Pronouns are not given, and the numerals only as far as 48. [Another exception must be made in Mr. Wade's excellent little grammar, which was not known to the author.]

[53] [The fact is that in Kâśmîrî the vowel scale is by no means fixed. In different parts of the country, and by different people, and by the same person at different times, words are pronounced in different ways. There is as yet no standard. This is exemplified by the difficulties experienced in representing many of the sounds in the Persian and in the Dêvanâgarî alphabet. — TRANS.]

[54] [The translator has endeavoured to illustrate what he believes to be the most usual pronunciation in each case, by the system of transliteration adopted by him : see §§ 5 and ff.]

[55] [Mr. Wade's grammar and Îśvara-kaula's *Kaśmîra-śabdâmṛita* (a native grammar edited by the translator for the A. S. B.) have enabled the translator to control Dr. Burkhard's results, and, in a few cases, to silently correct slips of the pen, or statements resting on incorrect authorities.]

[56] We, thus, find in Luke, xxi. 24, from لَتہٕ مونڈ *lata-monḍ*, trodden under foot, pl. f. لَتہٕ منجہ *lata-manje.*

[57] [The reader is referred to §§ 158 and ff. The corrections there made are also made here. The author was under the impression that the rules for nouns differed from those for verbs, but this is not the case, and corrections have been made in the text accordingly.]

[58] In these cases, the change is not observed in the nominative feminine.

Final	تهٕ *th*	becomes	چھٕ	*tsh*
,,	س *s*	,,	چھٕ	*tsh*
,,	د *d*	,,	ز	*z*
,,	ن *n*	,,	ن	*ñ*
,,	ه *h*	,,	ش	*sh*

185. The radical vowel is also often changed, in the passage from the masculine to the feminine. Thus—

Radical.	Becomes.
ـَ *a*	ـَ *ạ*
ـَا *á*	آ *ô*
ـَ *ạ*, ـِ *i*, ـِی *í*	remain unchanged
ـُ *u*	ـَ *ạ*
ـُو *ú*	unchanged
ـِ *e*, ی *ê*	unchanged
ـُ *o*	ـَ or ـِ *ạ*
ـُو *ô*	آ *ô*
یُ *iu, yu*	ـِ *i*
یُو *iú, yú*	ـِی *í*

A final ـَہ *ạ* becomes ـِی *í*.

Some words form the feminine, by adding a final ـِ *i*.]

Examples of these changes are given below.

A. — Substantives.

1. Gender.

186. Few general rules can be given for distinguishing the genders of nouns. It can sometimes be ascertained from the meaning, derivation, or termination of the word.[59] In many cases, however, authorities contradict each other.

Thus, چیز *chîz*, a thing, and گُڈ *goḍ*, commencement, are, according to El., feminine, but are masculine in Np.: گاڈ *gáḍ*, a fish, is, on the other hand, masculine in El., and feminine in Np. and elsewhere.[60]

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[59] E. g., ماج *môj*, mother; شُہرت *shuhrat* (Arabic fem.), report; زندگی *zindagî* (Persian fem.), life; نبیّہ *nabiyyah* (Arabic), prophetess. A large portion of the vocabulary consists of substantives borrowed from Arabic or Persian.

[60] [Elmslie transliterates *gáḍ*. Wade gives *gôḍ* and makes it fem.]

187. Feminine substantives are formed from masculine ones, in the following ways :—

(1) Through the abovementioned changes of vowels and consonants.

Examples :—

(*a*) Vowel Changes.[61]

From	To	Examples.	
		Masculine.	Feminine.
[ـَ a	ـَ ạ	خَر *khar*, an ass	خَر *khạr*]
[ا ـَ á	آ ô	See below.]	
[ـُ or ـِ u	ـَ or ـِ ạ	گُگُر *gagur*, a rat	گَگَر *gugạr*]
,,	,,	کُکُر *kokur*,[62] a cock	کُکَر *kokạr*
,,	,,	کوتُر *kôtur*, a pigeon	کوتَر *kôtạr*
ـُ o	ـَ ạ	زُر *zor*, a deaf man	زَر *zạr*
,,	,,	پُٹ *poṭ*, a plank	پَٹ *pạṭ*, a small plank
وُ ـُ ô	آ ô	پَچَہ لُوو *patsa-lôv*, a fox	پَچَہ لآو *patsa-lôv*
,,	,,	دیُور *dyôr*, a rich man	دیآر *dyôr*
,,	,,	[بروُر *brôr*, a tom cat	برآر *brôr*]
[یُ yu	ـِ i	See adjectives.]	
[یوُ iû, yû, etc.	ی ـِ î	See adjectives.]	
Final ہ ـَ ạ	ی ـِ î	توتہ *tôtạ*, a parrot	توتی *tôtî*
......	ـِ i	گُر *gur*, a horse	گُر *guri*[63]
,,	,,	دودہ گُور *dôdạ-gûr*, a milk-seller	دودہ گوُر *dôdạ-gûri*

[61] Several additional examples, given by translator.

[62] Luke, xiii. 34, کُکَر *kokạr* [so also Wade, § 10].

[63] [Pronounced *guir*. In Dêvanâgarî गुरू· *gurû*. So also *dôda-gûri* is pronounced *dôda-gûir* (Dêvanâgarî दोदगुरू).]

(b) Consonantal Changes.

(See also below.)

From	To	Examples.	
		Masculine.	Feminine.
د d	ز z	ناوِد nâvid, a barber	ناوِز nâviz
ت t	چ ts	پُوت pût, a chicken	پُوچ pûts
ن n	ںِ ñ	هُون hûn, a dog	هُونِ hûñ

(c) Changes of both Consonants and Vowels.

Vowel Change.		Consonant Change.		Masculine.	Feminine.
From	To	From	To		
[ـَ a	ـَ ạ	گ g	ج j	ٹَنگ ṭang, a pear	ٹَنج ṭạnj]
ـَ â	آ ô	ل l	ج j	[کرال krâl, a potter	کرآج krôj]
,,	,,	,,	,,	شال shâl, a jackal	شآج shôj
,,	,,	ن n	ںِ ñ	گان gân, a pimp	گآنِ gôñ
ـُ u	ـَ or ـِ ạ	[ل l	ج j	واتُل wâtul, a man of low caste	واتَج wâtạj]
,,	,,	,,	,,	چاوُل tsâwul, a goat	چاوَج tsâwạj
,,	,,	,,	,,	پهُل pahul, a shepherd	پهَج pahạj
,,	,,	[ک k	چ ch	بَتُک batuk, a drake	بَتَچ batạch]
,,	,,	ت t	چ ts	هاپُت hâput, a bear	هاپَچ hâpạts
ـُ o	ـَ ạ	گ g	ج j	لُنگ long, a cripple	لَنج lạnj
,,	,,	د d	ز z	سُند sond, sign of genitive	سَنز sạnz
آو ô	آ ô	ل l	ج j	چرول tsrôl, a gaoler	چرآج tsrôj
,,	,,	,,	,,	[مول môl, a father	مآج môj, a mother]
,,	,,	,,	,,	وول wôl, a ring	وآج wôj, a small ring]
,,	,,	ن n	ںِ ñ	کون kôn, one-eyed	کآنِ kôñ

[Consonantal changes not exemplified above, will be found under the head of adjectives.]

(2) By the addition of the syllable ـَـن *añ* [ـِـن *iñ*] or ـےن *eñ*; *e. g.*,

مام *mâm*, a mother's brother	مامن *mâmañ*
بٹہ *baṭa*, a Brâhman	بٹن *baṭañ*
هانز *hônz*, a boatman	هانزن *hânzañ*
خر *khar*, an ass	[خر *khar* or] خرن *khariñ*
هست *host*, an elephant	هستن *hastiñ*
ووٹھ *wûnṭh*, a camel	ووٹن *wûnṭiñ*
کاو *kâv*, a crow	کاون *kôviñ*
انز *anz*, a gander	انزن *anziñ*
سور *sôr*, a boar	سارن *sôriñ*
وون *wôn*, a shop-keeper	وانن *wâñeñ*
پانیور *pânyûr*, a water-carrier	پانیورن *pânyûreñ*
ووور *wôwur*, a weaver	[ووور *wiwar* or] وورن *wûwareñ*

and so on.

(3) In the case of animals, often merely by the addition of مادہ *mâda*; *e. g.*, خرمادہ *khar mâda*, a she-ass;

(4) In more or less irregular ways, *e. g.*,

مهنیوو *mahanyuv*, a man	زنانہ *zanâna*, a woman
بوی *bôi*, brother	بن *beñ*, sister
رازہ *râza*, king	[راجرن *râjereñ* or] رآن *rôñ*, queen
مدنیار *madanyâr*, a lover, friend ...	وس *wes*, a female friend, confidante
سہ *suh*, a tiger	سیمن *sîmeñ*
سرف *saruf* [or سرپ *sarup*], a snake ..	[سرفن *sarafeñ*] or سرپن *sarapeñ*
جوان *jawân* or انهور *anhuhor*, a lad...	انهرش *anharash*, a virgin
مهرازہ *mahrâza*, a bridegroom ...	مهارن *mahâreñ*
داند *dând*, an ox	گاو *gâv*
کانٹر *kânṭvr*, a sparrow	چر *tsar*, a hen-sparrow
غلام *ghulâm*, a servant	چنز *tsunz* or کنیز *kanîz* (El. m. !)

A man's wife is generally denoted by the addition of باٸی *bâî*, or is frequently formed according to rule 2 [the latter is less respectful]. Thus,—

چھان *chhân*, a carpenter ... ... چھانہ باٸی *chhâna-bâî*, a carpenter's wife

کاندر *kândar*, a baker ... ... کاندر باٸی *kândar-bâî* [or کاندرن *kândaren*]

کھار *khâr*, a blacksmith ... ... کھارہ باٸی *khâra-bâî*

کرال *krâl*, a potter ... ... کرالہ باٸی *krâla-bâî*

منر *manar*, a lapidary ... ... منر باٸی *manar-bâî* [or منرن *manaren*]

پادشاہ *pâdshâh*, a king... ... ... پادشاہ باٸی *pâdshâh-bâî* (= مالکہ *mâlika*), the king's wife, the queen

گروست *grôst*, a cultivator ... ... گریست باٸی *grîst-bâî*

ناود *nâvid*, a barber ... ... ناود باٸی *nâvid-bâî*

وازہ *wâza*, a cook ... ... وازہ باٸی *wâza-bâî*, a she-cook, or a cook's wife

I also find (Luke, i., 36) :—

آشناو *âshnâû*, the cousin ... ... آشناوباٸی *âshnâû-bâî*

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 165.)

6. Effects of Spirit-possession.

The general effects of spirit-possession are sickness or disease, barrenness, loss of favour or affection, loss in business, and general misfortune. When a person is seized by a spirit, the **usual symptoms** are that he cries incessantly, weeps, speaks at random, bites his fingers, sways his body to and fro, lets his hair fall loose, spits blood, refuses food for days, and day by day grows paler and leaner. **In some cases** of spirit-possession, where the result is barrenness or other form of ill-luck, **no bodily signs are visible.**[15] In the Konkân as well as in the Dakhan, the following **diseases have been generally attributed to spirit-possession,** Monomania, Melancholia, Hypochondriasis, Mania, Dementia, Catalepsy, Hysteria, Epilepsy, Convulsions, Delirium, Malaria, Fainting, Long-continued disease, Cholera and other epidemics, and Sudden Illness.[16] Spirit-possession brings sickness and misfortune. So the Kotegârs, low class Dhârwâr beggars, if sick or unlucky, go to a Liṅgâyat priest, who gives them an enchanted lemon and some ashes. They eat the lemon, rub on the ashes, and are well.[17] The Pingla Joshis of Bijâ-

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15 The effects and symptoms mentioned above are in the case of involuntary spirit-possession.

16 Information from Mr. V. R. Ghollay, Assistant Surgeon, Poona. 17 Information from Mr. Tirmalrâo.

pur, if they are troubled with sickness, think it is caused by an angry ancestral spirit entering the body, and to please the ghost they set his image among the house gods, and worship it. Gujarât Musalmâns believe that when a young grown-up girl gets an attack of hysteria it is because she has a *jinn*, or spirit-lover, who has possessed her.[18] Spirit-possession causes sulkiness. Among Gujarât Musalmâns, if a woman is sulky or in a fit, the husband says: "Don't speak; the devil is on her."[19] In Mysore, epilepsy is believed to be the effect of spirit-seizure: Buchanan[20] says — one night hearing a great noise, next morning I made enquiries, and found that one of the cattle-drivers had been possessed by a devil or *piśâch*, and had been senseless and foaming at the mouth. The whole people, Musalmâns and Hindus, met, and in the hope of frightening the devil made all the noise they could. But they could not get him to leave, till a Brâhmaṇ threw ashes on the man and said prayers. In fact, it was epilepsy brought on by intoxication. Among the Shânârs of Tinnevelly, if a man feels the beginning of an ague fit, or the dizziness of a bilious headache, he thinks himself possessed.[21] The Kirghiz of Central Asia hold that a woman in child-bed suffering from an involuntary muscular contraction, is the effect of possession.[22] An Arab in delirium is possessed: so the Samoans, Tongons, Sumatrans, all think that madness is possession. In Syria, madness is thought to be inspiration. Among the Jews madness was originally thought to be ghost-possession.[23] The Chinese believe that diseases are caused by the unfriendly spirits of dead ancestors, who, having no posterity to offer sacrifices, and yet having the same need of food, possess or prey on the living.[24] The Hottentots believe that all disease comes from Gauna, their devil-guardian, and his servant.[25] Barrenness is caused by spirit-possession, and so Hottentot girls who have just come of age run naked in the first thunderstorm that they may be fruitful.[26] In Africa, the effects, or rather symptoms, of spirit-possession are hysteria, lethargy, insensibility to pain, and madness; these symptoms are believed to be the work of Buders or wizards.[27] In the Kongo, in West Africa, epilepsy is possession, and the possessor is the ancestral spirit.[28] The Abyssinians hold that women are oftener possessed than men.[29] The Uanpes think death can hardly occur naturally. The Coast negroes think neither death nor disease is natural. American Indians think that death is caused by witchcraft.[30] The belief in spirit-possession and in the spirit theory of disease is still common in rural England. Fits, the falling sickness, ague, cramp and warts are all believed to be caused by a spirit entering the patient's body. These diseases are cured, that is, the spirit who causes the disease is scared, by a charm. In the charm the disease is addressed as a spirit or being. In ague the charm runs: "Ague, farewell till we meet in hell." Cramp is addressed: "Cramp, be thou faultless, as our Lady was sinless when she bore Jesus."[31] In Lancashire, the people think casting out the ague is the same as casting out the devil, for it is the devil in the sick man that makes him shiver and shake.[32] Warts are cured by rubbing them with a green elder stick and burying the stick till it rots.[33] In certain parts of England fits and hiccough are still believed to be possessions, and are cured by charms.[34] Unmarried country girls in England, when they have no lover, perform many curious rites. The object of the rites is apparently to get rid of a fairy lover who the girl thinks has possessed her, and, to keep her for himself, has thrown over her some spell which makes her unlovely in men's eyes. For this reason she performs various rites to get rid of the fairy lover. In Yorkshire, on St. Agnes' Eve, girls keep a fast, and eat a small cake, flour, salt and water, without speaking.[35]

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18 Information from Mr. Fazal Latfullah.

19 Information from Mr. Fazal Latfullah.

20 Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 45.

21 Caldwell in Balfour's *Encyclopædia.*

22 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 245.

23 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 248.

24 *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 21.

25 Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 87.

26 *Op. cit.* p. 87.

27 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 311.

28 Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 243.

29 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 244.

30 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 250.

31 Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 158, 164.

32 *Op. cit.* p. 163.

33 *Op. cit.* p. 165.

34 *Op. cit.* pp. 145-149.

35 Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 91.

7. How Spirits are kept off.

In many parts of the Bombay Presidency it is believed that persons who die on an unlucky day, people who die a violent or unnatural death, and people who die with a wish unfulfilled, as an unmarried person, or a woman in child-bed, or who die leaving their chief interest behind them, as a woman who leaves a babe, or a miser who leaves his hoard, do not rest, but come back to trouble the living. To prevent ghosts of this kind from coming back and troubling the family, special funeral rites are performed. Figures of men of dough or of sacred grass are laid on the body and burned, and, in the case of a woman, all or some of her ornaments or clothes are given to a Brâhmaṇ woman. Among the Ratnâgiri Marâṭhâs and Kunbis a woman who dies in child-birth has sometimes the tendons of her heels cut. Among the Sômavanśî Kshatrîs of Alibâg there is a strong belief that when a woman marries a second time, her first husband's ghost comes and troubles her. To prevent him troubling her, she wears round her neck a charmed silver or copper amulet, or a silver or copper image of the dead husband. In Gujarât, men and women wear round the neck a round or oblong silver plate with the face of the deceased member of the family who has been haunting them roughly embossed on it.[36] In the Dakhan, to prevent the ghost of a woman who has died in child-birth coming back, water and *ralá* grains are strewn along the path when the corpse is carried to the burning or burying ground. As soon as the body has passed out nails or a horse-shoe are beaten into the threshold of the house, and in some cases a small nail or a needle is driven into the crown of the head of the deceased.

To drive spirits from the bodies of persons whom they have seized, several home cures are resorted to. In the Konkân, when a person is believed to be possessed by a spirit, a fire is kindled, and on the fire some hair, *markyâ lobân* or dung-resin, and a little hog-dung or horse hair are dropped, and the head of the sufferer is held over the fumes for a few minutes. Cuts with a light cane are given across the soulders, and pieces of garlic are sometimes squeezed into the ears and nostrils of the possessed. When all home cures fail to drive out the spirit, prayers for help are offered to guardian spirits or to house and village gods. Vows are made to the house gods, and the patient is taken to the temple of Mâruti, or some other village god; there he is made to fall prostrate before the idol, ashes from the incense pot kept burning before the god and a little red lead and oil taken from the feet of the god are applied to the forehead of the sufferer, and he is brought home. When the guardians fail to drive out the spirit, in some cases even before consulting the guardians, an exorcist, or *bhagat*, is called in.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

KOBANG, THE MALAY COIN AND WEIGHT.

The commercial term kobang is liable to lead to confusion in the minds of students, because of its application to two very different objects, *viz*, the Japanese gold coin or piece of money known as kobang or ko-ban, weighing 222 grs. of gold, and the Malay money of low denomination, 10 cents, known as kupong and also loosely as kobang. Both the Japanese and the indigenous kobang have been current side by side in the Straits Settlements for centuries. Yule incidentally mentions the Malay kobang in *Hobson-Jobson*, but he gives no explanation of it, nor has he devoted an article to it. The following quotations are a contribution to its history. The word itself seems to mean a piece or slice, and to have been originally a numeral coefficient, as are so many modern expressions for money, coin, weights and measures in languages using numeral coefficients. See Maxwell, *Malay Manual*, p 71, who, as a numeral coefficient, calls the word keping.

1413. — "In their trading transactions (Java) the Chinese copper cash of different Dynasties are current . . . . Their weights are as follows: a cati (*kin*) has twenty taels (*liang*), a tael sixteen *ch'ien* and a *ch'ien* four kobangs; a kobang is equal to 2·1875 *fen*,[1] the Chinese official weight,

[36] MS. note, 1888.

[1] *I. e.*, the candareen.

the *ch'ien* is 8·75 *fen*, their tael is 1·4 Chinese taels, and their cati has twenty-eight Chinese taels, all in official weight of China." — The *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, quoted in Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, in *Indo-China*, 2nd Series, Vol. I. p. 177 ff.

1554. — "The weight with which they weigh (at Malacca) gold, musk, seed-pearl, coral, *calambuco*, ... consists of . . . . one *paual* 4 mazes, one maz 4 **cupões**, *one* **cupão** 5 cumdurjns." — A. Nunes, p. 39, in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* mace. Under candareen, Yule quotes the same passage in a different rendering, calling *cupões*, *cupão* by the Anglicised form **cupong**.

1559. — "Four hundred cashes make a **cowpan.** Foure **cowpans** are one mas." — Capt. T. Davis in Purchas, Vol. I. p. 123, in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* tael.

1711. — "A Quarter of a Mace is called a *Pollam* or **Copong**, Imaginary." — Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 42.

1775. — "4 **Copang** Acheen are 1 Mace, an imaginary Coin." — Stevens, *Guide to East Indian Trade*, p. 87.

1805. — "The Memorandum of 1805 by Lieutenant-Governor Farquhar (*J. Ind. Arch.* Vol. V. p. 418) speaks of 'doublekies or **cupangs**,' the doubleky being the Dutch coin of 2 stuyvers, or 10 doits." — Chalmers, *Colonial Currency*, p. 382 n.

1811. — "And (at Achin) **kepping** or copper cash, of which 400 go to the dollar." — Marsden, *Hist. of Sumatra*, p. 171.

1812. — "**Keping**, a copper coin, of which 400 are equal to a Spanish dollar." — Marsden, *Malay Dict.*, *s. v.*

1813. — "4 *copangs* = 1 mace." — Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* mace.

1814. — "This tax is either paid in a small Chinese coin, called **kêpeng**, or in kind." — Raffles, *Java*, Vol. II., Appx., p. cxli.

1825. — "Accounts are kept (in Penang) in Spanish dollars, **copangs**, and pice, 10 pice making a **copang**, and 10 **copangs** one Spanish dollar." — Kelly, *Cambist*, in Chalmers, *Colonial Currency*, p. 382.

c. **1833.** — "Acheen in Sumatra. Tale of 16 mace or 64 **copangs**." — Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, Ed. Thomas, 1858, p. 115.

1835. — "This gold coin (Japan **copang**) is not to be confused with the copper coins of 1 and 2 **capangs** coined for Malacca in 1835 by the East India Company." — Chalmers, *Colonial Currency*, p. 383 n.

1836. — "At Malacca 10 Saga besar or 4 **Kupangs** are equal to one maiam." — Newbold's account of Johole, in Moor, *Indian Arch.*, Appx., p. 70 n.

1852. — "**Kupong** (Dutch **cupon**).[2] A copper money, estimated at 10 doits, or the decimal of a Spanish dollar." — Crawfurd, *Malay Dict.*, *s. v.*

1881. — "10 duit (cent) = 1 **kûpang**, (10 cents), in Penang and Province Wellesley." — Swettenham, *Malay Vocabulary*, Vol. I., Appx. on Currency, etc.

1882. — "Local terms are also used to denote fractions of the dollar, as in Penang, **kupang** (= cents)." — Maxwell, *Malay Manual*, p. 142 f.

1893. — "These are Malay words. The *wang* was the Netherlands Indian stijver, = 4 duits, and the *wang bhara* was the European stijver, = 5 duits. Twenty-two years ago, when I was magistrate at Malacca, I often heard the expression *wang bhara* used to signify $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents of a dollar, though there was no corresponding coin. This is similar to the use of the **Kapang** in Penang." — Chalmers, *Colonial Currency*, p. 383 n., in a letter from Sir W. Maxwell.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MUSALMAN TITLES FOR HINDUS.

THE use of Musalmân *titles* by Hindûs is not uncommon in all parts of India which have been subject to Musalmân rulers. In Bengal a well-known family of Brâhmans bears the title of Khân. Râjâ Mahendrâ Lâl Khân, of Midnâpûr, is one of them. So also the titles of Majmu'dâr (now corrupted into Majoomdâr), Sirkâr, Mustaufi, are borne by the descendants of persons who held those offices under the Mughal sovereigns. The reverse practice of Muhammadans bearing Hindu names is also common in Northern Bengal, where we meet such names as Shêkh Gôbind Dâs, Shêkh Gôpâl, Kâlî Nâth Shêkh. These are descendants of converts to Islâm from Hinduism, who retain the Hindu names of their ancestors.

JOHN BEAMES in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[2] This can hardly infer that the Dutch introduced the word into Malay, because we hear it presumably in use in 1416 and certainly 1554, the first Dutch voyage to India being dated 1595-7.

SCYTHO-BACTRIAN COINS IN THE BRITISH COLLECTION OF CENTRAL ASIAN ANTIQUITIES.

BY A. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E., PH.D. (TÜBINGEN).

THE British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities, which has gradually been forming within the last five years, and a *Report* on which I am now preparing for the Government of India, includes a not inconsiderable number of **very interesting coins.** Some of these belong to the Scytho-Bactrian, others to the Indo-Chinese classes. In this paper I propose to describe the coins of the former class. With two exceptions they were all procured, in October 1897, through Captain Stuart H. Godfrey, Assistant Resident in Kashmir, by purchase from a merchant named Miyân Ghulâm Rasûl. They are said to have come from Samarkand, Tashkend and other places in Western Turkestan. The two exceptions are from Eastern (or Chinese) Turkestan, and were procured by Mr. George Macartney, who resides in Kashghar as Special Assistant for Chinese Affairs to the Resident in Kashmir. They were obtained from one of the sand-buried sites to the North of Khotan.

The substance of this paper will form part of my forthcoming *Report*, which will be accompanied with photographic plates showing the coins here described.

The total of **the Scytho-Bactrian coins** is thirty-six. Among them there are Imitations of Bactrian coins, twenty-six coins of Hyrkodes, one coin of Azes, and two of uncertain ascription.

(*a*) Imitations of Bactrian Coins.

There are seven of these; all silver Tetradrachms. They imitate the coins of **Euthydemus** and **Heliocles.** The former reigned in Bactria about 210-190 B. C.; the latter, who appears to have belonged to a rival family, about 160-120 B. C. During the reign of the former, Saka tribes occupied the Northern provinces of the Bactrian empire between the Oxus and Yaxartes. During the reign of the latter, the Sakas, being driven out by Kushan (or Yue-chi) tribes, occupied Bactria south of the Oxus.[1] Their chieftains imitated the coins of their contemporary Bactrian rulers. These coins can be easily recognized by their degradation, both in point of design and of weight.

The best of the seven coins are two in imitation of **Heliocles,** of his well-known type: Bust of King on obverse, and Standing Zeus on reverse, as in the *British Museum Catalogue*, plate vii, fig. 2. One, which weighs 231 grains (full weight 264), measures 1·25″, and is fairly good in design (with ringlet for omikron), though much worn, may possibly be a genuine coin of Heliocles. It has the monogram of *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, No. 4 (p. 21). The other weighs only 219 grains (size 1·25″), and, as the semi-barbarous reverse shows, is clearly a Saka imitation: but the curiosity of it is, that while it has an imitated Heliocles reverse, it has retained an apparently genuine obverse of **Eukratides** (c. 190-160 B. C.), who was the predecessor, and perhaps father, of Heliocles. The imitated Heliocles reverse is very fairly done, it has the full Greek legend, but with a dot for omikron, and a rather rude figure of Zeus. Its monogram is [monogram] . Both this and the first-mentioned coin must be early imitations, and may be referred to about 150 B. C.

The remaining five coins are imitations of **Euthydemus,** of his well-known type with Head of King on obverse, and Sitting Heracles on reverse, with club resting on his knee. One of them, which is the heaviest, weighing 170 grains and measuring 1″, has the king's portrait as shown in *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pl. ii, figs. 1-4. It had also an entirely Greek legend, which, however, is almost totally obliterated. The other four coins, which only weigh from 155 to 144 grains, show the king's face as portrayed in *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pl. i, fig. 11 (also *Ariana*

[1] See the outlines of Bactrian history in the Introduction to the *British Museum Catalogue*, pp. xviii. ff.

Antiqua, pl. i, figs. 2-4, and Rapson's *Indian Coins*, pl. i, fig. 18, in the *Indo-Aryan Encyclopedia*). Both types of face, however, are very fairly imitated. One of the four coins, which weighs 144 grains (size 1″), had an entirely Greek legend, now badly effaced; but sufficient traces remain to show that it had the name of Heliokles struck over that of Euthydemus. The two names were not struck accurately in the same line, consequently M (of Euthydemus) is still seen slightly projecting over the line of Heliokles, of which latter name K is fully, and ΛI partially recognizable; as shown in the woodcut . The other three coins are bilingual, having the king's name in native Bactrian letters, while the title in Greek characters is seen in its usual place to the right, or behind the back, of the Sitting Heracles. Of the Greek title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ only the three letters ΣΙ> or ΣΙV (*i. e.*, with inverted Λ) together with traces of Λ before and Ε after them are clearly legible. Coins of this description, that is, with the title to the right and the name in Bactrian letters to the left of Heracles, appear to have been found previously. Two such coins, from the collection of General Fox (if I understand the account correctly), are described by Mr. Thomas in his edition of Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 32. But, so far as I know, none of them has ever been figured. Similar coins, but with the Greek and Bactrian legends transposed, that is, the title in Bactrian and the name (Euthydemus) in Greek, have been published. One, in rather good preservation, has been figured by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. IX (1889), pl. xiii, (also Rapson's *Indian Coins*, pl. i, 19). Another series of similar coins has the whole legend in Bactrian characters, see *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. IX, pl. xiii, 6; also *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. i, 9, 10; *Indian Antiquities*, pl. ii, 6. It is probable that, as Sir A. Cunningham says (*Num. Chron.*, Vol. IX, p. 307), the oldest imitations are those with Greek legends only, next come those with mixed legends of rude Greek and Bactrian letters, the latest are those with Bactrian characters only. In the second class, I suppose, those coins which preserve the Greek fashion of arranging the legends, and show the title on the right in Greek, and the name on the left in Bactrian, may be considered to be older than those which show the mixed legends in the opposite position, *i. e.*, the name in Greek on the left, and a Bactrian legend on the right, the latter legend also being a name. Accordingly the bilingual coins of the present series may be referred to about 130 B. C. It would also seem, if Dr. Gardner's theory of the change of standard is correct (see *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Introd., pp. lxvii, lxviii), that these coins are didrachms of the Persian standard (full weight 160-170 grains), such as began to be minted in Heliocles' reign.

Seeing that the Bactrian legend on our coins takes the place of the Greek name, it seems reasonable to assume that, like the latter, it runs parallel to the Greek title and must be read from the outside of the coin. This assumption is certainly supported by the general appearance of the characters, which, after the Semitic fashion, must be read from the right to the left. They are shown in the subjoined woodcut.

No. 1. Weight 155 grs.

No. 2. Weight 148 grs.

No. 3. Weight 145 grs.

The third, fourth and fifth letters of No. 1 legend have a distinct resemblance to the Kharoṣṭhî letters *ja*, *a* and *ka*; and at first I was disposed to take the second letter as a crude Kharoṣṭhî *ra*, and to read the whole as a mutilation of (*ati*)*raja Aka*(*thukleyasa*). But the remaining signs do not suggest Kharoṣṭhî letters. The fifth letter of Nos. 2 and 3 suggests the Kharoṣṭhî *e*: but on the whole the three legends suggest themselves as identical; for the first three letters in all are clearly the same; so are most probably the sixth and seventh; and the

fifth letter of Nos. 2 and 3 may be only a badly drawn form of the corresponding letter in No. 1. The only apparent difference between the three legends is the absence of the fourth letter of No. 1 from Nos. 2 and 3. I am not able to decipher the legend; but considering the juxtaposition with the other coins of Euthydemus and Eukratides which bear the name of Heliocles, I would like to suggest that the Bactrian legend might also contain that name. The Alphabet current in Bactria must have been one of the very early modifications of the Aramæan, similar to the ancient Pahlavî and Kharoṣṭhî. The first and fifth letters are very like the Pahlavî *h* and the Kharoṣṭhî *k* respectively. The second letter resembles the Kharoṣṭhî *l*. The third and fourth letters resemble the Pahlavî *aleph* and *vau* respectively, and together might have been used to express the vowel *o*. In Nos. 2 and 3 the fourth character is omitted; and the third might also be taken to represent the Aramæan *' ayin* and to express the vowel *o*. Anyhow, the initial four or five characters may be easily interpreted to represent *h-l-o-k*, the initial portion of the name *Heliok(les)*. It is more difficult to fit in the remainder, unless we may assume that the name was pronounced with *r* instead of *l*, as in its Indian form *Heliakreya*. In that case the sixth letter is *r*, in its form closely resembling the corresponding Pahlavî and Kharoṣṭhî character. The seventh letter appears to be mutilated, and there may have been an eighth; but I do not know what the genitive inflection of the local Bactrian or Scythian dialect may have been in those days. Thus the characters may represent the letters *h-l-o-k-r*, which would well enough make up the name of Heliokles.

(*b*) Coins of Hyrkodes.

There are twenty-six coins of **Hyrkodes**, about 110 B. C., silver obols; mostly of the two well-known types, with Head of King on obv., and either a standing figure (17 specimens), or Head of Horse (7 spec.) on reverse, as shown in *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pl. xxiv, 10 (10 spec.); *ibidem*, pl. xxiv, 11 (7 spec.); and *ibid.*, pl. xxiv, 12 (7 spec.). But there are two obols, one being a new variety of the well-known type, the other an entirely new type. The new variety shows the reverse standing figure holding a spear in his left hand, while the usual variety shows the spear in his right hand. Weight 13 grs.; size 0·5″. The new type shows the usual Head of King on the obverse, but the reverse has a standing figure to the right, apparently Nike standing on a scroll (cloud ?) with traces of a Greek legend. The King's head is distinctive for this coin. Size 0·5625″. Weight 17 grs.

(*c*) Coin of Azes.

There is one coin of **Azes**, c. 30 B. C, silver; nearly the entire legends of both sides clipped away; of the well-known type with mounted King on obverse, and Zeus holding Nike on reverse; apparently in every respect (incl. of monograms) the same as *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, No. 32, p. 75. Weight 36 grs., size 0·5625″.

(*d*) Uncertain Coins.

There are two copper coins, from the neighbourhood of Khotan; apparently Indo-Bactrian, but too much worn to permit of identification. One is a small round coin, measuring ½ inch, weighing 18·5 grs., showing on one side traces of a bull's head facing (?), within an irregular square, enclosed within a marginal circle of dots, without any legend: the other side is entirely indistinguishable. The only, hitherto known, Bactrian coins with a bull's head facing, so far as I know, are two square copper coins of **Menander**, in *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, No. 66, p. 49, and No. 4, p. 169 (pl. xii, 5, and xxxi, 10). The other is a small, apparently square coin, measuring ⅝ inch, weighing 11 grs., showing on one side traces of a conventional stûpa (?) surrounded by an illegible legend: the other side is quite indistinguishable. The only, hitherto known, coin with a *stûpa*, I believe, is a square copper one of **Agathocles**, in *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, No. 15, p. 12 (pl. iv, 10).

ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICK BURKHARDT.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,

by Geo. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 221.)

II.—DECLENSION.

The Oblique Base.

188. The declension of a noun depends on what is called its **oblique base**; that is to say, the form of the noun to which the case-terminations (س *s*, ن *n*, و *u*, ہ *h*) are added. The oblique form ends either in َ *a* or ِ *i*. In some cases it ends in ِ *i* in the singular, and in َ *a* in the plural. Thus, نوکر *naukara* is the oblique base of نوکر *naukar*, the servant (dat. sg. نوکرس *naukara-s*); کُل *kuli* is the oblique base of کُل *kul*, the tree (dat. sg. کُلس *kuli-s*); کور *kôri* is the oblique base of کور *kūr*, the girl (dat. sg. کوره *kôri-h*); کتھ *kathi* (singular) and کتھ *katha* (plural) are the oblique bases of کتھ *kath*, the word (dat. sg. کتھہ *kathi-h*; dat. pl. کتھن *katha-n*).

189. There are thus three main forms of declension, an *a* declension, an *i* declension, and a mixed *a* and *i* declension. As, however, the declension of feminines of the *i* declensions differs somewhat from that of masculines of the same declension, we may adopt the hitherto customary division of nouns into four declensions—

[*Viz.*, Declension I. an *a* declension
„ II. „ *i* „ (masculine)
„ III. „ *i* „ (feminine)
„ IV. a mixed *i* and *a* declension.]

All nouns following the first two declensions are masculine, and those following the third and fourth are feminine.

Number.

190. Kâśmîrî has two numbers, a singular and a plural. As in other Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, there is no dual.

Case.

191. There are eight cases, *viz.*, Nominative, Vocative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive, Locative.[64] The first three may be called direct cases, and the remainder oblique cases. [The last three are made with the aid of post-positions, and are not true cases.]

192. Nominative.—This is the form in which nouns are quoted.

193. Vocative.—In the 1st, 3rd, and 4th declensions this case is formed by lengthening the َ *a* or ِ *i* of the oblique base. In the 2nd declension, the ِ *i* of the oblique base is changed to *y*, and اَ *â* is added. Thus: (I.) نوکر *naukar*, obl. base نوکر *naukara*, voc.

[64] [The author gives a different order. The translator has retained the order customary amongst Indian grammarians.]

نوکرا *naukarā*; (II.) کُل *kul*, obl. base کُلِ *kuli*, voc. کُلیا *kulyā*.[65] (III.) کور *kūr*, obl. base کورِ *kôri*, voc. کوري *kôrī*; (IV.) گاڈ *gāḍ*, a fish, obl. base گاڈِ *gāḍi*, voc. گاڈي *gāḍī*.

In the plural, the termination و *au* is added, before which the *a* of the oblique form is omitted, and the *i* becomes *y*; thus, نوکرو *naukarau*, کُلیو *kulyau*, کوریو *kôryau*, گاڈو *gāḍau*.

The Vocative is usually preceded by the interjection اَی *āy*, O ![66]

194. Accusative. — This is the same as the Nominative in all four declensions.

195. Instrumental. — In the singular of the first declension, the termination ن *n* is added to the oblique base: in that of the 3rd and 4th declensions, ہ *h* is added; and in that of the second declension, the form is that of the oblique base [but the *ī* is shortened to *i*]. The plural ends in و *au*. *E. g.*, نوکرن *naukara-n*; کُلِ *kuli*; کورہ *kôri*; نوکرو *naukarau*; کُلیو *kulyau*; کوریو *kôryau*; گاڈو *gāḍau*. This case is principally used as the case of the agent with transitive verbs in the past tense, see § 88.

196. Dative. — In the singular, this case takes س *s* in the 1st and 2nd declensions, and ہ *h* in the 3rd and 4th. [In the plural it takes ن *n* in all declensions.] This case often stands as a direct object instead of the Accusative, and does so regularly instead of the personal suffixes; *e. g.*, بہٕ بلراوَک تم *bo balarāva-k tim* (I will heal them), or بہٕ تمن بلراوہ *bo timan balarāva* (تمن *timan* being the dat. of the pronoun of the 3rd pers. pl.); نبین چھہک قتل کران تہٕ تم یم چہ نش آی سوزنہٕ سنگسار چھہک کران NABIYAN *chhuk qatl karān ta* TIM *yim tse nish āy sôzana sangsār chhuhak karān*, thou killest *the prophets*, and stonest *them* that are sent unto thee (Luke xiii, 34). Very instructive is Luke, xv. 8, کُسہٕ زنانہٕ چونگ چھنا زالان تہٕ گرس چھنا ڈوان *kosa zanāna* TSÔNG *chhenā zālān ta* GARAS *chhenā ḍuvān*, what woman doth not light A *candle*, and sweep THE *house*, in which the suffix of the dative even stands after the interrogative verb. We also, however, find the dative instead of the accusative with a verbal suffix following, when it precedes a relative sentence; *e. g.* (Luke, xix. 27), میانن دشمنن یمو نہٕ یچھ زہ بہٕ کرہ تمن پیٹھ پادشاھت یور انیوک MYĀNEN DUSHMANAN, *yimau na yotsh zi bo kara timan peṭh pādshāhat, yūrⁱ* ANYŪ-K, those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither.

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[65] In Np. we always find ہ *a* instead of ا *ā*, and *i* and ہ *i* instead of ی *ī*. *E. g.*, نوکرہ *naukara*, کور *kôri*, کُلہٕ *kuli* (so also in adjectives, *e. g.*, Luke, xii. 32, ای لکٹہٕ کھیلہ *ai lokaṭi kheli*, O little flock!) [The real fact is that there are numerous forms of the Vocative case, all differing slightly in meaning. They are all given in the *Kaśmīra-śabdāmṛita*.]

[66] In Np. the Vocative is sometimes (principally in the case of foreign words) the same as the Nominative; *e. g.*, ای خداوند *āy khudāwand*, ای اُستاد *āy ustād*, O master; ای اورت *āy aurat*, O woman; ای شخص *āy shakhṣ*, O man.

197. **Ablative.**[67] — This case is usually the same as the Instrumental, but in the case of singular nouns, of the first and second declensions, meaning animate beings, it is the same as the Dative. In the plural it is always the same as the Instrumental. In the 3rd and 4th Declensions it is the same as the Instrumental. Thus (3rd Declension) Dat. and Abl. کورِ *kôri*, pl. کوریو *kôryau*, (4th Declension) Dat. and Abl. گاڈِ *gâḍi*, pl. گاڈو *gâḍau*. In the 1st and 2nd Declensions the Dat. sing. ends in س *s*. Thus, in the case of animate beings in the singular number, we have (1st Declension) Dat. and Abl. ژورس *tsûras*, and (2nd Declension) گورس *guris*. The Instrumental case singular in the first declension singular ends in ـَن *an*, and the Ablative singular of inanimate objects is formed by dropping the final *n*. Thus, گرٕ *garạ*, a house, Instr. sing., گرن *garan*, Abl. sing. گرٕ *garạ*. The Instrumental singular of the 2nd Declension ends in ـِ *i*. In the Ablative, the *i* is fully pronounced; and a pleonastic ه *h* is added as in the first declension. Thus, کُل *kul*, a tree; Instr. sing. کُلِ *kuli*; Abl. sing. کُلِہ *kulih* or *kuli*. The ه *h* added is merely a graphic device and is not pronounced. The Instrumental plural of both declensions ends in ـَو *au*, and the Ablative plural of all nouns is the same as the Instrumental plural, thus, ژورو *tsûrau*, گرو *garau*, گوریو *guryau*, کُلیو *kulyau*. The Ablative appears chiefly in composition with prepositions which denote separation or distance; *e. g.*, باغہ اندرٕ *bâgha andarạ*, from the garden; مشرقہ تہ مغربہ تہ جنوبہ تہ شمالہ پیٹھہ *mashriqạ tạ maghribạ tạ janûbạ tạ shamâlạ peṭhạ*, from the east and from the west and from the north and from the south.

198. **Genitive.** — This is properly speaking the Dative,[68] compounded with the declinable words سند *sond*, ہند *hond*, سنز *sạnz*, ہنز *hạnz*,[69] meaning 'belonging,'[70] all of which govern the dative case. Regarding the use of these expressions see §§ 206 and ff. below. In the 1st and 2nd declensions the termination س *s* of the dative is elided before سند *sond*, so that we get نوکرٕ سند *naukarạ sond* (the ه *h* is merely graphic),[71] گورِسند *guri sond*; in the 3rd and 4th declensions we have کورِ ہند *kôri hond*, گاڈِ ہند *gâḍi hond*.[72]

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[67] [The translator has altered this portion of the original to bring it into accord with the actual facts of the language. The author makes it out to be invariably derived from the Dative. As a matter of fact it is usually the same as the Instrumental.]

[68] Hence every attribute of a genitive, including every genitive dependent on a genitive, and every noun in apposition to a genitive, must be in the dative, see below, § 209.

[69] [The author throughout writes ہنز *hinz*, and there has hitherto been great uncertainty as to which was the correct form. It is now agreed that ہنز *hạnz* is the correct form, and the translator has accordingly corrected it so throughout.]

[70] Probably the Skr. *sant*, being.

[71] Instead of ـَہ *ạ*, I now and then find ی *i*, *e. g.*, دلی *dili*, for دلہ *dilạ*.

[72] [It must be carefully noted that this Genitive in *sond* and *hond*, cannot be used with inanimate masculine nouns in the singular. We cannot say کُلِ سند *kuli sond*, of a tree. We must say کُلیک *kulyuk*, see below. The author does not seem to have been aware of this. Corrections have been made throughout accordingly.]

The genitive can also be expressed in the following manners: —

(1) The substantive is turned into an adjective, by the addition of the following syllables:—

(*a*) ن ـُ *un* (fem. ن ـَ *an̄*; pl. ن ـَ *ani*, fem. نہ ـَ *ane*), to proper names: *e. g.*, میرضی شاھُن *Mîrza Shâh-un*, of *Mîrza Shâh*, اُوریاھن قولای *Ûriyâhan̄ qolâî*, Uriah's wife; فیلبوٗ سنٕز آشنہ هیرودیاسہ هنٕدہ سببہ *Fîlibûs-ani âshani Hîrôdyâsi-handi sababa*, on account of Philip's wife Herodias; هرودنٕس مرنٕس تام *Harôd-anis maranas tâm*, until the death of Herod.

(*b*) ک ـُ *uk* (fem. چ ـَ *ach*; pl. ک ـَ *aki*, fem. چہ ـَ *ache*), to [masculine] substantives [expressing inanimate things in the singular], including nouns of action, and infinitives used substantively; *e. g.*, آسمانُک *âsmân-uk*, heavenly, *i. e.*, of heaven; نچنٕچ تہ گونٕچ آواز *natsan-ach ta gewan-ach âwâz* (fem.), the noise of dancing and singing; ککرُک بانگ دنہ برٛنٹھ *kokar-uk bâng dina bônth*, before the cock's crow, *i.e.*, before the cock crows [This example breaks the rule of inanimate objects]; پادشاھتُک سرزاننُک وقوف *pâdshâhat-uk sir zânan-uk wuqûf*, the power of knowing the mysteries of the kingdom (Luke, viii. 10) [Here *pâdshâhat* is treated as a *masculine* noun]; حیات ابدیُک وارث *hayât-i abadîy-uk wâris* heir of everlasting life; هنٕچ اُمید *henach ummêd*, the hope of taking. [If the masculine ends in *yuk*, then the feminine ends in *ich*, the masc. plur. in *iki*, and the fem. plur. in *iche*.]

When there are several adjectives in ک ـُ *uk*, united together by تہ *ta* and, the syllable ک ـُ *uk* is usually affixed only to the last; *e. g.*, آسمان تہ زمینُک خُداوند *âsmân ta zamîn-uk khudâwand*, the lord of the heaven and the earth (*cf.*, however, نچنٕچ *natsan-ach*, etc., above).

(*c*) و ـُ *uv*[73] (fem. و ـَ *av* (or, if the masculine ends in *yuv*, *iv*); pl. و ـَ *avi* (*ivi*), fem. وٕ ـَ *ave* (*ive*)), only mentioned in Mp. [Wade also describes it. The suffix means 'made of.' *Examples.*— ھچیُو گر *hachyuv gara*, a house of wood; ھچو لور *hachiv lûr*, a stick of wood; ھچوِ کرآوِ *hachivi krôvi*, sandals of wood; ھچوٕ دارٕ *hachive dâre*, windows of wood. Examples all taken from Wade.]

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[73] Original has, incorrectly, وٗ ـَ *avu*.

(2) By means of the Persian ـِ *i* (*izáfat*); *e. g.*, فرزندِ انسان *farzand-i insán*, son of man (*cf.* I. *b*).

199. Locative. — This case, which occurs only in composition with prepositions (or rather post-positions), is the same as the dative; *e. g.*, باغ *bágh*, a garden, dat. sg. باغس *bágha-s*; loc. باغس اندر (منز) *bághas andar* (or *manz*), in a garden; Dat. pl. باغن *bághan*, loc. باغن اندر (منز) *bághan andar* (*manz*), in gardens.

200. Besides the cases described above, Kâśmîrî has, like Persian, the so-called **Case of Unity**, which is formed by the addition of ـه *ah*. The noun also is usually preceded, and sometimes followed by the word اك *ak*, 'one'; *e. g.*, اك نوكره *ak naukar-ah*, a slave, a certain slave; اك كله *ak kulah*, a tree; اك كوره *ak kôr-ah*, a girl.

I also find this ـه *ah* used with كنه *kenh*, any, and يس *yus*, who; *e. g.*, كنه چيزه *kenh chîzh*, any thing, anything; يس شخصه *yus shakhsah*, (he) who; so also in the case of numerals with اك *ak*; *e. g.*, اك هت تيره *ak hat têrah*, one hundred sheep.[73a]

201. Arabic words, which are already in their Arabic plural forms, can also form a Kâśmîrî plural; thus نبي *nabî*, a prophet; plur. gen. نبين هند *nabiyan-hond*, or انبيهن هند *anbiyah-an hond*, from the Arabic Plural انبيا *anbiyá* (compare Luke, xvi. 29 with xvi. 31).

So also from Arabic adjectives new Kâśmîrî adjectives can be formed by means of the above-mentioned termination ـك *uk* (*cf.* above, حيات ابديك *hayát-i-abadíy-uk*).

(*To be continued.*)

THE SIEGE OF AHMADNAGAR AND HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE FORT BY CHAND BIBI — A NARRATIVE OF AN EYE-WITNESS.

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Prefatory Remarks.

The great siege of Aḥmadnagar by the Mughals and the heroic defence of the fort by the famous **Chând Bîbî** forms one of the most interesting and romantic chapters in Indian history, but hitherto — as far as I am aware — no account by an eye-witness of the siege has ever been published. Up to the present Firishtah has been almost our only informant, for those who succeeded him, recognising him as the greatest authority of the day on Dakhan history, have simply copied him. But Firishtah, with most of the other foreigners who escaped the massacre in the reign of Ismâ'îl Niẓâm-Shâh, was compelled to leave Aḥmadnagar, and he then went to reside in Bijâpur. This was six or seven years before the siege, and he does not appear ever to have re-visited Aḥmadnagar.

The **Burhân-i Ma,âsir,** from which I have translated the present account, is a very rare Persian MS. by **'Alî B. 'Azîz-Ullâh Ṭabâṭabâ.** I have only been able to hear of three copies of the work, *viz.*, one in the India Office Library, No. 127 — from which this translation is made — one in the library of King's College, Cambridge, No. 65, and one in the British Museum Library, Add. 9996-9998, and the latter seems to me to be a modern copy made directly from the Cambridge MS. before it found its way to the College library. The first part deals with the history of the Bahmanî dynasty, and the

[73a] [In Dêvanâgarî these words are spelt with a long *â*. Thus, नौकराह् *naukar-âh*, कुलाह् *kul-âh*, &c.]

remainder is a history of the **Nizâm-Shâhî dynasty of Aḥmadnagar.** The last section of the work, which begins with a fresh *Bismillah,* is an account of the invasion of the Dakhan and siege of Aḥmadnagar by the Mughals in 1595-6 and concludes with the departure of the Mughal army on the 18th March, 1596, and the submission **of Ikhlaṣ Khân** and other Abyssinian *amîrs,* to Chând Bîbî. The author tells us in the beginning of the account that he was an eye-witness of most of the events which he records.

Chând Bîbî (or **Chând Sultânah** as she was afterwards called), the heroine of this narrative, was daughter of Ḥusain Nizâm-Shâh, third king of Aḥmadnagar, who died in 1565. She was **married to ʿAlî ʿÂdil-Shâh I., fifth king of Bîjâpur,** at the same time that his sister, Bîbî Hadîyah, was married to Chând Bîbî's brother, Prince Murtaẓâ Ḥusain. Chand Bîbî's husband was assassinated by a slave under discreditable circumstances on Monday, the 24th of the month Ṣafar, A. H. 988, at the eighth hour of the night, corresponding to 2 a. m. on the 11th April, 1580,[1] and as she is said to have been about twenty-five years of age at the time of her husband's death, she must have been about forty at the time of the siege.

The narrative opens at the period when **Ibrâhîm Nizâm-Shâh** — eighth king of the dynasty — after a reign of only four months, having been slain in action against Ibrâhîm ʿÂdil-Shâh II. of Bîjâpur, was succeeded by his son, Prince **Bahâdur,** but the latter being then only three years old, his grand-aunt, Chând Bîbî, assumed the Regency.

Advance of the Mughal army into the kingdom of the Dakhan, and their return without attaining their object.

To the wise critics who are possessed of penetration and vision and the offspring of the laboratory of creation it is manifest and clear that when the Lord of the glorious and exalted dominion opens the door of prosperity in the face of felicity, He firmly plants the hand of protection on the solid mountain of confidence. In whatever direction the face of hope turns, a two-horsed object comes to meet it. A clear proof of this saying is the coming of the Mughal army into the Dakhan, and after the siege of Aḥmadnagar and slaughter and exertions without limit or measure, their not seeing the face of victory and triumph — owing to the assistance of the Most High God and the sincerity of the intentions of Her Highness **Chând Bîbî Sultânah, daughter of Shâh Ḥusain Nizâm Shâh.** (May God the Most High extend their glorious shadows till the separation of the two worlds !)

The sweetly-speaking parrot[2] of the relation of the orators of the assembly of speech, who with the polo-stick of the pen has carried off the ball of eloquence from his compeers, and with his own eyes has witnessed most of the strange events [here recorded], thus displays these precious pearls in the sight of the eloquent observers.

After the martyrdom of Prince Ibrâhîm Nizâm Shâh, **Mîyâṇ Manjû** withdrew his footsteps from the road of obedience and devotion, and nominated for the sovereignty of the kingdom of the Dakhan an infant named Aḥmad Shâh, and sent Prince Bahâdur Shâh *bin* Nizâm-Shâh to the fort of **Châvandh,**[3] which is celebrated above all the forts of Dakhan for its strength and inaccessibility. Not content even with this, he posted a number of doorkeepers round the royal *ḥaram* of Her Highness the Bilkîs of the age [Chând Bîbî] in order to prevent the servants of the court going to and fro, and not to allow anyone to go near her : moreover he contemplated putting her to death. And when the Ḥabshî *amîrs* having refused to obey Mîyâṇ Manjû, laid siege to the fortress of Aḥmadnagar, and the besieged were reduced to extremities, Mîyâṇ Manjû through helplessness and necessity sent **a letter to Prince Shâh Murâd** — who had always entertained the idea of conquering the Dakhan, and had thought of marching in that direction — and incited His Highness to conquer these paradise-like dominions. Previous to that a letter from King Akbar, also concerning the conquest of the Dakhan, had reached the Prince and all the *amîrs* of the frontier. At this time, when from the letter of

[1] Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk, I. O. MS. No. 3540, p. 161.

[2] Of course the author here alludes to himself.

[3] Lat. 19° 49′ N., long. 73° 49′ E.

Mîyâṉ Manjû he obtained information of the dissension among the Niẕâm-Shâhî *amîrs*, considering it a good opportunity, he marched towards the Dakhan with the army of Gujarât and Mâlwâ.

When **Râjâ 'Alî Khân, ḥâkim of Burhânpur**, heard of the approach of that great army — being altogether hopeless of assistance from the army of the Dakhan — according to orders which had reached him from His Majesty King Akbar on the subject of alliance and co-operation with the Prince and the leaders of the army, he proceeded to join that army, and visited the Khân Khânân, on whose promise he placed most reliance; and with him waited on the Prince, and with the desire of collecting forces. returned to the Dakhan dominions by way of Sulṯânpur.

As **Sa'âdat Khân** [alone ?] of all the servants of Burhân Niẕâm-Shâh, after the terrible death of His Majesty Ibrâhîm Shâh, outwardly used to show affability towards the malevolent traitor, Mîyâṉ Manjû, the latter sent that *khân* towards the districts of Kolâbâ and Nâsik, which were under the Niẕâm-Shâhî government. Now that the numerous Mughal force was passing in that direction, Sa'âdat Khân, seeing the paucity of allies and the great numbers of the enemies, deemed it unadvisable to attempt opposition; so turning away from the route of that numerous and desolating army he went into the Dakhan without opposing the advance of the Mughal army.

Mîyâṉ Manjû, who had been freed from the siege of the Ḥabshîs, repented having asked for the Mughal army; consequently he resolved to flee from them. Concerning this he took counsel with the nobles of the State; and as he very much doubted and feared the adherents of Chând Bîbî. he showed them much affability, in order by fraud and deceit to prevent their attaching themselves to Her Highness. On pretence of opposing the Mughal army he marched out of the fortress of Aḥmadnagar, but delayed three days within sight of the fortress, awaiting the assembly of the Dakhan army and the arrival at the head of it of **Mîyâṉ Ḥasan,** who with a number of *amîrs*, had been sent to suppress the sedition of **Ikhlâṣ Khân** and the other Ḥabshî *amîrs*. The news of the approach of the Mughal army being circulated, Mîyâṉ Manjû took counsel with the *amîrs* and leaders of the army regarding some agreement and plan of campaign. Most of the *amîrs* persistently urged flight, except the ambassadors of the kings of the Dakhan, and in like manner **Mujâhid-ud-Dîn Shamshîr Khân Ḥabshî**, who through the infinite royal favours of His Majesty Murtaẕâ Niẕâm-Shâh had become learned, and after being advanced by slow degrees from the obstacle of servitude to the rank of *amîr*, had withdrawn himself from the affairs of governorship and the military profession, and in retirement and solitude had employed himself in the acquisition of religious knowledge. Now, when Mîyâṉ Manjû was reduced to extremities, he summoned this learned man to arrange a council with Ikhlâṣ Khân and the other Ḥabshîs, and requested their advice regarding war with the Mughal army. Mujâhid-ud-Dîn Shamshîr Khân Ḥabshî opposed Mîyâṉ Manjû's intention of flight, and said:— "To fly from the enemy's army without contemplating battle and using sword and spear, and leaving the plain of the dominions and all the subjects to be trampled on by the enemy's army, does not commend itself to men possessed of sincerity and faith."

Mîyâṉ Manjû replied:— "The enemy's force is double that of the Dakhan; and in battle it is probable that a thousand kinds of troubles and afflictions — perhaps a fatal misfortune — may happen, and all the elephants and artillery and the foundations of sovereignty and power, may fall into the enemy's hands; for the sages have said:— 'He is a wise man who avoids fighting one stronger than himself,' and the obligations of vigilance and caution are, as far as possible, not to resort to war."

Attack not a force greater than your own,
For one cannot strike one's finger on a lancet.

It is absurd for a few drops of rain to claim an equality with the infinite ocean, or for the insignificant motes to imagine themselves equal to the sun-beams! The best plan is to take refuge with His Majesty Ibrâhîm 'Âdil-Shâh, and fly to his court; and from the servants of that court and from His Majesty **Kulî Kuṭub-Shâh** to seek assistance, and with this strength to oppose the enemy's army."

Mujâhid-ud-Dîn Shamshîr Khân replied :— "If you will look on, wait in this same place ; hand over the command of this force to me, and leave me to fight the enemy : by the aid of the Lord of earth and heaven I will make a night attack on the enemy's army, and gain a victory which will throw into oblivion the story of the seven-fold slaughter. If, with the divine assistance victory be on the side of the nobles of this State, well and good ! Otherwise we can scatter our forces, and like devoted servants, continually attacking the flanks of the enemy's army, we shall throw on the dust of destruction each one whom we find. We can block up their lines of communication, till we reduce that crowd to distress. Want of water and forage, like a pair of compasses, will describe a circle outside which none of the enemy's army will be able to set foot. Perhaps by this stratagem the enemy, being reduced to straits, may return without acquiring a name and reputation."

Since Mîyân Manjû did not feel secure from **Shamshîr Khân**; on the pretence that the army would not unanimously consent to obey the latter, he rejected his advice ; but in order to curry favour with Shamshîr Khân he promoted him to the rank of Amîr-ul-Umarâ and commander of the forces in the province of Aḥmadnagar ; he appointed him to keep the districts in subjection and protect the subjects till the dispersed army from the various quarters of the dominions should assemble under the shadow of his victorious standard, and obey his commands and prohibitions. He wrote a *farmân* concerning this, and adorned the person of that *khân* with the robe of honour of Amîr-ul-Umarâ and administrator of the country. The office of Kotwâl of the fortress of Aḥamadnagar he conferred on **Anṣâr Khân,** who was one of his friends and coadjutors, and charged him to repel some of the nobles and inhabitants of the country.

Then Aḥmad Shâh, on Friday, the 20th Rabî' II., A. H. 1004 [13th December, A. D. 1595], with all the cash and odd valuables which were at hand in the treasury, and about three hundred unrivalled elephants, all the artillery, all the paraphernalia of sovereignty and pomp, and about 8,000 cavalry who had elected to join him, proceeded towards the district of Bhîḍ.[4]

A number of nobles, such as **Afẓal Khân** (who was distinguished above all his compeers in the service of the kings of the Dakhan, and whose sincerity and good will had commended him to Her Highness Chând Bîbî, and who had enrolled himself among her followers) ; Maulânâ Shams-ud-Dîn Muḥammad Lârî, ambassador of His Majesty Ibrâhîm 'Âdil-Shâh ; Maulânâ Ḥâjî Isfahânî, ambassador of His Majesty Muḥammad Ḳulî Ḳuṭb-Shâh ; Ḥabîb Khân, who at that period was promoted to the office of *wazîr ;* Mubirr-uz-Zamân Raẓwî Mashadî, and a number of other foreigners, amongst whom was the writer of this history, drew the foot of safety into the skirt of retirement from office, and being unwilling to join Mîyân Manjû, considered the service of the court preferable to the companionship of that synopsis of the lords of deviation.

Mîyân Manjû being apprehensive at their remaining behind, sent a person to Ṣafdar Khân, governor of the city and Burhânâbâd in order that he should seize and bring to his camp the whole of the foreigners, whether they would or not, and the artillery and rocket apparatus belonging to the government ; consequently he caused Ṣafdar Khân, Ḥabîb Khân, Asad Khân and several of the foreigners to march *nolens volens* and brought them to the army of Mîyân Manjû ; and a number of the grandees sitting in their houses shut the doors in the faces of the people and joined the army of Mîyân Manjû.

When Her Highness Chând Bîbî obtained information of the flight of the mischief-makers of the country and inverters of the State, she used her utmost endeavours in arranging the affairs of religion and the State, and devoted her attention to putting in order the bases of sovereignty and discovering a remedy for the state of disorder which had found its way to the feet of the royal throne.

[4] Mîrzâ Rafî'-ud-Dîn Shîrâzî says that Mîyân Manjû carried off Aḥmad Shâh to Bijâpur, where the latter was well treated; being given a fine house to live in and the revenue of ten villages assigned for his support; but in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 1018 (March-April, A. D. 1609) having attempted to raise a rebellion, he was sent with his wife and family as a prisoner to the fort of Murtazâ'âbâd.

[Muhammad Khân][5] from the first showed rectitude and judgment, and always walked on the straight road of obedience and submission to the royal mandates and prohibitions ; he used to oppose Mîyâṇ Manjû in the days of his predominance and despotism, and in conjunction with Afẓal Khân used to make prudent arrangements for repelling the enemies of the State. Now when Mîyâṇ Manjû vacated the capital and took to flight, Her Highness Chând Bîbî sent a person to Afẓal Khân and Muhammad Khân, and persuaded these two *khâns* to put down Anṣâr Khân. When most of the nobles and grandees of the country had remained behind from the army of Mîyâṇ Manjû, Anṣâr Khân, *kotwâl* of the fortress of Aḥmadnagar, being apprehensive of this circumstance, he, according to the injunctions of Mîyâṇ Manjû, endeavoured to drive away that body ; and as he feared more than all **Muhammad Khân**, who was the head and chief of all the Dakhanîs, he considered it most important to get rid of this nobleman ; so on Monday the 23rd Rabî' II. he, with a number of his own brothers and coadjutors, arranged the preliminaries of the assassination of Muhammad Khân, and sent a person to summon than *khân* of high degree, saying that his presence was urgently required for the arrangement of some of the important affairs of the country and State.

The following is what the writer of this history heard from Muhammad Khân. Placing his reliance on the goodness of the Creator of mankind, Muhammad Khâṇ with a few of his sons and relatives proceeded to the fortress and his interview with the unfortunate Anṣâr Khân. When he visited that wanderer in the desert of error, Anṣâr Khân, on pretence that he wished to consult him in private, first took the Khân into his own house, whereas he had previously brought into that house a great number of soldiers, and had arranged with them that when Muhammad Khân should enter the house and he (Anṣâr Khân) should give the signal, they should hasten to kill him. The *khân*, with two of his sons and one of his relatives, thoughtless of the stratagem of their enemies, entered the house of the malevolent Anṣâr Khân. But Multân Khân, Saiyid Ḥasan, Aḥmad Shâh and Shîr Khân — although they were allies of Anṣâr Khân — had secretly entered into an agreement with the attendants of Chând Bîbî to kill Anṣâr Khân. Being aware of the design of Anṣâr Khân, they seized the door of the house, and did not allow any of Anṣâr Khân's people to go inside. Anṣâr Khân, prepared for the attainment of his object, in the midst of the conversation signed to his brother to make haste to kill Muhammad Khân ; his brother drawing his sword sought to overcome him, but the sons of Muhammad Khân becoming aware of the stratagem of their enemies, drew their swords and engaged the brothers and helpers of Anṣâr Khân. At this time Anṣâr himself tried to kill Muhammad Khân. Abû-l-Kasim made Anṣâr Khân his shield, and the sword of the brother reached the breast of the unjust Anṣâr Khân and penetrated his back. Muhammad Khân also stretching out his hand, with the strength of his manly arm snatched the sword from the hand of Anṣâr Khân's brother, and struck him such a blow on the breast that the point of the sword went out through the nape of his neck. So with the one sword those two malevolent and depraved men were overthrown, and the time of their excuses and deception came to an end. The glorious sons of that man of good disposition [Muhammad Khân], although they had received wounds, yet by the aid of the favour of God, they vanquished the brothers and coadjutors of Anṣâr Khân, and so removed the wicked ones of the country from over the heads of the well-wishers, and freed the kingdom from the impurity of the existence of those sinners against religion and State ; and made manifest to mankind the mystery of "Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein."

When Muhammad Khân and his sons were free from the designs of Anṣâr Khân and his assistants, the soldiers of Anṣâr Khân, who from outside the house had endeavoured to rush in, but owing to the opposition of Multân Khân, Aḥmad Shâh, Saiyid Ḥasan and 'Alî Shîr Khân, were unable to effect an entrance, when the head of their leader was cut off they withdrew from hostility and placed their feet in the circle of obedience and submission.

Muhammad Khân, after the killing of Anṣâr Khân, hastened to wait on Her Highness Chând Bîbî, and gave her an account of the occurrence. She gave orders that the heads of those evil-doers, — which had been pigeon-houses of vicious thoughts, and in the upper story of whose brains the owl

[5] Omission in text, *q. v.*

of negligence had built the nest of pride — as an example to other corrupters of the State, should be placed on the point of spears and taken round the *bâzârs*, and that the joyful news of this victory should be noised abroad through all parts of the kingdom, far and near. The servants of Her Highness did as she ordered ; and for the sake of the peace of mind of great and little, she herself in her most pure person ascended sun-like to the summit of one of the towers of the fortress.

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(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 223.)

Exorcists. — Exorcists, or spirit-scarers, are known in the Dakhan and Konkân by various names as *bhagats* or devotees, *dêvrusîs* or divine sages, *jantris* or conjurers, *mantris* or enchanters, and *panchâksharis* or men of (five) letters. They belong to all classes of Hindus and Musalmâns, but they are generally recruited from the lower classes. They have two divisions — professional and non-professional. Non-professsional exorcists are generally persons who become possessed by a guardian spirit, or *dêv* : a few of them learn the art of exorcism from a *guru* or teacher.[37] Most professional exorcists have had a regular training from a *guru* or teacher. The first study is begun on a lunar or on a solar eclipse day. On such a day the teacher after bathing and without wiping his body or his head-hair, puts on dry clothes and goes to the village temple to Mâruti. The candidate having done likewise also goes to the temple. The candidate then spreads a white cloth before the god, and on one side of the cloth makes a heap of rice and on another a heap of *udid*,[38] sprinkles red lead on the heaps, and breaks a cocoanut in front of the idol.

[37] In the Dekhan as well as in the Konkân, there are many persons who are said to be naturally endowed with a power over spirits. The pensioned mâmlatdâr of Igatpuri, in Nâsik, is at present (1888) believed to have a power over spirits. In Nâsik, on the high bank at the top of Ojhâ's steps, is a monastery of Raghunâthbâva, who about seventy-five years ago was famous for his power of curing diseases and controlling spirits and elements. One of the Adil Shahi kings of Bijâpur was supposed to have a power over spirits and diseases. At Bijâpur he built a house with strong walls and a round stone roof. The house had no windows and no doors. He left a little hole, and by his power over them he drove in all diseases — cholera, small-pox, and fever — and shut the hole. After this the people were free from disease. When the English took Bijâpur, an officer saw this building without a window or a door. He asked the people what was the use of this strong house with neither a door nor a window. The people said, cholera and small-pox and fever are shut in the house, and no one should open it. The English officer thought that this showed there was money in the house, and that the king had told the people this story, so that no man might touch his treasure. The officer broke down the walls, and the house inside was empty. Terrible cholera and small-pox spread over the land, and, especially in Dhârwâr, many soldiers and many officers died (Information from Abdul Butler).

In the village of Mângaon, in Sâvantvâdi, lives a Konkanasth Brâhman whose son wandered to all the holy places in India. At Banâras, Dattâtraya appeared to the young Brahmân in a dream, and said he would come into him at any village in which he chose to live. The young Brâhman got an image of the god, went back to Mângaon, built a temple, and set up the image. This happened in 1883. On his return it was found that the young Brâhman, or the god Dattâtraya who lived in him, had great power to scare evil spirits. When a person suffering from an evil spirit is brought to the temple, the patient generally goes in a distracted way, wandering round the temple and coming before the young Brâhman, who is about 25 years of age, tells who he (that is, the spirit in him) is — a *Jakin*, a *Kais*, or a *Cheda*. The Brâhman, who sits at his ease and shows no sign of being possessed by Dattâtraya, asks the spirit if he will go. The spirit says : " I will if I get liquor or flesh." The Brâhman says : " No ; take this plaintain and go." The spirit says : " I will not go ; I have hosts of spirits besides myself. What is a plantain to us all ? " The Brâhman grinds down a lump of sugar and gives him it. The possessed runs some distance from the temple, falls in a swoon, comes back to the Brâhman, and bathes. When a spirit is very bad, and will not say who he is, the Brâhman says ; " Go into that pillar " — a big pillar in his temple. The Brâhman gets up, and puts his arm round the pillar, and the spirit in the sick man says : " Oh ! Dattâtraya, I am wrong ; let me go, let me go." The Brâhman eats almost nothing, and asks for nothing. Great numbers of women and sick go to him to be cured.

[38] *Phaseolus radiatus.*

The teacher teaches him the *mantras* or incantations, which he commits to memory. An ochre-coloured flag is tied to a staff in front of the temple, and the teacher and the candidate return to their homes. After this, on the first new moon which falls on a Saturday, the teacher and the candidate go together out of the village to a place previously marked out by them on the boundary of the village. A servant accompanies them, who takes in a bag of *udid*, or *Phaseolus radiatus*, oil, seven earthen lamps, lemons, cocoanuts, and red powder. After coming to the spot the teacher and the candidate bathe, and then the teacher goes to the temple of Mâruti, and sits praying to the god for the safety of the candidate. The candidate, who has been instructed what is to be done, starts for the boundary of the next village accompanied by the servant. On reaching the village boundary he picks up seven pebbles, sets them in a line on the road, and after lighting a lamp near them he worships them with flowers, red powder, and *Phaseolus radiatus*. Incense is burnt, and a cocoanut is broken near the pebbles, which represent Vêtâl and his lieutenants, and a second cocoanut is broken for the village Mâruti. When this is over, the candidate goes to a river, well, or other watering place, bathes, and without wiping his body or putting on dry clothes proceeds to the boundary or *vesa* of the next village. There he repeats the same process as before, and then goes to the boundary of a third village. In this manner he goes to seven villages, in each performing the same ceremonies. All this while he keeps on repeating incantations. After finishing his worship at the seventh village the candidate returns to his village, and going to the temple of Mâruti sees his teacher, and tells him what he has done. In this manner having worshipped and propitiated the Vêtâls of seven villages he becomes a *dâvruśî* or exorcist. After he has gained the power of exorcism he has to observe certain rules. On every eclipse day he must go to a sea-shore or a river-bank, bathe in cold water, and while standing in the water repeat incantations a number of times. After his daily bath he must neither wring his head-hair nor wipe his body dry. While he is taking his meals he should leave off eating if he hears a woman in her monthly sickness speak, or if a lamp is extinguished. The Mohamedan methods of studying exorcism are different from those of the Hindus. One of them is as follows : — The candidate begins his study under the guidance of his teacher or *ustâd* on the last day of the lunar month, provided it falls on a Tuesday or Sunday. The initiation takes place in a room the walls and floors of which have been plastered with mud, and here and there daubed with sandal paste. On the floor a white sheet is spread, and the candidate, after washing his hands and feet and putting on a new waist cloth or pair of trousers, sits on the sheet. He lights one or two incense sticks, and makes offerings of a white cloth and meat to one of the principal Musalmân spirits as Barhena, Hatila, Mehebut, and Sulemân. This process is repeated for from fourteen to forty days.

As the course of magical study which a Hindu exorcist is required to follow differs in many points from the Musalmân training, so **the plans and procedure adopted by Hindu exorcists to scare spirits differ much from those adopted by Musalmâns. The commoner forms of exorcism practised by Hindus are :** —(1) Lemons are held over the fumes of incense, and charmed by repeating incantations over them. They are then kept under the pillow of the possessed person. (2) A small circular copper or silver box is made, and in it are put some charmed ashes, a medical herb, and a paper on which the names of Hindu gods and the name and the mother's name of the possessed and some mystic words are written, and its mouth is closed. The box, called *taita*, is then tied round the neck if the patient be a female, and round the arm if the patient be a male. (3) The exorcist charms some ashes, and rubs them on the forehead of the person possessed. (4) A fowl or chicken of such colour as the exorcist may require, and of the variety which has its feathers turned upwards, is waved round the possessed person, and is thrown away. In some cases a goat or sheep is waved round the face of the patient, taken to a spot mentioned by the exorcist, and there slaughtered. The flesh of the animal is cooked, a portion of it with some cooked rice is left on the spot as an offering to the spirit, and the rest is eaten by the exorcist. (5) Cooked rice and flesh, curds, eggs, cocoanuts,

flowers and red powder are put in a bamboo basket, waved round the sufferer, and the basket is carried to a place where four roads meet. (6) The exorcist takes a few grains of *udid*,[39] charms them by repeating incantations, and throwing them on the body of the sufferer makes the spirit that has seized the patient depart. (7) When the spirit that has seized a person is an angelic spirit, as an **Asrâ, Sathvâi, or Navlâi,** a cotton thread, dyed red and yellow, called a *nâdâpudi*, is charmed, fumigated with incense, and tied round the arm of the sufferer. (8) Some exorcists by the power of their charms cause the spirit to come out of the body of the possessed, and to enter a bottle which, when the spirit has entered it, they close with a cork; the bottle is then buried cork down in a lonely place. (9) Some exorcists draw a figure, and write a mysterious formula on a leaf of the *bhurj*, or Indian birch tree. The leaf is then dissolved in water, and the water is given to the possessed to drink. (10) In some cases the exorcist takes the possessed person to a large tree; there he pronounces some mystic spells, and thereby forces the devil into the tree, and by driving a nail into the tree fixes the devil therein. (11) When a person is seized by a Brâhmaṇ's spirit, some Brâhmaṇs are fed and presented with money, and when a person is seized by the archfiend **Vêtâl,** the exorcist tells the patient to worship **Vêtâl's** stone, and to make him offerings of boiled rice, curds, lime, a cane, betel-nuts and leaves, cocoanuts, a garland of *ruî*[40] flowers and camphor and incense. **Among the practices followed by Musalmân exorcists are** :—(1) The exorcist takes a small circular copper or silver box, and after writing the names of the sufferer and of his mother and the name of Allah or some mysterious figures on a piece of paper he encloses the paper in the box, and ties the box round the neck or arm of the sufferer. (2) The exorcist writes some lines from the *Kurân* or some mysterious figures, or names of great saints or potent good genii on a paper, which is then made into a circular wick and burned, and the head of the sufferer is held over the fumes of the burning paper. (3) A cotton thread, dyed yellow or red, called *nâdâpudi*, is charmed, fumigated over burning incense, and tied round the arm or neck of the sufferer. (4) Some passages are read from the *Kurân*; when the reading is over, the reader blows his breath on the possessed person, and the devil flees. (5) The name of Allah or figures which are known to possess certain virtues are written on a paper, or on tree bark or on a brass or porcelain plate, or on the blade of a knife; the article on which the name is written is then washed in rose-water, and the water is given to the possessed person to drink.

The Hindu methods of exorcising spirits are believed to be specially fitted for scaring the spirits of deceased Hindus, and the Musalmân methods for scaring the spirits of deceased Musalmâns. **At the same time as a Hindu exorcist can drive away a Musalmân ghost and as a Musalmân exorcist can drive away a Hindu ghost, both methods are practically considered equally effective. The following details show the procedure adopted by Hindu exorcists in the Konkan, that is, on the mainland near the city of Bombay.**

Gangâ, the wife of Râmâ, a Kunbî of Bassein, in Ṭhânâ, on the way home from the fields in the evening, is attacked by a spirit. On reaching home she begins to cry, lets her hair fall loose, bites her fingers, spits, and wanders in her speech. Her husband and relations guess that she is possessed. They put *tulsî* or sweet basil juice into her nostrils, burn hair, frankincense, and sulphur under her nose, and break pieces of garlic root near her ears. Still the spirit does not leave her. On the contrary, Gangâ grows more and more excited. Next day Râmâ calls in Gôvind, an amateur spirit-scarer, by caste a Vâdval and a gardener by calling. Gôvind, accompanied by two of his *sâthîs*, or comrades, comes at about six in the evening, when the power of spirits is at its highest. On entering Râmâ's hut he washes his face, hands and feet, and sits on a low wooden stool set in the verandah in a square made by lines of red powder. He is given a pot filled with water, a cocoanut, plantains, rice, betel-nuts and leaves, incense, camphor, ashes, flowers, and a garland of *ruî*[41] blooms, which he lays in a row before him. He then sets upon the rice a betel-nut and betel-leaves, or, if he has brought with him the

[39] *Phaseolus radiatus.*

[40] *Calotropis gigantea.*

[41] *Calotropis gigantea.*

image of the god or gooddess whose devotee he is, he sets on the rice the image of his patron god, and presents the image or the betel-nut with flowers, red powder, a cocoanut and frank-incense, and bows before it. He next tucks behind him the middle part of his waist cloth or *dhôtar*, puts the garland of *ruî* flowers round his neck, and, with his hands folded, either kneels or stands in thought for a few minutes. His comrades, standing behind, beat drums, clash cymbals, and sing the praises of **Vêtâl**, or of some other spirit-god. While they play, the body of the spirit-scarer begins to sway to and fro, and inspired by Vêtâl he suddenly rises, takes a long thin cane, which he generally brings with him, in his right hand, and gives himself several cuts with the cane across the back to shew the people that Vêtâl has entered his body, as the cane does him no harm. All the while he keeps uttering a sound like *hu hu*. He then kneels, and swaying his body backwards and forwards sets the pot of burning frank-incense before him, and kindling a piece of camphor holds it on the palm of his hand, and shews it to the spectators, who pass their hands through the fumes and touch their eyes with their hands. Gangâ is brought and made to sit before the spirit-scarer. He strikes her three or four times with the cane, and calls on the spirit to say who he or she is, what is his or her name, why he or she has attacked Gangâ, and how he or she will leave her. Then Gangâ, speaking in the spirit's name, says :—" My name is **Hêdalî**; I entered Gangâ when she went to drink at the river, and I will leave her if a cock is killed, and a yellow robe and bodice are laid for me under the big *pîpal*-tree in Râmâ's garden." Gôvind, the spirit-scarer, then calls on **Hêdalî** to leave Gangâ, and gives Gangâ some cuts with the cane. Then Hêdalî agrees to go, and in some cases, as a sign that she has left, she tells the people to set a pot full of water on the door-step. If the pot is upset, it is believed that the spirit has left. The spirit-scarer then takes one, four, or eight lemons, sticks pins in them, and buries them in front of the house to keep the spirit from coming back. Next day or on the same night Râmâ lays a yellow robe and bodice, or kills a fowl or a goat under the big *pîpal*-tree. For a day or two Gangâ appears to be doing well, but on the third day she is seized with the same fit as before. Râmâ calls in another spirit-scarer, Jânu, a Kôlî by caste, who is a professional exorcist. He is given a pot filled with water, and some rice or *udid*.[42] Gangâ is brought and made to sit before him. He waves a handful of rice three times round her face, and puts the rice in the pot. He takes a few grains from the pot, and laying them on the palm of his hand examines them closely, and lays them on a low wooden stool. A second time he takes a handful of rice, waves it round Ganga's face, and again examines the grain. He does this some six or seven times, and then says: — " Gangâ is attacked by two spirits, and not by one, as the former *bhagat* stated. The two spirits are **Hêdalî** and **Bâpdêv**. You propitiated **Hêdalî** by giving her a robe and bodice: what have you done to please **Bâpdêv**? On Tuesday evening lay near the Mahâr's well some cooked rice, curds and red powder, and the blood of a goat. If you do this, **Bâpdêv** will leave." Râmâ adopts Jânu's advice, and Gangâ is cured.

The procedure followed in the Bombay Dakhan does not differ from that followed in the Konkan.

In the town of Umêthâ, on the river Mahî, in Bombay Gujarât, Jôdâ Râwaliâ, an exorcist with a great local name, held a performance on the evening of the 16th December, 1888. The details are: — An open space, about twelve feet square, is enclosed both above and at the sides with cloth. In the north-west corner is a step or altar about four inches high and three feet long by two feet broad covered with red cloth. On this altar or platform in a grass platter are two white china bowls, a white egg cup, a red turban, a black pint bottle, a glass tumbler, and two or three lemons. In front is a knife stuck point down in the ground, a box with a garland of yellow *karan* flowers and a row of small earthen oil cups each with a little lighted wick. Close beside the altar sits the chief performer, Jôdâ, and about two yards on his right are the musicians, two drummers and a cymbal clasher, Wâghrîs by caste, and close to the musicians, Raghu, the village *patêl*. The

[42] *Phaseolus radiatus.*

rest of the space is filled with spectators, men, women and girls, looking in through the cloth screens which are hung all round. The musicians begin drumming and clashing, the leading drummer singing a plaintive air. After a time Jôdâ grows uneasy. He begins to shake. He is sitting with his arms stretched out along his knees. "Ho! Ho!" Jôdâ pants, "**Kodiâr Mâtâ,**" meaning "I Kodiâr Mâtâ," that is, Mother Itch, "have come into Jôdâ." "It is well, **Balai,**" says the drummer, and starts a fresh air in Kodiâr's praise, while Jôdâ shakes and tosses his head, smelling the fumes of a small incense pot placed between his knees. "Ho! Ho!" pants Jôdâ, rubbing his eye against his hand, while the music stops. "On the Umêthâ Hill," he gasps in a weak voice, "no hindrance is to be caused to man or cattle." "Very good, lady!" chimes in the *patêl* and the chief drummer. The music strikes a fresh air. Jôdâ shouts:— "May it be well," adding with a husky gasp or whisper, "**Kâlkâ Mâtâ.**" "All will be well," says the *patêl*. Jôdâ keeps on shaking with his elbows planted on his raised knees. "Ho! Ho! Ho!" he pants, "may it be well." He adds in a low voice:— "**Mahîarî Mâtâ,**" the Mahî River. "May all be well," answers the *patêl* with deep respect. The drums roar and cymbals clash in praise of the Mahî while Jôdâ goes on shaking. He rests for a time, the music keeping moderate strength. "Ho! Ho!" he says, as the spirit breeze strikes him afresh. "May it be well. Ha! Ha! **Shikôtâr,**" he whispers, as the drums cease. The music opens a fresh plaintive wail in honour of Shikôtâr, the Small-pox Mother. Jôdâ goes on shaking. A fiercer fit strikes him. The musicians beat and clash their noisiest. "Ho! Ho!" sighs Jôdâ as the music drops, "**Lâlbâi and Phûlbâi.**" The music starts afresh, Jôdâ shaking. "Ho! Ho! **Mêralî,**" he shouts aloud, the music freshens and the drummers sing in honour of Mêralî or Muck Mother. Jôdâ moves his hand, and the singing ceases. He pants:— "If any man is troubled with a *bhût* or evil spirit, I will drive the *bhût* away. You should not call me Mêralî. The drummer breaks into a fresh song. "Ho! Ho!" Jôdâ shivers, "may it be well." The music drops, and the whisper comes:— "**Harkâ Bâi,** Lady Madness." The music starts again. At a motion of Jôdâ's hand it ceases. Jôdâ pants and shakes, whispering:— "If ever a dog is mad and the man bitten remembers me he will get no harm." The music starts afresh, the drummer singing in honor of Harkâ Bâi. Jôdâ goes on shaking and rubbing his eyes. By degrees the shaking grows less violent, and he sits quiet for a little. The music keeps on. Presently a fresh spasm strikes Jôdâ. He shivers once more, and the music strikes up fiercer than ever. "Ho! Ho!" he gasps as the music stops. "May it be well, **Bhatyî Khatrî,**" he adds in the usual stage whisper. "May it be well," chimes the *patêl*. Jôdâ drops fresh incense in the pan, and again starts shivering with special fierceness. "Ah! Eh! Ho!" he pants, "may it be well. I am Mâtâ's guard, **Kâl Bhairava** is my name." "Right, Your Highness," says the *patêl*, "may it be well." Jôdâ shakes sharply. He motions to a boy to pour water into a tumbler and drop in sugar. This sugared water is poured into an egg cup and Jôdâ drinks. He again trembles violently. "Ho! Ho!" he shouts, "may it be well. Lady Kodiâr," he adds with the usual shudder. He moves his hand and the music is quiet. "See that any one who is in trouble or in fever let me know. I will put him right." Jôdâ goes on shaking and the drummer sings Kodiâr's praise. One of the lights which was set on a flat maize cake goes out. Jôdâ stops shaking and takes the cake and divides it among the musicians. Jôdâ sits quietly and puts on his cap. He says:—"Let any one who is in trouble and wants help come." He sits quietly, and the drumming and cymballing going on. Jôdâ fans the incense pan.

A boy, a **Râwaliâ Sidhrôl, who has been ill for about three months,** comes, and Jôdâ sets the boy in front of himself. He takes a lighted wick and passes it round the boy's body and sets it on the boy's head. He bends over the lighted wick, grasps it in his lips, and puts it out in his mouth. The boy sits quietly. The drummers and cymbal-clashers pour forth a torrent of noise. The boy remains quiet and Jôdâ sits looking at him. Jôdâ shouts to the disease spirit:— "Come into this boy's body or I will kill you." The boy begins to shake. The drums and cymbals grow louder. Jôdâ keeps his eye fixed on the boy. The boy shakes violently. "Who are you?" asks the drummer. "**Ḍâkan,**" that is, a witch, shivers the boy.

The music again grows louder. Jôdâ brings out a heavy iron chain. "I will beat you with this chain" he says. "Where have you come from?" "From a well," gasps the boy. "What well?" "This well here." "When did you catch the boy?" "I seized him as he was going out in the morning." The music starts again with a fresh chant. The boy is racked by the Ḍâkan, tossing his head and jerking his shoulders with curious violence. Jôdâ is quiet, looking hard at the boy. The chief drummer says to the boy:—"Will you eat?" "I won't eat," says the Ḍâkan. "Why won't you eat?" asks the drummer. The singing begins afresh, and the boy is struck by another spirit. "It is the Musalmân woman who was drowned in the well," says Jôdâ. The boy keeps tossing and jerking. Jôdâ moves about, looking after the lights. A tile is brought and two sweet balls are laid in it. Jôdâ rises, picks up a lighted wick and passes it round the boy's back and waist and sets it on his head. Jôdâ leans down, closes his lips round the wick and puts out the light in his mouth. He repeats this three times. He then picks up a lemon, lays it on the boy's head, and gashes the lemon with a knife. He sets a lighted wick in the cleft of the lemon, bends down and takes the flame in his mouth, squeezing the lemon with his teeth. He pours *sharbat* into a bowl, passes the bowl round the boy's head, and drinks the *sharbat*. "How do you feel"? he asks the boy. The boy is silent. Jôdâ pours fresh *sharbat* into the bowl, waves the bowl round the boy's hands, and drinks the *sharbat*. Jôdâ draws the chain up to the boy's spine. He lifts first his left and then his right leg over the boy's head and makes the boy place his hands on his own spine. He gives the tile with the sweet balls to be taken away, and goes about, putting the oil saucers to right. A woman brings in a child about three years old and gives it to Jôdâ. This is Jôdâ's own child and is not sick. Jôdâ takes off his cap and sets it on the child's head, and plays with the child, dressing him in a small red coat. The music plays a moderate accompaniment. All this time the sick Râwaliâ boy is sitting quietly. Jôdâ gives him sugar in a bowl, and the boy eats the sugar.

Jôdâ tells the drummer to sing the praise of Mother **Mahî Sûn**. After the chant to Mahî is begun, a big man, Vishṇu, a *dhôbî* or washerman, who has been seated near Jôdâ, begins to shake. His neighbour takes off the shaker's turban. Vishṇu sets his elbows on his knees and is fiercely racked. "Ho! Ho!" he gasps, and, as the music stops, adds:—"Mahî Mother. May all be well." The music begins again and Vishṇu has a fresh seizure. "Ho! Ho!" he gasps. "**Narsiṅgh**. May it be well." The music starts the praise of Narsiṅgh, and Vishṇu is stricken with a fresh air. "Ho! Ho!" He pants. "**Harakhaî Jhâmpadî**," that is Mother Mania of the Gate." Vishṇu goes on shaking, the music and singing keep on at a moderate strength. All this time Jôdâ has been resting, playing with his child. Vishṇu is again seized. "Ho! Ho! **Masânî Shikôtar**," that is, Shikôtar of the tombs. The drummer starts a plaintive air in Shikôtar's honour. Vishṇu goes on shaking and jerking, but with less violence and quickness than Jôdâ. Vishṇu holds his hands to his face, and leans against the wall tired. One of his neighbours replaces Vishṇu's turban on his head.

The singing goes on, Jôdâ keeping quiet. The spirit next falls on Nâma, a land-owner, a Rabârî or camel-breeder by caste. He takes off his turban and tosses his head heavily. "It is well," he shouts, "Kodiâr Mâta." He tosses his head, catching the tips of his hair in his fingers. "So long as I stay in Umêthâ," he gasps and jerks, "no man, no animal will take any harm." A boy, Râwaliâ, comes in and sits in front of Jôdâ. Nâmâ has a fresh seizure, rolling his head heavily. "**Mêralî**," he gasps. The Râwaliâ boy is quiet, sitting with his knees drawn up and his elbows on his knees. He shakes slightly. Nâmâ has a fresh fit, and the drumming and clashing wax louder. He rolls his head heavily. "Ho! Ho!" he pants. "**Mâtâ Rûpânî**," Mother Silver. The drummer takes it up. Rûpânî Mâtâ has come, and he sings her praise. A woman of the Kôlî or Dhôrêlâ caste brings in a boy about seven or eight, reduced almost to a skeleton, with a white shoulder cloth drawn over his shoulder, and a cloth tied round his upper right arm. He is her only child. He has been sick for ten days. Jôdâ hands back his own child to its mother. Nâmâ is quiet and sits with his face wrapped in a cloth.

The Râwaliâ boy is seized and shakes violently, holding out his arms. "Ho! Ho!" he gasps, "Shikôtar." He lays his arms along his knees and shakes with great force. The drummers raise Shikôtar's wailing chant. "Ho! Ho!" gasps the Râwaliâ boy, holding up his hands. "Who are you?" asks Jôdâ. "**Châran Mâtâ**," the Bard Mother, shivers the boy, and the musicians break into Châran's praise. The boy leans his head on his hands and goes on shaking. He is again stricken; the drumming and clashing grow louder. "Ho! Ho! Narsiṅgh," sobs the boy. "Narsiṅgh," repeats the drummer, and breaks into Narsiṅgh's praise. The Râwaliâ boy is quiet for a time, and once more is racked. "Ho! Ho!" he gasps, "Mêralî," and the drummer raises Mêralî's hymn. This boy is not sick. He has come to take a vow for his mother who is dangerously ill. Jôdâ gets up, takes a lighted wick and passes it up and down the thin Dharêlâ boy's spine and waves the light round him. "I will give you food," he says to the spirit in the boy. "Don't harm the child. Come." Jôdâ sits down and looks hard at the boy. He comes nearer, sits down, raises his knees, and crosses his arms over his knees, and leans his chin on his arms, staring fiercely at the boy. He pulls off the white sheet that wrapped the boy. The boy sits quiet, his hands folded in front of him. Jôdâ, seated about a yard off, looks hard at the boy. Jôdâ rises and trims the lamps, and again sitting close to the boy looks hard in his face. "Come," he says to the spirit, "in the boy; I will give you food. If you don't come you won't get any food." The boy is still quiet. Jôdâ sets a lighted wick on the boy's head, leans down, gulps at it and quenches the wick in his mouth. This he does three times. Jôdâ takes a lemon, sets it on the boy's head, gashes the lemon with a knife and sticks a burning wick in the cleft. He leans down, catches the wick in his lips, and puts the light out in his mouth. Jôdâ asks the boy if he has any pain. The boy points to his right side. Jôdâ lays him down, cuts a lemon in two, presses the half lemon on the boy's side over his liver, and himself sucks the lemon. Jôdâ lifts the boy up, who has a severe fit of coughing. Jôdâ passes his hand up and down the boy's spine, and then raises his leg over the boy's head. Jôdâ lays his right hand on the boy's head, and holding a cup of *sharbat* in his left hand, passes it round the boy's head and drinks the *sharbat*. Jôdâ bends his head close to the boy's and passes his hand back and forwards between the two heads. The mother of the boy gives Jôdâ a pice which he lays on the altar. The boy is set on one side.

Jôdâ looks after the lamps, and the drumming and clashing go on steadily. Jôdâ sits down, takes off his cap, and begins shaking. "Ho! Ho!" he gasps, and the music stops. "It will be well," he pants. "May it be well," says the drummer. "Who is your honour?" "Kodiâr Mâtâ," whispers Jôdâ. "May it be well," answers the drummer, and raises Kodiâr's hymn, a melancholy wailing measure. Jôdâ is again stricken. "Ho! Ho! Ho! Ah, brothers!" he gasps. "Has any one come to ask me about the fire in the Brâhmaṇ's house?" "No one has come," says the drummer. "A fire happened once before in that house," gasps Jôdâ. "If the owner comes I will show him how the fire happens. In this house is a **Chuḍêl** or female spirit and a **Jinn** or Musalmân spirit. It was the same in his house before." He raises his hand to his face and rubs his eyes. He goes on in a jerky husky voice:—"A Gôrjî went to the house to drive out the spirits. The Gôrjî did no good. I will bring this Badwâ or medium of mine (that is Jôdâ). He will set it all right." The music strikes up a strong chant. A fresh shiver passes through Jôdâ. He raises his palms to his face and rubs them over his eyes. He stretches out his hands. "Ho! Ho! Ho!" he gasps. "Brothers, a son of a Kothârî Baniâ was going to a village and a spirit seized him." "Ho! Ho!" he shouts, and shakes fiercely. "I take what is due to me if I have a mind to take it. If not I do not take it. Ho! Ho!" he gasps, "Shikôtar." Almost at once a fresh fit seizes him. "Ho! Ho! Mêralî." "May it be well," say the drummers, and raise Mêralî's hymn. Jôdâ gives some grains of wheat to one of the drummers who sprinkles them on the ground. Jôdâ is fiercely shaken. "Ho! Ho! May it be well." The music stops and again begins. Jôdâ grows quiet, but is soon once more driven. "Ho! Ho! Lâlbâî Phûlbâî." The music strikes up once more, but Jôdâ gradually calms and sits still. The mother of the thin Dhârêlâ boy comes in, and Jôdâ says to her you have fulfilled your vow, lady, and cuts off the cloth that was bound round the sick boy's upper arm.

Among Gujarât Musalmâns when a house mother finds any of her family sick or troubled by bad dreams, she orders a chicken, preferably a black chicken, and passes it seven or eleven times over the body of the sufferer. The person who waves the chicken over the patient carries it away without looking back, and gives it to a *fakir* or religious beggar. If no one is willing to take the chicken it is carried out of the town and let loose.[43]

(*To be continued.*)

DISCURSIVE REMARKS ON THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF TELUGU LITERATURE.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

MR. CAMPBELL, in his *Telugu Grammar*, thus describes the **Telugu Language** and the area over which it is spoken :—

"The language is commonly, but improperly, termed by Europeans the **Gentoo.** It is the **Andhra** of Sanskrit authors, and, in the country where it is spoken, is known by the name of **Trllinga, Teljinga, Telugu or Tenugu.**

"This language is the vernacular dialect of the Hindus, inhabiting that part of the Indian Peninsula, which, extending from the Dutch Settlement of Pulicat on the coast of Coromandel, inland to the vicinity of Bangalore, stretches northwards, along the coast as far as Chicacole, and in the interior to the source of the Tapti; bounded on the east by the Bay of Bengal, and on the west by an irregular line, passing through the western districts belonging to the Subadar of the Deccan, and cutting off the most eastern provinces of the new State of Mysore ; a tract including the five Northern Circars of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and Guntur; the greater portion of the Nizam's extensive territories, districts of Cuddapah and Bellary ceded by him to the British; the eastern provinces of Mysore; and the northern portion of the Carnatic: nor is this language unknown in the southern parts of India, for the descendants of those Telugu families which were deputed by the kings of Vidyânagara to control their southern conquests, or which occasionally emigrated from Telingâna to avoid famine or oppression, are scattered all over the Dravida and Carnataka provinces, and ever retaining the language of their fore-fathers, have diffused a knowledge of it throughout the Peninsula.

"The Telugu language, as has already been shewn, is not a mere derivative from Sanskrit, but has an independent origin and is of independent cultivation. The radicals, according to Mr. Ellis (*Dissn.* p. 19), are the same as in the cognate dialects of Tamil, Kanarese, etc., and it differs from them only in the affixes used in the formation of the words from the roots. Although, however, it is not the offspring of Sanskrit, it is very extensively blended with that language in the states known as Tatsama or Tadbhava, the words in the former being the very same, taking only the Telugu inflexions, and those of the latter being mediately or immediately derived from Sanskrit. The rest of the language, exclusive of other foreign terms, is the pure native language of the land, and is capable of expressing every mental and bodily operation, every possible relation and existing thing, and with the exception of some religious and technical terms, no word of Sanskrit origin is necessary to the Telugu."

Mr. Lingam Lakshmaji Pundit, in his lecture on *The Disillusion*, p. 7, says as Theorem I. :— "If any of the few fundamentals or elements of a language, namely, the numerals, the pronouns, the case endings, and the verb endings are demonstrated to be derived from another language, it follows that that language is derived from the other language, and that the people speaking the parent and derived languages were originally one and the same." A similar idea is maintained by Prof. Whitney in his *Language and Study of Languages*, p. 195. But Mr. Lakshmaji essays to controvert the opinion of Mr. Ellis by saying at p. 26 of the same lecture :—

" Although the **Telugu language** is widespread and the people speaking it, if we include the Telugu population of the Nizam's dominions, outnumber the Tamilians, its original area is more circumscribed, as we learn from the following Telugu distich from an *Ândhrabhâshâbhi-*

[43] Information from Mr. Fazlullah Faridî.

bhûshaṇam :—"**The Andra country** lies within the three Linga temples, Śrîparvata, Kâlêsvara, and Dràksharâma, which make the three *lingas*. The word Trilinga having become a Tadbhava, the country has come to be known as Telugu Dêsam, which, afterwards, others called Telugudêsam, and the language thereof consists of five elements."

Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, in his *Ândhrabhâshachintâmaṇi*, has taught us:—

"Adyaprakritih prakritischâdyê
Êshâ tayôr bhavêd vikrith ।
Kêvalatayânusurpatyubhê chêyam
Yathâ tathâ bhâshâ ॥

The primitive language (meaning the Primitive Aryan speech) and the therefrom derived Prâkṛita language are primitive, this (the Telugu) language is their variation; this language entirely follows the other two languages in every respect."

Abhinavadaṇḍi, the author of the more ancient Telugu *Bhâshâbhûshaṇam*, has, as one of the opening stanzas:—

"Talli Saṁskṛitamb=ella bhâshalakunu
Dâni valana gonta gânabaḍiyê ।
Gonta dâua galigin=antayun=êkamai
Tenugu bhâshananga vinutikekke ॥

Sanskrit is the parent of languages, some, *i. e.*, the Prâkṛit languages have come from it; something has come from the Prâkṛit languages; all joined together has come to be known as the Telugu language."

Thus we see that **the belief among the Indian literati has always been that Sanskrit is the parent of all languages, nor is there anything, in their opinion, which can be adduced to shake this belief,** as every linguistic analysis will only serve to strengthen rather than weaken it.

The works of highest repute in **Telugu** are translations from Sanskrit, and the oldest works extant are not of higher antiquity than the end of the twelfth century, whilst its **Augustan era, the reign of Kṛishṇadêvarâya of Vijayanagara,** dates from the beginning of the sixteenth. The first attempts to reduce the uses of the language to rule, appear to have been made late in the thirteenth century when **Nannaya Bhaṭṭa,** a Brâhmaṇ of considerable learning, and the translator of the first two books of the *Mahâbhârata*, compiled a Telugu grammar in Sanskrit. Mr. Campbell, in the preface to his *Grammar*, states that the most ancient grammarian of whom mention is made in the native books is the sage Kaṇva, who appears to have been to the people of Andhra or Telingana, what Agastya was to those farther south, their initiator into the mysteries of Hinduism. His works, and those of other writers of antiquity, are not now to be found, and all the treatises on Telugu grammar at present extant consist of Sanskrit commentaries on the series of *Apothegms of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa*. The age of this last, although conjectured by Mr. Campbell to be remote, can be ascertained by documents of which he was not in possession, *viz.*, inscriptions recording grants made by his patron, Vishṇuvardhana of Râjamahêndri, to be, as above stated, the close of the thirteenth century.[1] Mr. Campbell admits

[1] [According to tradition the Telugu translation of the *Mahâbhârata* was made by Nannayabhatta during the time of the Chalukya King Râjanarêndra. An inscription at Śûkûrmam near Chicacole refers to the Telugu translation of the *Mahâbhârata* during the reign of the Eastern Chalukya King Râjarâja I. (A. D. 1022 to 1063), the son of Vimalâditya (see Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report* for 1895-96, p. 6, paragraph 21). According to tradition Nannayabhaṭṭa received help in his translation of the *Mahâbhârata* from a certain Nârâyaṇa. In the Nandamapûṇḍi grant of the Eastern Chalukya King Râjarâja I., dated in his 32nd year (A. D. 1053), a certain Nârâyaṇa figures as the donee, while the Sanskṛit verses of the inscription were composed by Nanniyabhaṭṭa. Of the former it is said that on account of his skill in composing poetry in the Saṁskrita Karṇâṭa, Paiśâchika and Ândhra languages, he was renowned as Kavirâjaśêkhara and that because, by his clever verses, he put to shame would-be poets, he was rightly called Kavîbhavâjrâṅkuśa (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV. p. 302). As it is unlikely that, during the time of the Eastern Chalukya King Râjarâja I., there was more than one pair of poets bearing the names Nârâyaṇa and Nanniyabhaṭṭa, we may, at least provisionally, identify the Telugu translation of the *Mahâbhârata* and his coadjutor in the work with the composer and the donee, respectively, of the Nandamapûṇḍi grant. Thus we get the middle of the eleventh Century A. D. for the time of Nannayabhaṭṭa, the Telugu translator of the *Mahâbhârata*. — V. VENKAYYA.]

that the Brâhmans were the first who cultivated the Telugu language, and brought it under fixed rules, and consequently recognises the prior introduction of Brahmanical literature.

The greater part of **Telugu literature** consists of translations, and we have the *Mahâbhârata*, the *Vishṇu*, *Varâha*, and other *Purâṇas*, besides Puraṇic stories in the *Mâhâtmyas*, and a number of poems and tales, rendered from Sanskrit into Telugu. At the same time, translations or appropriations from Sanskrit form a smaller portion of Telugu than of Tamil literature,[2] and we have in the former a number of sectarian legends, chiefly of modern origin, as the Acts of the Âḻwârs and Jaṅgams, or the Vaishṇava and Śaiva saints of peculiar schisms, originating as late as the twelfth century with Râmânuja and Basava. As in Tamil, there are many local *charitras*, historical and biographical compositions, containing, amidst much exaggeration and fiction, materials for history; of which an important peculiarity is the insertion of the biographical or genealogical account of the patron of the author in the commencement of most of the works, sometimes in great minuteness of detail. Telugu literature comprises also a large collection of poems and tales, some of which are original, but it is a curious circumstance that no *nâṭakas* or dramatic compositions of an ancient date appear to exist in Telugu.

Telugu, like Tamil, includes a high and a low dialect, the former of which is used in writing, the latter in conversation and official business. The language of composition is so different, observes Mr. Campbell, from the colloquial dialect, that even to the learned the use of the commentaries is indispensible for the correct understanding of many of the best Telugu works. The Telugu poets are divided, according to the age in which they flourished, into poets of the olden times, poets of the Middle Ages, and poets of modern days.

There is not a book in the whole of Telugu literature which equals the **Telugu recension of the Mahâbhârata** in elegance of diction, although some of the later poets have followed the style. Nâchana, Sômana, Pillalamarri, Pinavîrabhadrana, and others, though they have not followed the footsteps of the triple writers of the *Mahâbhârata* (Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, Tikkana, and Errâpraggaḍa) in point of style, drew their thoughts, their figures of rhetoric, etc., to a large extent, from them.

The Telugu writings have always been greatly indebted to Sanskrit, but it should not be understood that the old poets flooded their compositions with a large influx of Sanskrit words, because there is very little trace of the Telugu language, properly so called, in the writings of the poets of a later date. A good many of the poets, also, have sacrificed nobility of thought to elegance of language, so that some have come to be read merely for their ornate style. **Bammera Pôtanna** combined both, and was blindly followed by some of the poets of the Middle Ages, in whom originality is sadly wanting. They followed very closely the lines chalked out by their immediate pioneer, **Peddanna**, who by the way deserves careful study and praise, merely polishing his descriptions and finely retouching the descriptions of the older poets. Even Peddanna has drawn his descriptions from other sources. One is able to state the plot of any of the *Prabandhas* at random, without going through it. Take, for instance, the *Vasucharitra* of Râmarâjahbhûshaṇa. One could tell the whole story of it in a single sentence, but the whole book is flooded with beautiful descriptions. The description of the moon occupies thirty stanzas, that of the sun takes up forty more, while that of love "trotting hard" takes up full two *âśvâsas*. The plot is very meagre, and surfeit of description brings on boredom. Natural descriptions are always good, but there is a limit to allegory and hyperbole, which weary the reader, if carried too far. Take, for instance, the descriptions in the Telugu *Mahâbhârata* and compare them, side by side, with those in the works of the poets of the Middle Ages. A poet may easily be pardoned for reasoning ill, but he cannot be pardoned for observing ill,—for creating portraits that bear no resemblance to the originals, for exhibiting as copies monstrous combinations of things which never were and

[2] [It is very doubtful if Dravidian scholars, who have studied both Tamil and Telugu literature, will endorse the view of the writer of this article. — V. V.]

never could be found together. What would be thought of a painter who mixed August and January in one landscape, or introduced a frozen river into a harvest scene? Natural description is, I think, wanting in these poets. With them

"Beauty is Nature's coin, must not be hoarded,
But must be current; and the good thereof
Consists in mutual and partaken bliss,
Unsavoury in the enjoyment of itself."

Such false beauty cannot take the place of real beauty, and even if it appears to be genuine it cannot last long.

It has been said that the Augustan era of Telugu literature belongs to the time of **Kṛishṇadêvaraya.** The question, then, that naturally suggests itself to us is, who was **Kṛishṇadêvarâya?** When and where did he flourish?

The State over which he wielded sway was **Vijayanagara,** the foundation of which is very generally admitted to have arisen out of the subversion of the Hindu governments of the Kâkatîya and Velâla Râjas by the incursions of the Muhammadans at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and traditions are tolerably well agreed, says Wilson in his *Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collections*, p. 83, as to the individuals to whom it is ascribed, *viz.*, **Harihara and Bukkarâya, and the celebrated scholar Mâdhava, entitled Vidyâraṇya,** the forest of learning. Accounts, however, vary considerably as to the circumstances which connected these persons with the event, or the share they bore in it.

One tradition ascribes the origin of Vijayanagara to **Mâdhava,** who, having by his devotion obtained the favor of Bhuvanêśvarî, was directed by her to the discovery of a treasure with which he built the city of Vidyânagara or Vijayanagara, and reigned over it himself; leaving it to the Kurva or Kuruba Family. Another statement describes him as founding the city, and establishing the principality for Bukka, a shepherd who had waited on him and supported him in his devotions. A third account states that Harihara and Bukka, two fugitives from Worangal, after it was taken by the Muhamadans, encountered the sage in the woods, and were elevated by him to the sovereignty over a city which he built for them. A fourth statement, whilst it confirms the latter part of the story, makes the two brothers officers of the Muhammadan conqueror of Worangal, who were sent by their master, after the capture of the city, against the Velâla Râja. They were defeated and their army dispersed, and they fled into the woods, where they found Vidyâraṇya. His treasures enabled them to collect another army with which they obtained a victory over the Velâla Râja, but instead of rendering him the servant of their superior, they set up for themselves, by the advice and with the help of the anchorite. There is good reason to believe that none of these traditions is entirely correct, although they preserve, perhaps, some of the events that actually occurred. Vidyâraṇya or Mâdhava was a learned and laborious writer, and in various works particularises himself as **minister of Saṅgama, the son of Kampa,** a prince whose power extended to the southern, eastern and western seas. He also terms **Bukka and Harihara the sons of Saṅgama,** and the same relationship is confirmed by an inscription published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX., and by other inscriptions also. The political importance of Saṅgama is, no doubt, exaggerated, but it is clear that Bukka and Harihara were not the mere adventurers they are traditionally said to have been. They were descended from a series of petty princes or landholders, possibly feudatories of the Velâla Râjas, or even of Pratâpa Rudra, who took advantage of a period of public commotion to lay the foundation of a new State. Besides, experience and talent, Mâdhava may have brought pecuniary aid to the undertaking. His title, Vidyâraṇya, and the scope of his writings shew that he was **a disciple of Saṁkarâchârya,** and in all probability he was **connected with the Śṛiṅgêri Establishment,** the members of which, alarmed

by the increasing numbers of the Jaṅgams and Jains, and the approach of the Muhammadans, may have contributed their wealth and influence to the aggrandisement of the sons of Saṁgama.

However this may be, beyond question the city of Vijayanagara was founded by Bukka and Harihara, on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra, about the middle of the fourteenth century. Sewell mentions that Fergusson gives the year 1118 A. D. as the date of the foundation of an earlier city by Vijayarâyalu, as a dependency of the Mysore Râja. But Fergusson gives this only as a tradition, and adduces no proof in support of it. There are no complete buildings extant of a date earlier than the fourteenth century, although, fragments do exist, which Mr. Alexander Rea believes to belong to the twelfth or thirteenth century. The fragments, which are in some of the existing temples, may have belonged to this supposed earlier city, or, they may have been removed from some of the ancient temples existing in other parts of the district, and placed where we now find them. Traditionally Bukka is given as the first prince and Harihara as the second (Kelsall's *Bellary Manual*, p. 109).

The date most commonly given for the foundation of Vijayanagara is *Śaka-saṁvat* 1258 or A. D. 1336; but this is, perhaps, a few years too soon, says Wilson in his *Cat. of Mac. Coll.* p. 84. The same date, however, is given in a copper-plate grant as the first year of Harihara's reign (Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. II p. 11, No. 79). If this is accepted and he was preceded by Bukka I., the date must be placed earlier, instead of later, than is usually stated. Harihara is usually placed as the first reigning sovereign, succeeded by Bukka; but then who is the first Bukka, asks Mr. Rea, placed on the lists? It is true that no grants are recognized as having been made by him, and, if he founded the city, it is improbable that during his short reign he would have risen to sufficient power to make any, or at least any important ones; this may account for their absence. That the Vijayanagara Dynasty was in existence before 1336 A. D. is supported by a reference to the following statement of Sewell (*Lists*, Vol. II. p. 161):— "In 1327, the Mussulman viceroy of the Dekkan rebelled, and the emperor sent an expedition against him. He fled to Kampti, close to Vijianagar, whence the king's troops were compelled to retreat, the Vijayanagar king being too strong for them." If this account be correct and the date can be depended upon, it would shew that the Vijayanagara State had at that time reached a considerable degree of power; and so far would support the traditional date.

The Mâdhava, *alias* Vidyâraṇya, above mentioned was a man of great parts. Of all those who succeeded to the *maṭha* of Śaṁkarâchârya, either before or after Mâdhava, there is not one to compare with him in learning. He was born in a village called Pampâ on the banks of the Tungabhadra. He was the family *guru* of Bukkarâya and a Telugu Brâhmaṇa of the Bhâradvâja Gôtra. His father was Mâyaṇa, and his brother, Sâyaṇa, and some of the works he has written go by their names. He composed excellent and exhaustive commentaries on all the four *Vêdas*, but for which the *Vêdas* would have been a sealed book to all Sanskrit scholars.

Here I must observe that I am not unaware of the fact that the Sanskritists of Europe are inclined to ignore the immensity of their obligations to Vidyâraṇya, and even to go to the length of asserting that his commentaries on the *Vêdas* can only give expression to one-sided views, seeing that he was a Hindu, and that he was nurtured in Oriental prejudices. To me it rather seems that if anybody can come forward as the expositor of the *Vêdas*, he can only be a Brâhmaṇa of the type of Vidyâraṇya, who was versed in Sanskrit lore, deeply learned in the *Vêdâṅgas*, well acquainted with the nature, origin, and significance of the archaic forms in which the *Vêdas* so greatly abound, who attained a mastery over the subtleties of accent known as *svaraprakriyâ*, who was amply gifted with a capacity for the perception of the subtle and the indefinite, which is the peculiar property of the Hindus, and who was thoroughly conversant with the Hindu mode of thought and writing. In my humble opinion no Sanskritist of Europe can elucidate the *Vêdas* more clearly and rightly than Vidyâraṇya, for the simple reason that though the former may devote his whole lifetime to the study of the Sanskrit language and literature, he may not acquire that encyclopædic learning which alone will enable him to comprehend the *Vêdas* in their true light. Such being the case, any endeavour on the part of

the Sanskrit scholar of Europe to give to the *Vêdas* a more lucid or a more liberal interpretation than was given to them by Vidyâraṇya would be regarded by the Hindus as a mere attempt to draw the oceanic water in a sieve.

Besides the commentaries on the *Vêdas*, Vidyâraṇya has written a commentary on ten of the principal *Upanishads* known as *Daśôpanishadvṛitti;* an admirable treatise on grammar known as *Mâdhavavṛitti*, equal in length to a work of 40,000 lines in the Anusṭubh metre; a *kâvya* entitled *Saṁkaravijaya*, being a biography of Śaṁkarâchârya, the famous expounder of Vêdânta philosophy; treatises on the Vêdânta philosophy known as *Jîvanmuktivivêka*, *Pañchadaśîprakaraṇa* and *Anubhûtiprakâśikâ;* an epitome of several religious philosophies known as *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, brought to the notice of Western scholars, though but meagerly, by Mr. Cowell; *Parâśaramâdhavîya*, a commentary on *Parâśarasmṛiti; Kâlamâdhavîya*, a treatise on the divisions of time; *Pûrvamîmâṁsâ* and *Uttaramîmâṁsâ* in metre, explaining the *Pûrvamîmâṁsâ* of Jaimini and the *Uttaramîmâṁsâ* of Vyâsa, known respectively as *Jaiminîyanyâyamâlâvistara* and *Vaiyâsikanyâyamâlâvistara;* a commentary on Yâska's *Nirukta* entitled *Niruktabhâshya;* commentaries on *śrautasûtras* of Âpastamba and Bôdhâyana; a treatise on medicine entitled *Mâdhavanidâna; Vaidikasabdaprakâśikâ*, a work containing short notes on difficult Vedic words; *śrautakârikâ*, a metrical treatise of 20,000 lines explaining the application of particular *mantras* to particular rites as laid down in the *śrautasûtras* of Âpastamba and Bôdhâyana; a commentary on *śrautasaṁhitâ;* and many others not known.

Of these the *Kâlajñâna* foretold the fate of the Vijayanagara kings, which Mâdhava was able to perceive clairvoyantly. Some people, who move in Western grooves of thought, are of opinion that this book must have been written after the decline of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, and for the sake of courtesy must have been ascribed to Vidyâraṇya. But those who believe in Vidyâraṇya and in the wonderful work he did would never be led to suspect, much less to disbelieve, the authorship of *Kâlamâdhavîya*. My own belief is that the controversy about the real and apparent authorship of ancient works is of later origin.

It must be noted, however, in this connection that some of the above works bear the author's own name, Mâdhava, while the rest bear the name of his brother **Sâyaṇa**. This is, however, explained by the fact that, as they were written by Vidyâraṇya after he became a *sannyâsin*, he did not like the idea of their bearing his own name, and he therefore ascribed them to his brother. The work entitled *Vaiyâsikanyâyamâlâvistara*, though generally known as the work of his *guru*, **Vidyâtîrthamahêśvara**, was really the production of Vidyâraṇya, who wrote it in honor of his *guru*.

It is said that Mâdhavâchârya *alias* Vidyâraṇya breathed his last at the ripe age of ninety years. From a copper-plate inscription we learn that he was the *wazîr* of Bukkarâya in 1368 A. D. In some of his works he thus describes his descent:—

Yasya Bôdhâyanam sûtram Śâkhâ yasya cha Yâjushî ।
Bhâradvâjakulam yasya sarvajñassa hi Mâdhavaḥ ॥
Śrîmatî yasya jananî sukîrtir-Mâyaṇaḥ pitâ ।
Sâyaṇô Bhôganâthaścha manôbuddhî sahôdarau ॥

The Muhammadan historians of Southern India speak of the princes of Vijayanagara (Ânegondi) as possessed of power long anterior to the Muhammadan invasions of Southern India, and Farishta asserts that the government of the country had been exercised by the ancestors of Kṛishṇarâya for seven centuries. For all historical purposes, however, the origin of this State, as a substantial principality, may be admitted to have occurred at the period above specified, although by no means in the manner ascribed in the tradition.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

KING SINGHANA OF DEVAGIRI.

THE following legend[1] was told of **Siṅghaṇa** of **Dêvagiri** (1210-1247 A. D.), the conqueror of Panhâḷâ, Kolhâpur, Mâlvâ and Gujarât by an old man of the Dêśpândê family of Mâyani in the Satârâ Collectorate.

"The temple of Śiva (**Saṅgamêswar**), situated at the junction of the two brooks at Mâyani, was built by King Singaṇa (Singhaṇa). He also built the fort of **Bhûshangaḍ**, and his capital was near the hill **Siṅgaṇakadi**. The traces of that capital are still visible. He fought with Bhôja of Panhâlgaḍ, and defeated him in battle. He annexed the provinces of Panhâḷâ to his kingdom. He also built the temple of Śambhu (Mahâdêva) in Tâlûkâ Mân, and peopled there at the foot of a hill a town called Singanâpur. He went daily to the temple of Sâgarêśwar (Śiva) at Dêvarâshtê in Tâlûkâ Khânâpur (District Satârâ). One day, while there, he bathed in the holy water, and thereby the spots of white leprosy disappeared from his skin. He held the place in sacred adoration ever afterwards, and assigned to the temple five adjacent villages — Dudhâri, Dahyâri, etc. It is said that this king used to build one hundred temples of Śiva daily."

On comparing the above account with the life of Siṅghaṇa, as given in the *Early History of the Deccan* by Dr. Bhandarkar, it appears to be confirmed that Singhaṇa fought with Bhôja of Panhâḷâ, and that after defeating him he annexed Panhâḷâ to his own kingdom.

The territory of **Panhâḷâ** appears then to have consisted of the provinces of Panhâḷâ, Miraj, Hukeri and Raibâg. The *sanad* of the Dêśpândêship of the whole territory dating from that time, is vested in a family, which claims that the grant was made to them by Raja Bhôja of Panhâḷâ.

The legend further states that the capital of Siṅghaṇa was near the foot of the hill known as Singhaṇakadi. This is hardly likely, as Dêvagiri was then the dynastic capital and had been so for the three preceding kings. But it does seem probable that Singhaṇa may have sent **Bichaṇa**, his general, together with his army, to subdue Panhâḷâ, while he remained behind encamped near the foot of the Siṅghaṇakadi hill, the very name of which bears testimony to the fact of Siṅghaṇa having had his camp here. Panhâḷâ is forty miles distant, and the hill appears to have been then the borders of the Panhâḷâ and Dêvagiri territories. There are still to be found distinct traces of an encampment near this hill.

Besides the subjugation of Bhôja, Bichaṇa humbled the Rattas of the Southern Marâṭhâ country, the Kadambas of Goa, the Guttas (Guptas), and Hoysalas.

From the dates given in history, it appears, that the work of subjugation was carried on simultaneously in the Dakhan as well as in Gujarât. Khôlêśwar and his son, Râm, were the generals who fought for their master in Gujarât, while Bichaṇa carried on the warfare in the south. The campaign of Gujarât terminated in the year A. D. 1238, the year which saw the termination of that in the south, and as Siṅghaṇa ascended the throne in A. D. 1210, it is possible that the campaigns lasted for about 25 years. From this it can be argued that the camp at Singhaṇakadi existed for at least two decades, and was finally turned into a town. Instances of this kind are not rare. The town of Shahâpur (in the Satârâ Collectorate) was at first a mere camp of Âzimshâh, son of Aurangzeb, while he was in the south. Some of the military camps of the English near Native capitals have been turned into towns, and are still in existence, though they have long ceased to be such camps.

The fort of **Bhûshangaḍ** is situated near Siṅghaṇakadi, and the legend assigns its erection to Singhaṇa. This fort lies between the rivers Nanni and Yêralâ, and it is quite possible that the army of Siṅghaṇa received its supply of water from these rivers. Siṅghaṇa may very well have remained with his family in this fort, while his generals and men were engaged in the conquest of the Dakhan. The place is one of peculiar safety. It is also said that Śivaji had built Bhûshangaḍ. This story is not inconsistent with the view that it was originally built by Singhana and merely repaired by Śivajî some 500 years later.

The village of **Siṅgaṇâpur** is situated at the foot of a hill in Tâlûkâ Mân in the Satârâ District, and some people thereof say that it was founded by King Siṅghaṇa, whereas others say that it was founded by King Hingana. But Hingana is merely corrupt form of Siṅghaṇa.

In this village there is an old temple to Śiva, the structure of which, as well as the pictures engraved on its walls, resemble those of the temple of Sangamêśwar at Mâyani. At this temple

[1] From the *Vividha-Dynan-Vistar*, August, 1893.

a large fair is held in Chaitra, and the Hindus and Lingâyats of the adjoining provinces go in large numbers to make obeisance there. Râjarâm, son of Sivajî, made some grants to the temple in the name of some of the very numerous Liṅgâyats living there. There is a large tank here, covering an area of about 49 acres. It is said to have been built by Mâlojî, the grandfather of Sivajî.

Siṅghaṇa, though styled a Vishṇuvaṁśôdbhava (born in the Vishṇu family), was a great devotee of Siva. The temple of Saṅgamêswar at Mâyani, and that of Sambhu (Mahâdêv) in Tâlûkâ Mân, were built by him. Some peculiar stones have been found near Mâyani, Singanapûr and Panhâlâ, on which a Saiva Liṅga with a man on either side of it is engraved on the upper part, and on the lower is shown a row of cavalry and infantry either marching or fighting with each other. A number of these stones are to be seen placed near the walls of the greater temples; and their presence seems to have given rise to the legend of the 100 temples built by Siṅghaṇa every day. Besides the larger temples there are many small ones to Siva built on the banks of the river Yerala, which are of peculiar structure, with or without pinnacles. Siṅghaṇa, like many others, may have made a vow to prepare one or a hundred or a thousand Saiva-Liṅgas daily. They make them of mud and sink them in wells or rivers, after worshipping and offering them prayers. Ahilyâ Bâi Holkar, the writer hears, gave some grants to Brâhmaṇs of sacred places on condition of their making a certain number of Saiva-Liṅgas daily.

Dêvarâshtê is a village at a distance of about six or seven miles from Siṅghaṇakadi, where King Siṅghaṇa is said to have gone for bathing and worshipping Sâgarêśwar. The people of this village, however, know nothing about him, and merely say that a king who was afflicted with some skin disease was cured by the favour of Sâgarêśwar. His grant of the villages Dudhâri, Dahyâri, Tupâri, etc. (for milk, curd, *ghî*, etc.), for the provision of materials of worship at this shrine of course proves this part of the legend. These villages are still in existence, and bear the names given them by the donor.

The legend on the whole has much truth in it, and will prove, I believe, a valuable addition to the particulars of the life of Siṅghaṇa, the most warlike and renowned prince who ever occupied the throne of Dêvagiri. If further searches be made into the legends of that part of the Satârâ District, I have no doubt that some more particulars, which will throw a flood of light on its ancient history, will be forthcoming.

Y. S. VAVIKAR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PARDAO.

THE following quotations on this old Europeo-Indian word, which has puzzled and misled so many writers, are of value for two reasons. First, they support all that Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, Supplt., *s. v.* **pardao,** says on this point. Second, the old book, from which they are quoted, is the only one I have yet come across that directly recognizes **the old pewter or spelter coinages of India** as being of pewter. The other contemporary authorities, so far as I know them, mix up lead, spelter, pewter and tin under such names as **tutenague, ganza** and **calin,** and allied forms. The book from which I am quoting is entitled: — A Collection of Voyages | Undertaken by the | Dutch East-India Company | for the Improvement of | Trade and Navigation. | . . . | Translated into English | . . . . London, 1703. The quotations, pp. 247 ff., are from the diary of the First Voyage of the Dutch to the East-Indies in 1595-7. To the quotations I may add, by way of forwarding Yule's efforts to trace the steady fall of the *pardao* in value, that Stevens, *New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade*, 1775, says, p. 129: — "**A Xeraphim = 240 Rez = 1s. 4-1/5d.**"

R. C. TEMPLE.

Quotations.

As to their Money in the Indies, at Goa, and upon the Coast of Malabar, they count by **Pardao's Xeraffins** a silver Coyn, but of bad Allay: It is coined at Goa, and hath St. Sebastian on one side, and a bunch of Arrows on the other; it is worth **3 Testons, or 300 Reys of Portugueze Money.**

They also tell Money by **Tangas,** which are not properly Money in Specie, but like Dutch Guilders, as a **Pardao Xeraffin for example, is worth 4 Tangas good Money,** and five of bad Allay, for they tell Money by good and bad Allay.

They also tell Money by Vintins, **four Vintins of good Allay,** and five Vintins of bad Allay **makes one Tangas.** The **Basaruco's** are the worst Allay, being made of the worst Pewter: **15 good Basaruco's** or 18 bad ones, **make one Vintin,** and 3 Vintins are worth two Portugal Reys, and 375 Basaruco's make a Pardao Xeraffin.

They counterfeit very often those Pardaos Xeraffins, though they are most current Coyn in the Indies. To prevent your being impos'd upon, you find in every corner of the Streets certain

Indian Christians, who stand there purposely, and visit your Money for little or nothing: they are so nimble at it, that in telling and handling the Money, they know the value of it; and without rubbing it with the Touch-stone, they will distinguish a false piece amongst a thousand. The Dutch with all their skill could not do it, for they knew them by the sound only.

The Counterfeit pieces are coined in the Continent by the Heathen Indians, so that no body receives Money, not so much as a **half Pardao**, without shewing it to a Xaraffe, which is the name of those who view the Money; who for a small Sallary are obliged to make all good that they pass: they also change Money, and furnish you with what Species you want, and live very handsomly upon that Trade.

There is also in the Indies, a sort of Money called **Fanos, twenty of which make a Pardao**, and another sort called **Larrins**, which comes from Persia, where it is coined in the City of Lar. It is long like thick double Silver Wire, of pure and fine Silver without Allay: a Larrin is worth 108, or 105 Basaruco's according as the Change goes.

Besides that, there is another sort of Coin called **Pagodes**; there are two or three sorts of these, which are always **worth about eight Tanga's**: It is coined in Narsinga, Bisnagar, and other places by the Heathen Indians, who stamp on one side of it the figure of an Idol, like that of the Devil sitting on a Seat, and on the other side, a King in a Triumphal Chariot drawn by a Elephant.

The **Sichini or Ducats of Venice**, which are transported into the Indies by Ormus, and the other Ducats coined in Turkey, are commonly worth two Pardao's Xeraffins.

The St. Thomas's, a piece of Money so called, because St. Thomas is engraved on one side of it, and a long Cross on the other side, are always worth above seven Tangas, and sometimes eight.

Of all the Money that is coyned in Spain, only **the Reals of eight** are only current in India; commonly when the Ships arrive, they are worth 436 Portugueze Reys; then they rise when they transport them to China, but they are never lower.

When you buy or sell anything in India, you must always agree before-hand, in what Species and Coin you will be pay'd, whether in Pardaos Xeraffins, or Pardaos de Reals, or Pardaos of Gold; as in some places in Italy, there is a difference between Scudo d'Ore, and Scudo di Moneta.

But if you buy or sell Pearls, precious Stones, Gold, Silver, and Horses, it is enough to name the number of Pardao's you have agreed upon; for every body knows there are Pardao's worth six Tangas: but for all other Merchandise, if you specifie nothing, and speak in general of so many Pardao's, they are understood to be Pardao's worth five Tangas.

The Merchants pay sometimes in Pardao's of Larrins, and then five Larrins are worth but one Pardao.

SEBUNDY.

THE following valuable quotation settles two points, *ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 257. **Sebundies** were known in Oudh in the last Century and were employed in collecting revenue.

1782. — "The **Sebundy** is a separate establishment from the two above mentioned (cavalry and infantry forces), being a charge of generally about 4 per cent. upon the collections of the different Aumils, for a duty executed by a set of peons, not military disciplined men, who are stationed upon the crops and fields all over the country for their protection. These from the nature and present state of this Government appear to me absolutely and indispensably necessary for the collections, and can neither be embodied nor formed into any regular fixed establishment, but the new year will afford an opportunity of reducing their numbers, and of bringing this part of the plan into greater perfection." — Nathaniel Middleton, *letter* to Warren Hastings, 25th March, 1782, from Lucknow, in Forrest's *Indian State Papers*, Vol. III. p. 968.

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PÂDAMÛLA PÂDAMÛLIKA.

GUIDED by the context, I have translated the Sanskṛit word *pâdamûla*, which occurs in line 20 of the Pâṇḍukêśvar plate of Lalitaśûra (*ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 180) and in line 51 of the Khâlimpur plate of Dharmapâla (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 250), by 'an attendant' or 'attendants.' I now find that in Pâli the derivative *pâdamûlika* frequently occurs in exactly the same sense. Thus we have *pâdamûlika*, by itself, in the *Jâtaka*, Vol. I. p. 438, l. 11; Vol. II. p. 328, l. 13; Vol. III. p. 417, l. 3; Vol. VI. p. 401, l. 10; *pâdamûlika-purisâ*, *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 122, l. 4; *dovârika-pâdamûlik-âdayo*, *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 439, l. 3; *râjapâdamûlikâ*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 87, l. 17, and Vol. V. p. 128, l. 18, etc.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p.* 215.)

E. — Chin-Lushai Group.

MY sources of information for the Chin Language are : —

(1) *Practical Handbook of the Language of the Lais* (Baungshè Dialect), Newland, 1897.

(2) *Handbook of the Hàkâ or Baungshè Dialect of the Chin Language,* MacNabb, 1891.

(3) *Essay on the Language of the Southern Chins*, Houghton, 1892.

(4) *The Khyeng People of the Sandoway District,* Fryer, 1875.[58]

(5) *Maung Tet Pyo's Customary Law of the Chin Tribe,* Jardine, 1884.

(6) *Statistical and Historical Account of the Thayetmyo District,* Browne, 1873.

(7) *Burma Census Report,*[59] Eales, 1891.

(8) An intelligent Siyin Chin.

Chin[60] **is the generic appellation used by the Burmese for the Tribes inhabiting the hill-country between Burma and the Provinces of Assam and Bengal,** and the general **language** of the tribes so named is **closely connected with that of the Lushais on the Western slopes of the same hills,** and therefore more or less so with the general Nâga Language, already described. **Chin-Lushai** being now the usual definition of the group, I have adopted the term in these pages.

As is the case with the Kachin and Nâga Languages generally, instability of form is characteristic of the Chin Language also. "The language varies somewhat from place to place, particularly in the matter of the vowels, which are seldom clearly pronounced. Indeed, distinct articulation is not by any means affected by the Chins."[61] This fact should always be present in the mind when perusing the following pages. It should also be remembered that *y* and *z* are interchangeable in the mouths of Chins from different villages.

By far the fullest and most laborious, and in many respects the most valuable, work on the Chin Language is that of Surgeon-Major Newland on the Language of the Lais, **Lai** being the native term for the large and important tribe better known by its Burmese appellation of **Baungshè**, or by its alternative territorial title of **Hàkâ**. Unfortunately Dr. Newland is not a practised grammarian or philologist, and his presentation of the language is, therefore, a considerable trouble to the student, who has indeed to work out his own idea thereof from the various statements given him in the book. Captain MacNabb treats of the same dialect in his *Handbook*, and unluckily with the same defect. But with a little patience and study of peculiarities one can make out the tables given below for the numerals.[62] To these I have added the numerals given me by the Siyin Chin above noted, as, so far as I can ascertain, the dialect of the Siyin Tribe is quite nearly related to that of their neighbours, the Hàkâs.

[58] Reprint from *J. A. S. B.*, Pt. I., 1875.

[59] Page 162 ff. contains a long and interesting note by Mr. Bernard Houghton on the Chin Language.

[60] *Khyeng* in most books of the generation now passing away.

[61] Mr. Houghton in the *Burma Census Report*, 1891, p. 162. See also Newland, p. 1, and MacNabb, introduction. From Newland's various remarks *sandhi* or *nigori* clearly exists extensively in Chin, a fact which will no doubt puzzle the ordinary learners of that language until it is explained to them. The explosive, hesitating nature of many Chins' speech can also be gathered from Capt. MacNabb's book.

[62] I do not wish in the above remarks to underrate the labours of these two officials. Men are not sent to the Frontier because they are philologists, but to perform far different, and for the time at any rate, far more valuable work than that of the philologist. The student cannot, in fact, be too grateful for the jottings of hard-worked and sorely tried frontier officials, who must always make them under all sorts of difficulties and in the midst of engrossing and pressing duties. Even if the official happens to be a "scientific" enthusiast, the drudgery and worry of taking notes on top of the anxieties and in the midst of the difficulties inseparable from the position are sufficiently deterrent to many men, and it is really "very good" of any man so placed to take the rouble at all. *Experto crede,*

Colonel Fryer drops a remark on p. 14, which goes far towards explaining the varying words used for "a ten" in the Nâga and connected tongues in enumerating 30, 40, etc., to 90. He says *gip*[80] signifies "a clap of the hands," and so *t'ûmgip* means "three claps:" *m'lîgip*, "four claps," and so on. One can see how this comes about: — the numerals are counted on the fingers up to ten and then the hands are clapped, "one ten." This explanation also accounts for the term for fifty being an insolated one in nearly all the dialects; because when the enumerator comes to "five claps," *i. e.*, to a handful of tens, he would naturally mark the fact in his mind by a special term and proceed again with what is to him the laborious and important process of counting on to a hundred.

Only one of the books available to me, Dr. Newland's, gives any direct statement as to the Chins' notions of coin and currency, but he also gives the reason why the other books are practically silent on the point, for he says (introd., p. 4) that the Chins use the Burmese words for money, having none of their own for the purpose.

His table for the Lais runs as follows: —

1 rupee[81]	tankà pökàt	pp. 31, 42, 66, 82, etc.
1 half-rupee ...	ngâmû pökàt	pp. 31, 42, 519
1 4-anna bit ...	ƀâ'mâƀ mâƀkàt	pp. 32, 42, 614
1 2-anna bit ...	mûchî chîkàt	pp. 32, 42, 502
1 pice	paisâ pökàt	pp. 31, 42, 635, 657

This is all Burmese pronounced and used Chin fashion, the Burmese words being respectively *dingá* (spelt *dangá*), *ngámû*, *tamàt*, *múzî*, *paisán* (Indian). *Pö*, *máƀ*, *chî* in the above expressions are all numeral coefficients, and *kàt* means one. In the Burmese *tamàt* the *ta* = one, and the Chin expression shows that the Lais have borrowed the Burmese word for "one *màt*" bodily without understanding its full import, which is interesting.

Tankà, which is an Indian word, and its derivatives in the Far East, as I have already shown at length, mean "coin" pure and simple, and the word is so used by the Chins. Thus we have[82] *shwê-tankà* (Bur. *shwêdingá*), gold coin = the British sovereign: *ngûn-tankà*, silver coin = the British rupee: *ƀaung-sá-tankà*, copper coin = the British-Indian pice: *sappo-tankà*, bad coin = counterfeit money (p. 650). *Tankà* is also used for "money."[83]

The Lai word for silver, *ngûn*, which by the way is good Shân, is, as usual, employed for a rupee, singly on p. 258 and also with *tankà* (*ngûn-tankà*) on p. 651. On pp. 161, 225 *ngûn* is used generally for money, while on pp. 225, 673 we have a curious expression *azòk-òk*, *lit.*, "the purchaser," for "money."

Captain MacNabb supports the above statements by giving *tankà* for rupee on pp. 5, 48, and for money on pp. 14, 45; while he has *tankà-pakàt* (pp. 11, 34) for "one rupee," and *tankà-fànkal* (p. 21) for Rs. 20, *fàn* being a numeral coefficient (= *pö*, *pa*, *pan*, *pün*, *pun*).

The Siyin Chin, who declined to have anything to say to copper money, recognising only the rupee and its parts as coined currency, gave as his list the following terms: —

Rupee, *tankà*

Re. 1, *tankà pyàt* (Bur. *ƀyáȝ*)

half rupee, *hámû*[84]

4-anna bit, *màtik* (Bur. *màt*)

2-anna bit, *mûkàt* (= 1 *mû*: Bur. *mû*)

Thus showing that the Siyin Chins use practically the same terminology as the Lais for their currency.

[80] Burmese, *achet*, spelt *ak'yak*, a blow, stroke.

[81] *Tankà ngaingai*, genuine rupee; p. 684.

[82] Pages 33, 42, 599, 681.

[83] Pages 47, 107, 225, 503.

[84] *Ha*, Shân, = Bur. *ngá*, and so *hámû* = *ngámû* (Bur.), half rupee.

Turning to **the Southern Chins,** Col. Fryer nowhere mentions money, and Mr. Houghton only does so incidentally, using the word for silver, *hèn*, for rupee (p. 44) and also for money (p. 46). From his pages the method of counting rupees can be gathered thus: —

page 46 ...	hèn lò-hò	Re. I
,, 47 ..	hèn lò-'ngô	Rs. 5
,, 48 ..	hèn lò-'ngà	,, 10
,, 44 f. ..	hèn lò-haukkyit ...	,, 50

Here *lò* (*lo*) is the numeral coefficient for coin, pp. 20, 44.

It may be assumed, therefore, that the Chins count their money in a straightforward way by the British coins they use. But that they also use the numeral coefficients for the purpose can be seen from a sentence in Newland, p. 96: —

adîluk-kâ	pö-ruk[85]	kàn	pêk-lai
the-whole-for	six	I	pay-will

Translated: I will pay Rs. 6 for the whole lot.

The words for the metals compare as follow in my authorities:—

Chin Terms for the Metals.

	Newland.	MacNabb.	Houghton.	Fryer.	The Siyin.
gold	shwê[86] (B)[87] .	shwê, shwi (B) .	ha[88]	hà	k'àm (S)
silver ...	ngûn[86] (S) .	nwê (B) ...	hèn	hêam ...	ngun (S)
copper ...	þaungsà (S) .	......	klêsen	......	hàksàn
brass... ...	dâr	dâr	k'atyâ[89] (B) ...	......	hàkyeng
tin	sànpyû[90] (B), ngen	sànpyû[90] (B) ...	dauuglok ...	......	dàl
iron	tihr	tihr	n't'î	t'î, n't'î[91] ...	t'ô
lead	kwen ...	kwen	k'è[92] (B) ...	......	hàk
zinc	......	... ..	......	......	chitkòng

The Chins, or at least some of them, must have some notions of **Troy weight,** as may be seen from statements in Newland. Thus at p. 557 n. he says, after explaining that the Chins measure and do not weigh their goods, "silk yarn is sold by weight, one rupee's weight being *akyê-êpkàt* (? *akyàpkàt*, "one rupee-weight)," each *kyêp* consisting of so many smaller skeins or *þûk-kàts*.[93] . . . . Beeswax is sold in pieces, each about a viss in weight; these pieces being called *chwê-* or *shwê-kàt*," *lit.*, one hundred. Here we seem to have distinct **rudiments of Troy weight, copied from the Burmese and Shâns,** thus: —

akyàp-kàt	... weight of one rupee (tickal or *tôlâ*)
chwê-(= shwê-)kàt ...	... weight of one hundred rupees

[85] *Pö*, num. coeff., for rupees.

[86] *Shwê ngaingai, ngûn ngaingai*, pure gold, pure silver. *Cf.* n. 81 above, *taṅkà ngaingai*, genuine rupee.

[87] B stands for Burmese, and S for Shân.

[88] *Maungbòha*, gold kept hereditarily: p. 75.

[89] Bur. *k'atyâ*, pinchbeck: pp. 67, 104.

[90] Also any white metal which is not silver.

[91] *T'î*, Northern Chin.

[92] From the expression (p. 67) for bullet, *k'è-m'lûng* (*k'lûng*, pp. 69, 116, a lump, hard thing).

[93] One cannot help thinking, however, that the word is really *þûk*, the *kàt* being added for "one."

To gather how the Lûshais reckon the money they come across one has to search Mr. Soppitt's pages. The word for rupee, or money, is that for silver, *shûm* or *shôm*,[10] and *dâr*, a word with strong Nâga affinities, is the numeral coefficient for rupees; and it would seem that in reckoning they either use (*a*) the term plus coefficient plus numeral, or (*b*) the coefficient alone with the numeral, or (*c*) when there is no ambiguity simply the numeral. Thus, we find :—

(*a*)	p. 67	Rs. 5	shôm dâr-ringâh
(*b*)	p. 60	Rs. 2	dâr-nî
	p. 60	Rs. 4	dâr-mîlî
	p. 67	Rs. 5	dâr-ringâh
	p. 35	Rs. 20	dâr-shômnî
	p. 67	Rs. 25	shômennî dâr-ringâh[11]
	p. 35	Rs. 35	dâr-shômtûm-lê-ringâh
	p. 66	Rs. 40	dâr-shôm-mîlî
(*c*)	pp. 66, 68	Rs. 20	shômennî
	p. 68	Rs. 20	shômnî
	p. 60	Rs. 35	shômtûm-ringâh

Mr. Soppitt also gives *sîkî* for the four-anna bit, borrowed from Bengali.

My own notes, however, tell a very different tale from the simple one above quoted, and one more in accord with the painfully elaborate methods of calculating, which one knows to be customary with the savage or semi-civilized peoples of the Far East. Whether right or wrong, my notes are the result of an infinity of patience.

The first point to observe is the nomenclature of the coined divisions of the rupee given me by the men, above-mentioned as speaking different dialects, whom I may now call for the present purpose the Eastern and Western Lûshais ; meaning by the Eastern Lûshai the man (? Maring) whose speech was nearest Chin and by the Western Lûshais the men whose speech was nearest to that of Mr. Soppitt's Kûki-Lûshais. These men named the silver coins thus :—

English.	Eastern Lûshai.	Western Lûshai.
2-anna piece	parê ânâ[12]	duânâ[13]
4-anna piece	sîlàp, siplàp	sîkî[14]
half rupee	t'ngâsî	hâdalî[14]
rupee	tangâ	tangâ
one rupee[15]	p'làp[16]	tangâ-kât
$1\frac{1}{4}$ rupees[15]	p'làp t'ngâsî[17]	tangâ-lê-sîkî[18]
$1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees[15]	p'làp-enkôi[17]	tangâ-lê-hâdalî
$1\frac{3}{4}$ rupees[15]	p'làp-sômsî	tangâ-lê-hâdalî-sîkî

[10] Pages 53, 57, 73, 75 for *shûm*; pp. 66, 68 for *shôm* = money : p. 77 for *shûm* = silver.

[11] This is the usual Far Eastern way of employing the numeral-coefficient: the next instance is unusual.

[12] *I.e.*, two annas.

[13] Indian, *doannî*, "a 2-anna bit."

[14] Both Indian. *Hâdalî* = *adhêlî*, a half rupee.

[15] The coins being placed before them to name.

[16] We may perhaps take *làp* (= *làk*) = one, and *p'* (= *pô*, *pa*, etc.) as the numeral coefficient for rupee, but the expression has an interesting Kachin look about it, *vide ante*, p. 198.

[17] There is confusion here, as both words mean Re. $1\frac{1}{2}$: *enkôi* = a half ; *cf.* Chin *kôi* in Houghton, p. 112.

[18] *Lê* = with.

Then comes the crux, — the nomenclature of the intermediate divisions of the rupee, the uncoined odd annas of account, — where so much depends on the individual intelligence of the examinee. Here the **Eastern Lûshai** counted straight ahead, — 2, 3, 5, 6 annas and so on (*parê, sôm, tangâ, tarûk — ânâ*), varying his nomenclature only when he came to four annas and eight annas, which he called by the names for the coins, *siplàp* and *t'ngâsî*. He used, however, *pa-ânâ* for "one anna," just as he used *p'làp* for "one rupee," and a notable term *a'mat-ânâ* for "10 annas," where one would have expected *hâ-ânâ*.

But one of the **Western Lûshais** gave a list, which was very puzzling, — probably he was puzzled himself, — and I give it here with the explanation, just as it was given me.

Divisions of the Rupee.

The Western Lushai's Terms.

English.	Lûshai.	Sense of the Lûshai.
1 anna... ...	dârtangâ palî	copper-coins four[19]
2 annas ...	duânâ	2-anna piece (*doannî*, Indian)
3 „ ..	sôm-lê-panî	12 (pice)
4 „ ...	sîkî	quarter (of a rupee)
5 „ ...	sôm-lê-pak'ngâ	15 (pice)[20]
6 „ ...	sômnî	20 (pice)[21]
7 „ ...	sômnî-palî	24 (pice)[22]
8 „ ...	hâdalî	half rupee
9 „ ..	hâdalî-lê-palî	half with 4 (pice)
10 „ ...	hâdalî-lê-paryàt	half with 8 (pice)
11 „ ...	hâdalî-lê-paryàt-palî	half with 8 and 4 (pice)
12 „ ...	sôm-lê-panî	12 (annas)
13 „ ...	sôm-lê-patûm	13 (annas)
14 „ ..	sôm-lê-palî	14 (annas)
15 „ ...	sôm-lê-pak'ngâ	15 (annas)
rupee	tangâ	....

The working of this, in reality intelligent, savage's mind comes out clearly in the above table. His **"anna"** was to him a concrete thing, *viz.*, **a quartette of (coined) pice**, and he painfully tried to multiply out his quartettes, making mistakes in the effort before long, until he came to the half rupee, or *hâdalî*. Here he gained breathing time, until again the multiplication became too much for him, which caused him to boldly enumerate the annas direct at 12 annas and onward. He thus used the same expression for "12 annas" as he had already

[19] *I. e.*, four pice.

[20] Should be 16 pice, *sôm-lê-parôk*.

[21] Should be 24 pice, *sômnî-palî*.

[22] Should be 28 pice, *sômnî-paryàt*.

used for (12 pice) "3 annas," in a manner with which my readers will be now familiar. The probabilities are that the more practised traders of this communtiy enumerate thus:—

5 annas ... sîkî-lê-palî

9 annas ... hâdalî-lê-palî

13 annas ... hâdalî-sîkî-lê-palî

and so on.

I may mention that the Eastern Lushai called pice *krî-paisâ*, *krî* being used by him for both brass and copper, according to a well-known Far-Eastern root. Also both men recognised the *Abrus* seed as *mint'î* (East) and *sentet* (West).

The Lûshai terms for the **metals** compare as follows:—

English.	Mr. Soppitt.	Eastern Lûshai.	Western Lûshai.
gold	râṅgmâjâk[23] (p. 74) ...	kô	râṅgmâjâk[24]
silver	shûm (p. 97)	tai	sûm
brass, copper ..	....	krî	dâr, hâr
tin	....	dàtsâ	râṅgwâ
iron	tir (p. 75)	lôhwâ (Indian) ...	tîr
lead	... .	kêmâ[25]	swàn

The fourth Lûshai, whom I had an opportunity of examining, was a **Zô** (or Dzo, as the books have it),[26] the tribe most closely related of all to the Chins, and I have kept his numerals to the last, so as to serve as an argument for clinching the inter-relationship of Chin and Lûshai.

Zô Lûshai Numerals.

1 ...	p'kàt	2 ...	p'nit	3 ...	p'tûm
4 ...	p'lî	5 ...	p'ngâ	6 ...	p'ruk
7 ...	p'sârî	8 ..	p'rîk	9 ...	p'kwâ
10 ...	t'schom[27]	11 ...	t'schom-lê-p'kàt[28]...	......	t'schom-p'nit[29]
100 ...	jü	1,000 ...	t'chàng		

His terms for the metals were also extremely interesting. Gold, *s'nâ* for the Indian *sônâ*, which has become the term for silver among the Maṇipûrî Nâgas, *ante*, p. 214[29a]: silver, *taṅkâ*, *i. e.*, the term for the rupee has become that for the metal it is made of: iron, *tîr*: lead, *hâr*, used for brass among the Lûshais, as we have just seen.

[23] Capt. Lewin's list in Anderson's *Hill Tipperâ* gold is *shôna* (Bengali): silver is *taṅkâbên*: iron is *t'ir*.

[24] Also *shônâ* (Bengali).

[25] *K'e* is Burmese.

[26] See Newland, p. 1; Houghton, p. 4.

[27] The *t*, *s* and *ch* all distinctly sounded, with a hesitation between the *t* and *s*.

[28] So on to 19.

[29] So on to 90.

[29a] Reversing the Indian process of thought, where the coin, "rupee," is named *after* the metal it is made of.

From Mr. Soppitt's account of the Kachchâ Nâgas of North Kachâr one seems to find in their tongue a typically unstable language linking with both the Chin-Lûshai and the Nâga Groups. Witness his numerals[30]:—

Kachchâ Nâga Numerals.

1 ...	kât	2 ...	ganâ	3 ...	gûjûm
4 ..	mâdai	5 ...	mingêo, mingao[31] ...	6 ...	sûrûk
7 ...	senâ	8 ...	dasât, dêsât[32] ...	9 ...	sûgûi, shûgui[33]
10 ...	gâiêo	11 ...	gârêo-kât	20 ...	eṅkai, ênkai[34]
21 ...	eṅkai-kât[35] ..	30 ...	shimrêo	40 ...	radai, r'dai[36]
50 ...	ringjêo, ringao[37] ..	60 ..	riâg-sûrûk[38] ..	70 ...	riâg-senâ
80 ...	riâg dasât	90 ..	riâg-sûgûi	100 ...	hai
1,000 ...	shâng				

Mr. Soppitt gives (pp. 38, 42, 44) the Kachchâ Nâga word for both silver and money as *râng-gâng*, *râng-kâng*, but I gather that the word is really *râng*, *gâng* (*kâng*) being its numeral coefficient. Gold he calls (p. 43) *gâchâk*, and iron (p. 44) *hêgê*.

Taking *râng* = silver, money, rupee, and *gâng*, *kâng*[39] as its numeral coefficient, we find that these Nâgas reckon money much as do their neighbours. *E. g.*,

(*a*) by rupee plus coefficient:—

p. 31	Rs. 2	râng gâng-ganâ
p. 38	Rs. 25	râng gâng-eṅkai-mingao
p. 38	Rs. 40	râng gâng-r'dai

(*b*) by numeral coefficient only:—

p. 9	Re. 1	gâng-kât
p. 32	Rs. 4 or 5	kâng-madai-mingao
p. 9	Rs. 61	riâg-sûrûk gâng-kât

It is also clear that they must have the same method as their neighbours for reckoning the parts of the rupee, as on p. 10 we find—

hâgi = 4 annas

bîpî = 8 annas

hâgi-gûjûm = 12 annas, *lit.*, "4-anna-bits three"

Mr. Soppitt gives no words for the weights, which is unfortunate as the Kachchâ Nâgas must have definite ideas on the subject, as may be seen from a remark on p. 10, that, in relation to weights, *badâng* = a quarter, *gajêt* = a half, *badâng-gûjûm* = three quarters.

Mr. Anderson's Hill Tipperâ Notes are very slight, my own attempts with a Tipperâ. one Narsî Râm, from Hill Tipperâ, being more productive of words for the present purpose.

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[30] See p. 8.

[31] Pages 28, 32, 47.

[32] Page 42.

[33] Page 47.

[34] Page 38.

[35] *Eṅkai-sâi kât-kêo* is the full expression and means "twenty-full-(and)-one-single."

[36] Page 38.

[37] Page 47.

[38] *Riâg* is clearly "a ten," and the numerals equal 6, 7, 8, and 9 tens. *Shimrêo*, 30, seems to be formed in the same way, *r'o* being ten. So also *radai*, 40, seems to equal 4 tens, and *ringao*, 50, to equal 5 tens.

[39] *Kâng* is the numeral coefficient for flat things in Kachârî: Endle, p. 13.

From the information to hand, however, we here, as in the Kachârî (Bôdô) Language, seem, without leaving the class, to be getting away from immediate relationship with the Chin-Lûshai Group proper. Thus the Hill Tipperâ numerals run as follows:—

Hill Tipperâ Numerals.

	Mr. Anderson, p. 13.	Narsî Râm.	Mr. Endle, *Kachari Grammar*, p. ii.
1 ...	kâicha	k'ayâ	kaich'â
		suff. sâ, hâ, â	....
2 ...	remoi	k'anôi	kûnûi
		suff. nôi	....
3 ...	kat'âm	k'atân	kat'âm
		suff. t'ân	....
4 ...	buroi	baroi	bûrûi
5 ..	bâ	bâ	bâ
6 ...	dau, dok	dau...	dok
7 ..	sinî	sanê	ch'ini
8 ...	châ, charû	sà	ch'àt
9 ...	chukû	sakû	chiku
10 ...	chê	sê	chi
11 ...	....	sêsâ[40]	....
20 ...	k'al	kô	....
30 ...	....	kô-pe-sî[41]	....
40 ...	....	kurunôi	....
50 ...	....	kurun'chî	....
60 ...	....	kurutâ	....
70 ...	....	kurutâsî	....
80 ...	....	kurubaroi	....
90 ..	....	kurubaroichî	....
100 ...	....	razâhâ	....
1,000 ...	....	sâyâ	....

[40] All his "teens" were regular, except 15, which was *sarâ.*

[41] Probably for "twenty with ten." The remaining numerals seem to be formed by scores (*kuru;* Chin, *kûr;* Naga, *kul, k'al;* all no doubt through the Assamese, *k'uri,* a score): thus, *kuru-nôi,* 2 score = 40; *kurun(ôi)-chî,* 2 score and 10 = 50; *kuru-tâ,* 3 score = 60; *kurutâ-sî,* 3 score and 10 = 70; *kuru-baroi,* 4 score = 80; *kuru-baroi-chî,* 4 score and 10 = 90. *Cf.* the Maṇipûrî custom as given above, p. 170, n. 16.

Mr. Anderson makes no mention of money in his *Vocabulary*, but I squeezed a certain amount of information out of **Narsî Râm** on the subject. Thus :—

Rupee, râng[42]	one rupee	k'wâ-â[43]
	half rupee	màsâ, m'sâ
	quarter rupee ...	sagî

Shown the coins, he enumerated the fractional parts of the rupee thus :—

Re. $1\frac{1}{4}$	k'wâ-â ânâ baroi ...	rupee one annas 4
Re. $1\frac{1}{2}$	k'wâ-â m'sâ	rupee one (and) half
Re. $1\frac{3}{4}$	k'wâ sagî lê-t'ân ...	rupee (and) quarter by three[44]

He enumerated his annas, however, in a complete and straightforward manner from 1 to 15, using the suffixed forms for 1, 2 and 3, thus :—

one anna	ânâ hâ	two annas	ânâ nôi
three annas ...	ânâ t'ân	four annas	ânâ baroi

and so on, even using *ânâ sà*, eight annas, as a synonym for *m'sâ* for the half rupee.

The words given for **the metals** compare as under :—

	Mr. Anderson.	Narsî Râm.
gold	rângchâo	rângzâ
silver	râng	rûpai
copper	....	poichâ
brass	....	petôh
tin	... .	sòkopû[45]
iron	shor, char	sò
lead	....	sîsâ

Of the above words in Narsî Râm's list, *rûpai, petôh, sîsâ* are directly Indian, and so is the interesting word *poicha* for copper, *i. e.*, metal. Lastly, Narsî Râm at once recognised the *Abrus* seed, which he named *byêwâ*.

For **Kachârî** there is Mr. Endle's excellent and only too brief *Outline Grammar*, showing the connections and the wide spread of this tongue under its best known title of **Bôdô (Bòṛò)**.[46]

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[42] Silver, according to Mr. Anderson.

[43] *K'wâ* is probably a numeral coefficient.

[44] Equal to three quarters. With this *sagî cf.* Kachcha Nâga *hâgi*, 4 annas, and *hâgi-gûjûm* (three *hâgis*), 12 annas.

[45] White iron ; *kup'ûr*, white, Anderson, p. 13.

[46] It may be as well to note here the various names, more or less well-known and familiar, under which Kachârîs of sorts appear in books : —

(1) Bòṛò, Bòḍò, Boṛo, Boḍo, Bàṛà, Bodo.
(2) Mêch, Mês.
(3) Hojai, Hâjong, Lâlang.
(4) Dóîmâsâ, Dhîmâl.
(5) Gâro, Tipperâ, Mikir (?).

See Endle, Preface, p. v. ff.

Its connection with the general language of the North-East Frontier Hills comes out in the words noted in these pages for numerals and currency, proving it to be highly instructive for the present purpose, despite the essentially Indian character of its surroundings.

The Kachârî indigenous numerals only run as far as ten, thus, as given by Mr. Endle: —

Kachârî Indigenous Numerals.

	Lowland.[47]	Highland.	Gâro.[48]
1	sè, söî, sê	shê, si...	sâ, shâ
2	nè, nöî, gnê	ginî, gnî	gnî
3	t'âm, g't'âm	gat'ân, t'ân	git'âm
4	brè, bröî	biri	bri
5	bâ...	böngâ	bangâ
6	ṛò, ḍò	dà	dak
7	snî, sinî	sinî	snì
8	zàt, jàt	jâi	chet
9	sk'ô, sik'ô	shugû	sk'u
10	zi, zö, ji	ji	chi, chik'ung
20	**k'urî, êk'urî**[49] ...	....	....

When counting directly beyond ten, the Indian numerals are used, as may be seen from a sentence on p. 66: —

dàu-fâi-âu pandra bâ êk'urî t'àk'â mangan
month-each-in fifteen or one-score rupee get
(translated) get fifteen or twenty rupees a month.

But the Kachârîs have borrowed the Indian scale of quartettes (gaṇḍas), so popular for reckoning cowries,[50] and this enables them to count as far as 43 in their own numerals. Here we have that **link in Kachârî with the Western tongues and habits,** which explains so much that is puzzling in the curious Maṇipûrî method of reckoning *sêl* and already discussed; while we have **also in Kachârî an all-important link with the Eastern tongues and habits** in the full use of numeral coefficients, employed Chinese and Nâga (not Burmese and Shân) fashion.

Borrowing the Assamese word *jak'â*[51] (= *gaṇḍâ*), which they have turned into *zak'ai* (*z'k'ai* on p. 42), the Kachârîs express 15 by *zak'ai-t'âm*-(coeff.)-*t'âm*, *i. e.*, three quartettes and three. Forty-two they express by *zak'ai-zö*-(coeff.)-*nè*, *i. e.*, ten quartettes and two. The

[47] *S* and *z* in Kachârî and Gâro often equal *ch*, *ch'*, *j*, *j'* in the surrounding tongues.

[48] The Gâro is essentially a mere dialect of Kachârî or Bodo.

[49] Page 60. Indian *kôṛî*, a score. We can now trace the wanderings in the Hills of this well-known term from *kôṛî*, through Assamese *k'urî*, to
(1) Tipperâ, *kuru*; Chin, *kûr*, *krut*.
(2) Chin, Maṇipûrî, *kul*; Kachin-Singphô, *k'un*.
(3) Chin, *kal*; Tipperâ, *k'al*.
(4) Chin, Tipperâ, *ko*, *go*, *gôi*.
(5) Lhôta and Angâmî Nâga, (*me*)*kü*, *kwü*, *kwî*; Chin, *kwê*; Kachcha Nâga, (*en*)*kai*.

[50] *Vide ante*, p. 171.

[51] Page 12.

numeral coefficient for rupee is *t'ai*, a round thing,[52] and so Rs. 15 would be in this enumeration *zak'ai-t'âm-t'ai-t'âm*, and Rs. 42 would be *zak'ai-zô-t'ai-nè*.

The Kachârîs also reckon, like their Indian neighbours, in rupees, annas, and pice, *i. e.*, in their vernacular, in *t'àk'â* (*tankâ*), *faisâ* (*poisâ*) and *ânâ*. For *t'àkâ* the numeral coefficient is *t'ai*, and for *faisâ* it is *gat*, while there is no coefficient for *ânâ* This much can be gathered from the following statements scattered about Mr. Endle's book: —

pp. 36, 43 f.	Rupee	t'ankâ, t'àkâ
p. 60	Re. 1	t'àkâ t'aisè
p. 58	Rs. 2	„ t'ainöî
p. 42	„ 3	„ t'ait'âm
p. 13	„ 5	„ t'aibâ
pp. 39, 40	„ 10	„ t'aizö
p. 66	2 pice	p'oisâ gatnè
p. 42	5 „	faisâ gatbâ
p. vi.	6 annas	ânâ-ṛò, ânâ-ḍò
p. 60	10 „	ânâ-zö

The only word that Mr. Endle gives for **the metals** is that for gold, which is *darbi*, a word of distinctly Eastern (Nâga) affinities. He gives nothing indigenous for **the weights**, but several obvious corruptions of such familiar Indian terms as *man*, *sér*, etc., are to be found scattered up and down his pages.

Mr. Endle did not go beyond ten in the Gâro numerals given by him, apparently because of the limit of his indigenous Kachârî numerals, but the Gâro I examined carried his on to 100 and 1,000, thus: —

Gâro Numerals.

1 ...	mang'sà	2 ...	mang'g'nî	3 ...	mang'g'tàm
4 ...	mang'brî	5 ...	mang'bangâ	6 ...	mang'dôk
7 ...	mang's'nî	8 ...	mang'chit[53]	9 ...	mang'chikû
10 ...	mang'chik'ing[54] and mang'chî[56]	11 ...	mang'chik'sà and mang'chisà[57]	20 ...	kôrg'ràk[55]
30 ...	kôlachî[58]	40 ...	sotbrî[59]	50 ...	sotbangâ
60 ...	sotdôk	70 ...	sots'nî	80 ...	sotchit
90 ...	sotchikû	100 ...	arêch'sà	1,000 ...	sotsik'ing[60]

The *mang'* prefixed to the numerals of the first ten appears in two lists in Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* (p. 93) of the numerals of the Bodos (Kachârîs) and the Mêchs as *man*

[52] The Kachchâ Nâgas use *gâng* = , in Kachârî, numeral coefficient for flat things.

[53] Also duplicated, *chitchet*.

[54] *K'ing* may be compared with the terminal syllable *kô*, *kông*, *k'ung* already noticed among the Nâga Languages.

[55] Evidently " one score."

[56] Also duplicated, *chichik'ing*.

[57] So on to 19, using *chi* + numeral or *chik* + numeral at will.

[58] Evidently a score and ten.

[59] *Sot*, clearly " a ten."

[60] Should be 100, being literally " ten tens" ; its use for 1,000 is notable.

and *mun*, both prefixed. As will have been already seen, the Mêchs and the Bodos are essentially the same people. Though not mentioned by Mr. Endle, *mang'*, *man*, *mun* is clearly a coefficient, as it will be seen to disappear in the counting of money. Thus, the Gâro I examined called an anna *gondâ*, *i. e.*, *gaṇḍâ*, or a quartette (of pice), a fact of great interest in the present connection, and proceeded to reckon his annas entirely as gondâs of pice. Thus:—

1 anna... ...	gondâ-sà ...	2 annas ...	gondâ-g'nî
3 annas ...	gondâ-g'tàm ...	4 annas ...	gondâ-brî

and so on to 15 annas.

His numeral coefficient for rupee was *kàp*, and he counted his rupees *kàpsà*, *kàpg'nî*, *kàpg'tàm*, and so on. Similarly he counted his pice, using the Indian word *poisâ*, straightforwardly, *poisâ p'ràk*, *poisâ-g'nî*, *poisâ-g'tàm*. Like the Zô Lûshais, he mixed up his silver with his rupees, calling both *taṅkâ*. For brass he used the Indian word for lead, *sîsâ*.

(To be continued.)

THE SIEGE OF AHMADNAGAR AND HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE FORT BY CHAND BIBI — A NARRATIVE OF AN EYE-WITNESS.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING.

Indian Staff Corps (retired).

(*Continued from p. 237.*)

Mujâhid-ud-Dîn Shamshîr Khân, who, having undertaken the defence of the city and country, was engaged in collecting a force and making preparations to repel the vindictive enemy (some explanation of which we have already given) ; and when he heard of the death of Anṣâr Khân, and of Her Highness Chând Bîbî having ascended the tower of the fortress, he hastened to attend at court with all his glorious sons ; and in like manner Afẓal Khân and Mîr Muḥammad Zamân, more than all, were distinguished by the happiness of attendance at the foot of the throne of sovereignty. After that, all the inhabitants and great men of the city, small and great, going to the foot of the throne, assembled under the shadow of Her Highness' favour.

At this juncture a body of troops from the north side of the city came into view, and arrived in the vicinity of the *namâz-gâh*. A number of them rushed to the summit of the *namâz-gâh*, and some proceeded to the city. Since no one imagined the near arrival of the Mughal army, some people thought this was Sa'âdat Khân's force, and some imagined it was the army of the Ḥabshîs. Shamshîr Khân, in order to ascertain the circumstances of that force, sent a person among them, and he brought back the news that this was the force of the Khân-Khânân and the advanced guard of the Mughal army. The garrison of the fortress and the nobles when they became aware of the arrival of the Mughal army, fired some guns towards them and dispersed those who had come on the plain of the *chabûtra*. Then with all their might they engaged themselves in strengthening and protecting the fortress and getting ready the warlike apparatus. When the day had come to an end, the Khân-Khânân's force did not remain in the vicinity of the fortress, but hastened back to the Khân-Khânân, who had encamped near the garden of the old *kârîz*[6] ; and that night till the appearance of the true dawn they remained cautious and wakeful.

Her Highness Chând Bîbî cast the rays of attention and favour on the state of the well-wishers and nobles of the country ; especially Muḥammad Khân, whom she treated with much affability and kindness ; and as a reward for his virtuous efforts and honourable services, she conferred on him the rank of *wakîl* and *amîr-ul-umarâ* and the office of *nâ'ib* ; and the reins of the control of all

[6] One of the subterraneous water-leads, of which there were fifteen in all — *vide Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. p. 670.

mankind and the defence and strengthening of the fortress she placed in the powerful grasp of that faithful *khân* ; ordering him to exercise due vigilance and caution. To Mujâhid-ud-Dîn Shamshîr Khân she entrusted the protection of the helpless people and vassals outside the fortress, and the fighting the enemies of the State. A number of brave men and well-wishers of the State, such as Mîr Muḥammad Zamân, and all the warlike ones she ordered to co-operate with him.

The next day was Tuesday, the 24th Rabî' II. (17th December, 1595). The Khân-Khânân with a number of the officers of his army set about the protection of the city and Burhânâbâd,[7] and conciliating and looking after the affairs of the inhabitants and vassals, who are a sacred trust from the Creator of mankind ; and issued a proclamation of security of property and life. A number of the helpless and poor, who through want of ability to migrate, had remained in their dwellings, trusting in the good news of the promise of security, took refuge in the neighbourhood of the fortress and all the fortified villages.

On this day Mîr Muḥammad Zamân being appointed to summon Jalâl-ud-Dîn Ḥaidar, brought to the foot of the throne that *sayyid* of high origin, with his glorious sons; in like manner Rukn-us-Sulṭanat Afẓal Khân being appointed to summon the ambassadors of the kings of the Dakhan, and they brought these two pillars of religion and the State to the foot of the throne.

On this same day a battle took place between the forces of Mujâhid-ud-Dîn Shamshîr Khân and a body of the Mughals, who with the foot of daring were traversing the open space of the Kâlâ Chautarah plain. Mîr Muḥammad Zamân, showing valour and manliness worthy of a *sayyid*, charged the warriors of the Mughal army and broke their ranks. Since in the beginning of the fight the flag of victory of the nobles was exalted, the people of the fortress undoubtedly gained strength and became hopeful of victory. At first they had been terrified, but afterwards they fought heroically.

At the close of the same day [17th December] the army of Shâh Murâd, with the great *amîrs* and *khâns*, such as Mîrzâ Shâh Rukh, Wâlî of Badakhshân ; Shâhbâz Khân ; Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân ; Sayyid Murtaẓâ and all the *amîrs* and leaders of the army, with an immense and formidable force, arrived in the neighbourhood of the city.[8] The dust of their force blackened the mirror of the heavens, and the clang of their drums and trumpets made an earthquake in the earth and a tumult in the sky. They encamped in the vicinity of the old *kâriz*, which is called the Bâgh-i-Bihisht [Garden of Paradise].[9] From the thronging of the many forces the area of that spacious ground appeared narrower than a seal-ring or the eye of a needle.

Account of the pillaging and plundering of the city and country, which caused disgust in the minds of high and low, and was one of the causes of the failure to take the fortress.

This was one of the causes of the failure to conquer this paradise-like country ; and until the news of this injustice and iniquity reached Prince Shâh Murâd and the Khân-Khânân, and they proceeded to put a stop to this tyranny and oppression, and punished a number as a warning to the others, no one in the city and its environs had any goods or houses left. Moreover, the foundations of buildings had been destroyed, so that no one could distinguish his own house from that of a stranger. But since it appeared as if the divine intention was to prohibit the conquest and the plans of the *amîrs* of Akbar Shâh's army, that which occurred tended to undermine their power and dignity and supremacy, while it tended to increase the greenness and freshness of the young plant of the hopes of the fathers of the State. In truth, this was the first rupture which reached the foundations of the enemies' good fortune.

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[7] A town about three miles north-east of Ahmadnagar fort, founded by Burhân Niẓâm-Shâh II.

[8] Another writer — Mîrzâ Rafî'-ud-Dîn Shîrâzî gives the names of the principal *amîrs* accompanying Prince Murâd as follow :— "Khân-Khânân, Shahbâz Kambû, Mîrzâ Rustam — grand-son of Bahrâm Mîrzâ, the brother of Shâ Ṭahmasp, Muḥammad Ṣâdiḳ Khân, Mîrzâ 'Alî Akbar Pâdshâhî and Shîr Khwâjah, with two hundred other great *amîrs*."

[9] Or Bâgh-i Hasht Bihisht, about four miles to the north-west of the fort. For description, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. p. 704.

By the disaster of that sacking and plundering not a sign of cultivation or prosperity remained. The roads of communication with the various quarters of the country became closed, so that for the space of three months not a human being from the enemy's country could bring any news to them; till famine and scarcity in their army reached such a pitch, that during that space of time, no one among either nobles or plebeians saw the face of ghee, rice and most of the necessaries of life. In the end, this same scarcity and plundering became the cause of the return of that hostile army, as will shortly, with God's assistance, be related.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 244.)

The following details shew the methods adopted by exorcists to drive out spirits in North Kânara: — Lakshmî, the wife of Anandrâv Yardî, a Śênvi Brâhmaṇ of Sûpâ in Kânara, while working in her house at noon (in 1881), was attacked by a family spirit. She began to cry incessantly, let her hair fall loose, and tore her clothes. From these signs her husband and other relations guessed that she was possessed. They put sulphur and hair on the fire under her nostrils, but she did not speak. They then put a cloth over her face, and pouring water on it called upon the spirit to speak, and say who he or she was. On this Lakshmî speaking in the name of the spirit said: — "My name is **Alvantin**, I am Anandrâv's first wife, and I seized this woman because she wears my ornaments and clothes, and sleeps in my room." After this statement, Lakshmî became more and more excited. So Anandrâv sent for Parsu Ghâdî, a spirit-scarer by profession and by caste a Kunbî. Parsu came about six in the evening. On coming in he sat on the ground in the verandah. A low wooden stool and a handful of rice were given to him. Repeating some incantations he emptied the rice on the stool, and taking one-fourth part he arranged it in three heaps before him. Turning his finger round the heaps, and repeating incantations, he took one grain from the heap and broke it on the edge of the stool. This he repeated three times, and then said that Lakshmî was attacked by the ghost of her husband's first wife, and that Anandrâv should make a vow to his family gods to scare the spirit. Anandrâv did as he was advised. Still the spirit did not leave Lakshmî. So on the next day Anandrâv sent for Mangêśabhaṭṭa, another spirit-scarer. Mangêśabhaṭṭa accompanied by a man of the kind called *pâyâlu*, or born-feet-first, came at eight at night, and sat on a low wooden stool. Mangêśabhaṭṭa took out a glass, applied black powder to it, and gave the glass and a lamp to the *pâyâlu* to look into the glass. He then threw a cloth over the *pâyâlu*, and taking a handful of rice and repeating incantations began to throw grains of rice on the *pâyâlu*. After a few minutes the *pâyâlu* told Mangêśabhaṭṭa that he saw in the glass a jungle where a man came, prepared, and lighted lamps. He also saw the village gods, the family god and goddess, and the spirit Alvantin. On hearing this the exorcist told Anandrâv that his wife was attacked by the spirit Alvantin. The exorcist then made a promise to Anandrâv's family god, that after two months Anandrâv would go to visit the god Mangêśa at Mangêśî in Goa, and prayed that during the two months the god should prevent the spirit troubling Lakshmî. After the lapse of two months Anandrâv with his wife went to Mangêśî in Goa. There he poured water over the *liṅg* of the god Mangêśa daily for several hours, and his wife walked a thousand times round the temple every day. In this way they lived at Mangêśî for about two years. One night Anandrâv was told by the god Mangêśa in a dream that his wife was well. So Anandrâv feasted some Brâhmaṇs in the name of the god, and returned home with his wife, who was cured.

In Bengal, among the Kurs and Muâsîs, if any one is sick, or if an epidemic has come on the cattle, or if some family has been haunted by a spirit, the people meet together, and go to the house of their medium, called **baigâ** or **bhagat**, with music and dancing. The people dance

and play, and call on the spirit, until one or more of them begins to roll their eyes and twitch their muscles. Then one or two others, generally old women, are seized. The attack comes on like a fit of ague. It lasts for a quarter of an hour, during which the patient writhes and trembles and leaps from the ground as if shot. He is then unconscious. After a few minutes spasms set in the hands and knees, the hair falls loose, the body is convulsed, the head violently shaken, and there is a gurgling noise in the throat. Then the patient hops about with a stick, the head jerking sharply. No one in his senses could stand so much exertion for a minute. The *baigá* is asked to cast out the spirit. If the spirit is the great Ganjam, it is asked politely to withdraw; if not, it is driven out with threats and promises. When all is over, the patient is rubbed with butter.[44] On the north-east frontier of Bengal Buddhist priests exorcise in cases of sickness, or of devil or witch-possession.[45] When the Santhâls are troubled by a spirit, or *bhût*, they go to the medium. The medium fasts for a time. Then a drum is beaten before him, and his head presently shakes, and his body writhes in hair-tossing spasms. The spirit that was troubling them has passed into the medium. He shouts out some phrases, seizes some victims that are placed ready, cuts their heads off, and pours out the blood.[46]

In the Central Provinces, the Pardhans and Gonds get possessed.[47] Among the Naikad Gonds the gods Wâghôbâ and Morârî, who are ancestral gods, enter into the ministrant, and say whether they are pleased.[48] The Karens have a priest or *vi*, who goes into convulsions, and gives an oracle.[49]

The Panens of Malabâr make their living by exorcism and charms. They speak with spirits, who enter them, and make them do awful things. When any leading man is ill they are generally called in numbers. They paint their bodies, put on crowns of paper and cloth, light lamps, and beat drums, and blow trumpets and horns. They dance sword in hand, jump on each other's backs, make bonfires, stick one another with knives, and push one another bare-foot in the fire. The women shout and sing. This goes on for two or three days. They make rings of earth and lines of red ochre and white clay, strew them with rice and flowers, and put lights round them until the devil enters into one of them, and tells what the patient is suffering from, and what must be done to cure him. They tell the patient, and he gives them presents, and gets well.[50] The Buntars, a high class of South Kânara cultivators, have exorcists called Nucarus like the Kunians of Malabâr.[51] Buchanan[52] mentions a class of men called Kanis or Walliars, — that is, low-caste men who drove out spirits. Some of them did so from the knowledge of the stars, and others rattled an iron instrument, and sang till their voice went, and they seemed drunk, and were considered inspired. They could tell whether the spirit belonged to the family, and, could be driven out. A family spirit, they said, was most difficult to dislodge; a strange spirit could be easily driven out. All held this belief, except Brâhmaṇs and Musalmâns.[53] In Coorg, the great sorcerers are Tantrî Brâhmaṇs from Malabâr whose goddess is Bhâgavatî. Every year certain candidates present themselves for the service of the goddess, and the (chief) Brâhmaṇ chooses one who is likely to make a good medium, and he becomes possessed by the goddess. When he sees a suitable man the Brâhmaṇ says a text, sprinkles holy ashes on his face, and immediately the person begins to shake and dance as one possessed.[54] In Coorg, exorcists relieve ancestral spirits from the clutches of a demon-spirit. When an ancestral spirit is released, the man, whose ancestor's spirit it is, rushes home from the exorcist's lodging without looking back, or else the house spirit which rides on his back is scared.[55] In Coorg, the Kaniyas are consulted when a man or a bullock sickens. They examine their books and shells, which they use as dice, and find out who sent the sickness.[56] The Kois of Bastar slay fowls and smear the sick man's

[44] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 233. [45] *Op. cit.* p. 114. [46] *Op. cit.* p. 214.
[47] Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. II. and VII.
[48] Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 25.
[49] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 117; Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 131.
[50] Stanley's *Barbosa*, p. 142. [51] Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 17.
[52] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 152. [53] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 152. [54] Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 251.
[55] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 261. [56] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 212.

face with the blood. They have black and white wizards. The white wizards foretell.[57] Among Pârsîs, if a spirit comes into a man, the priest drives him down right through the body out by the left foot.[58]

When the Shamanite magician of Siberia performs his superstitious rites, he puts on a garment trimmed with bits of iron, rattles and bells; he cries horribly, beats a sort of drum, agitates himself, and shakes the metallic appendages of his robe, and at the same time the bystanders increase the din by striking with their fists upon iron kettles. When the exorcist by his horrible contortions and yells, by cutting himself with knives, whirling, and swooning has succeeded in assuming the appearance of something preternatural, the assembled multitude believe that the demon they worship has taken possession of the priest. When he is enchanted he makes a sign that the spirit has left him, and then imparts to the people the intimation that he has received.[59]

In the outlying parts of Burma, when the sick cannot be cured, a witch-doctor is called, a rope is tied round the sick man's neck, and jerked, and the spirit is asked why it has entered the man. If an answer is given, and the spirit agrees to pass into some article the object named is placed on the road. If the spirit does not go out, the man is beaten with a bamboo; the louder he shrieks the better. If this fails, a woman of the house becomes the spirit's wife, is dressed fantastically, goes into a shed, music is played, and she dances into an ecstasy. She has the spirit in her, and says where the offerings should be put.[60] In Burma there are many experts who control evil spirits. A woman who dances at feasts, *nàt mêchamma*, is consulted as to where the dead are.[61]

In Ceylon, if a person is possessed, a bower of plantain trees is made near the house. In the evening, the patient is seated on an upturned mortar facing south. Close to his feet are placed chickens, cocoanuts, rice and limes. The *verderale*, that is, *vaidya* or doctor, comes helped by petty conjurers, who beat drums, leap and dance.[62] At *Gala-kep-pu* dewale a village eleven miles from Kandy on the way to Colombo is the temple of Wahaladev. This is the great place for exorcising evil spirits from possessed women. Women are known to be possessed when they dance, sing and shout without cause, tremble and shake and have long fainting fits. Sometimes they run away from their house, use foul language, and bite their flesh and tear their hair. The ordinary demon priest or *kattadiya* gives relief. In cases where he fails he says the patient should go to Gela-kep-pu. Within two or three miles of the temple the influence or demon in a possessed woman becomes active and she moves on in a hurried desperate manner. No one can stop her. At the temple she falls in a corner speechless or in a swoon. In the temple a space is curtained off where the god is. The priest tells the god the woman's story, the woman all the time shaking and shouting. The priest says: — "Demon, will you leave the woman?" Generally, the demon answers: — "I will not." Then the priest beats the woman with a cane. The demon says: — "I will leave her." The woman grows quiet and returns home. Of thirty or forty women so cured none have ever again become possessed.[63]

Among the Chinese the chief Taoist priest, who belongs to a family who have been popes one thousand years, is a great exorcist, and has control over spirits that enter and disease women.[64] When a man is possessed by a spirit in China, a Taoist priest is called in. He fires crackers, clashes gongs, and blows a conch. Rich pork, eel, and other food is offered to the spirit. The exorcist then sprinkles tea in a circle, and burns red candles on a table covered with yellow silk.[65] Exorcists are common in China. When an exorcist is called to see a case of possession he makes an altar in the house, sets out offerings of pork, fowl and rice, and calls

[57] *Jour. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 416.
[58] Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 102.
[59] Dr. Caldwell's *Dravidian Grammar*, App., p. 582.
[60] Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 135.
[61] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 288.
[62] Marshall's *Diseases of Ceylon*, p. 54.
[63] *Journal*, Ceylon Royal Asiatic Society, 1865-66, pp. 41-43.
[64] Cobbold's *Chinese*, p. 78.
[65] *Op. cit.* p. 71.

upon the spirit that has entered the sick person's body, to leave the body and eat the offerings. If the spirit does not leave the sufferer, the priest threatens that he will ask the gods to banish the spirit to hell.[66] In China, if a man is sick with devils, the exorcist makes a paper image of a man called Tai Sun. In front of the paper image an altar is made, and on the altar are laid eggs, pork, fruits, cakes, and paper-money. Candles and incense sticks are lighted. The spirit goes into the Tai Sun, who is carried into the street, and burned or put in a boat to drift to sea.[67] When a house is haunted, the Chinese call a Taoist priest. The priest wears a red robe, blue stockings, and a black cap, and holds in his hand a sword made of the wood of peach or date tree which has been struck with lightning. A strap of red cloth is twisted round the hilt, and on the blade is a mystic scroll written in ink. He lays the sword over the altar with burning tapers and incense sticks. He prepares a mystic scroll, burns it, and gathers the ashes in a cup of water. He holds the sword in his right, and the cup in his left hand. Then he walks several paces, and calls on the gods to give him power to turn out evil spirits. He shouts :—" Leave this house like lightning." He takes a branch of willow, dips it in the cup, and sprinkles the four corners of the house. He takes up the sword and the cup, fills the cup with water, and splashes the water on the east walls. He calls aloud :— " Kill the green spirits, or let them be driven away." He does this at each of the four corners and in the middle. The attendants beat gongs and drums with an appalling din, and the priest shouts :— " Evil spirit, retire, vanish." Then he goes to the door, and makes cuts with his sword through the air.[68]

In a case recorded by the late Sir William Maxwell from Perak in the Malay Peninsula, the patient was a girl in child-bed, who after the birth of her child became delirious. A Malay exorcist, Che Johan, was called in and seated near the patient on a tiger's skin. He was naked to the waist, had a couple of cords bound across his back and breast, had strings tied round his waist, and held bunches of leaves in his hands. Close to Che Johan sat a woman who beat a one-end drum and chanted shrilly to the tiger-spirit or *hanter bhân*, to which class Che Johan's familiar belonged. As the woman chanted, Che Johan sat rigid, then smelling the bunches of leaves he began to nod, struck the bunches together, and fell forward burying his face in the leaves, sniffing like a wild animal on all fours, growling, roaring, worrying. He again sat up and struck his chest and shoulders with the leaves. He was now possessed by the tiger-spirit. He spoke in a feigned voice and was addressed as **Bujang Gelap** or Dragon spirit. He scattered rice round him, growled, muttered and danced, went to the patient's bed-side and hissed, " Heijin, O spirit." He sprinkled the girl and her couch with rice and a fluid. He was again convulsed and crept under his mat and lay quiet for fifteen minutes. He then sat up and yawned, and still speaking in a feigned voice said : — " A *dunt langsuyar*, a white woman is in the girl." He again sprinkled grain, put some in the girl's mouth, danced, and beat himself with leaves. At last he was tired, and gave up. Then an old man, whose familiar was a water-spirit, tried, and did no good. A revolving mosque was made, and as the demons would not yield to force, the attempt was made to tempt them out of the girl. Offerings of the fat, the sweet, the sour, and the pungent were made. A hen was put in the mosque, and the two exorcists, with wavings, music and chants, joined in moving the spirits from the child to the mosque. Each exorcist with a handful of leaves dipped in the liquor called *tepong tawâr* guided the spirits to the mosque. The mosque escorted by the exorcists was carried to the river and started down the stream with charms and chants. This was done again next night, and a day later the girl died.[69]

The Papuans believe in evil spirits and ghosts. Evil spirits in a coast man are driven out by an inland man into a hole in the earth.[70] In Madagascar, when a person is sick, the people call a diviner. Pieces of white wood, painted black and red, are laid on the roof of

[66] Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 101. [67] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 20. [68] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 20.
[69] Maxwell in Straits *Journal*, December 1883, p. 232. [70] Ingle's *Australian Cousins*, p. 32.

the house, and a forked branch of a tree is set near the door. Twice a day they dance. House charms and a dollar are placed on a wooden rice-mortar. A cloth is spread on the mortar, and the sick, dressed in a foolscap with leaves and flowers and a tassel, is seated on the cloth. Drums and bamboos are beaten, and the village men make a circle, and go round clapping hands, while women sing. When a woman of rank dances, a person behind the sick beats an old spade with a hatchet.[71] Exorcism is generally common among the Wasnahilis of East Africa. The exorcist, or Mganga, drums, sings, and dances, and in the animal excitement the patient is cured.[72] Mediums are common in South Central Africa. Cameron mentions an old chief's wife who was a medium, and held communion with her dead husband.[73] The East African diviners cure fevers and boils. Most of the diviners or white magicians are women.[74] Exorcism is practised among the Bongos of the White Nile. The exorcist gives answers by ventriloquism.[75] In West Africa, the Pangos dance round the sick, beating the tambourine. They deck the body with red and white bands. The sorcerer mounts guard over the sick man's hut with a drawn sword in his hand. The disease-spirit passes into a hen, and the hen is chased away. If any one catches her he catches the disease.[76] The Californian Indians spend their time in getting sorceresses to break the spells of evil spirits.[77]

In Europe and Western Asia, spirit-possession played a very prominent part in the early days of Christianity. People who were liable to possession had a separate place in the churches.[78] The spirits were cast out by reading the Bible and praying.[79] The North-men had male and female diviners with familiar spirits.[80] The Skandinavians had hoary-headed prophetesses in long white linen robes, who cured wounds.[81] The early Christian Church claimed the power of exorcising demons. This was the only one of the early miracles to which Protestants laid claim.[82] The Bulgarian exorcist still puts a vampire in a bottle.[83] Roman Catholic priests still exorcise spirits, but few Protestants now claim to have this power. The English Dissenters claimed it in the seventeenth century.[84] Sorcerers were called tamans in Ireland, and had the power of restoring stolen goods. Vallancey, in his *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, No. XIII. p. 10, says :— "A farmer's wife in the county of Waterford lost a parcel of linen. She travelled three days' journey to a taman in the county of Tipperary. The taman consulted his book, and assured her she would recover the goods. The robbery was proclaimed at the chapel, a reward offered, and the linen recovered. It was not the money, but the taman that recovered it."[85] In Scotland, in 1700, spirits were sent by exorcists to the Red Sea.[86] In the eighteenth century, in Scotland, Popish priests had power over devils, and could cure madness. The Presbyterian clergy had no such power.[87] It was formerly thought in England that a spirit could be laid in solid oak, in the pomel of a sword, in a barrel of beer, or in a cask of wine.[88] In York, till 1819, sorcerers or wise men were common.[89] Some of the cases which were tried as witchcraft in Scotland, in the seventeenth century, seem to find an explanation in spirit-scarers' practices in Western India. The accused sorcerer was said to have made a hole in the house wall; to have passed a cock three times through the hole; to have laid the cock under the sick woman's arm; and then to have burned the cock in a fire. Indian practices explain these rites. The sorcerer's object in passing the cock through the hole in the house wall was to free it from any existing impurity or spirit. He laid the cock under the woman's arm that the disease might pass from the woman into the cock, and he threw the cock into the fire that the disease spirit might be driven away.[90] The magic

71 Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 295.
72 New's *East Africa*, p. 68.
73 Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. II. pp. 66, 67.
74 *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 117.
75 Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 332.
76 MS. note, reference mislaid.
77 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 497.
78 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 139.
79 *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 180.
80 Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 117.
81 *Op. cit.* p. 200.
82 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. II. pp. 36, 37.
83 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, p. 194.
84 Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 235.
85 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 64.
86 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 85.
87 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 83.
88 Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 153.
89 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 63.
90 Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, p. 499.

and sorcery which caused so great a scare in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries was partly white magic, — that is, magic practised with the view of curing diseases; and partly black magic, — that is magic practised with the view of causing harm. The basis of both was partly old rites and spirit-worship belonging to pre-Christian times, and partly a knowledge of healing or poisonous herbs and drugs. Many of the cures were caused by simple means without any power from spirits. According to Burton (1620) many an old wife does more good with a few known and common garden herbs than our bombast physicians with their prodigious, far-fetched, conjectural medicines.[91] So also in Pliny the quaint cures which he ascribes to magicians differ little from the cures he cites as worked by the common people. As a rule, Pliny professes to believe in neither, though he occasionally admits there must be some reason why every one should believe in the cures.[92] He also abuses doctors for being too fond of new drugs,[93] and praises the diligence and curiosity of the men of old, who searched the secret of things.[94] As Pliny scoffed at spirits, he did not attempt to explain the grounds of the different cures. Many of the cures he cites are difficult to explain. The bulk of them seem to take their rise in the state of mind which believes all disease to be the work of spirits, and which knows that certain strong-smelling or pungent drugs recover people from swoon and other typical spirit-seizures.

It is interesting to note how far the priests of the different religions have claimed the power of casting out spirits. Brâhmaṇs seem not to claim the power, or, at least, except the lower class Brâhmaṇs, do not practise the art. So also the pure Liṅgâyats of the Bombay Karnâtak do not believe in exorcism. On the other hand exorcism was one of the most important functions of the old Buddhist priest, and it is still the chief employment of the Jain Gorji. In Europe, the early Christian Church had a special staff of exorcists. In the Middle Ages, the Roman Catholic priests practised exorcism. The power was at first claimed by the Reformed Churches. The clergy of the Established Church of England after the sixteenth century seldom exercised it,[95] although Dissenting ministers continued to exorcise till the eighteenth century. In England, Roman Catholic priests are the only clergy who still claim the power, and nervous seizures and similar diseases are now almost always treated by physicians as bodily maladies.

(To be continued.)

DISCURSIVE REMARKS ON THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF TELUGU LITERATURE

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(*Continued from p.* 249.)

BUKKARÂJA afterwards begot **Hariharanâtha** by Kâmâkshîdêvî,[3] who reigned from 1379 to 1401 A. D. His son by Mallâdêvî, **Vîra Prauḍharâya** by name, reigned till 1412, and his son **Vijayabhûpati** till 1418, and his son **Dêvarâya** from 1422 to 1447. These facts we are able to gather from inscriptions, but we are at a loss to know when exactly they were born, when they ascended the throne, and when they breathed their last. They were constantly at war with the Muhammadans from the time of Bukka, who gained a victory over the Muhammadans for the first time in 1364 A. D. His son Harihara utterly routed them in 1380, and drove them off from Goa. This Harihara gave enormous tracts of land to various Hindu temples. In the latter part of his reign, Sâḷuva Guṇḍa was his minister, and he was the father of **Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁharâja**, the person to whom the *Jaimini-Bhârata* was dedicated. This Guṇḍarâja, who combined in himself both the offices of minister and commander, gained an extensive tract of country. His son Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁharâja occupied the whole of the Carnatic, as Dêvarâya died heirless,[4] or for

91 Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 430.

92 Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii., Chap. 19.

93 *Op. cit.* Book xxix., Chap. 1.

94 *Op. cit.* Book xxviii., Chap. 20.

95 Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 247.

3 [The mother of Harihara (II.) was Gaurâmbikâ and Kâmâkshîdêvî was his paternal grandmother — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. pp. 36 and 228. — V. V.]

4 [The Vijayanagara king Dêvarâya II. did not, as a matter of fact, die heirless. He had two sons, *viz.*, Mallikârjuna and Virûpâksha I., and two grandsons, Râjaśêkhara and Virûpâksha II.; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 36. — V. V.]

some other reason. This Nṛisiṁha had an elder brother **Timmarâja** by name who was, I think, the father of Îśvararâja, and the same as **Sâḷuva Timma**, the writer of the *Paramayôgivilâsa*. Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha has made a good many grants of land. He made a grant of land to the temple at Vallam, ten miles to the west of Wandewash, rendered famous in the early annals of the French in South India, in S. S. 1391, *i. e.*, 1469 A. D. It was during his reign that a grant of land was made by another to the 'Saiva temple of Yavur in North-Arcot District in 'Saka 1393, *i. e.*, 1471 A. D. From the preface to the *Varâhapurâṇa* we learn that **Îśvararâya**, son of Timmarâja, was his captain-general of the forces, and succeeded to the throne after the demise of Nṛisiṁharâja. We learn from inscriptions that he reigned from 1487 to 1509 A. D. Some are of opinion that he reigned till 1505, when the reins of government were transferred to his son, **Vîranṛisiṁha**. This version may be true. As the father and the son bore the same name, it is highly probable that those who deciphered the inscriptions have unconsciously made a mistake, and have identified the son with the father.

From 1509 dates the reign of **Kṛishṇadêvarâya**. It is plain from some of the works dedicated to him that his brother guided the helm of the state previous to his assuming the reins of government. There is no question that Nṛisiṁha was of a different family from the preceding Râjas of Vijayanagara, and became irregularly possessed of the throne. He is admitted to have been a Telinga, and the son of Îśvararâya, the petty sovereign of Karnûl and Ârviri, a tract of country on the Tuṅgabhadra to the east of it, near its junction with the Kṛishṇâ. He is described by Farishta as a powerful chief of Telingana, who had possessed himself of the greater part of the territory of Vijayanagar. His illegitimate son, Kṛishṇarâya, was the most distinguished of Vijayanagara princes, and although his name is not mentioned by Farishta, it is admitted that in his reign the Muhammadans sustained a severe defeat from the armies of Vijayanagara, and that subsequently a good understanding prevailed between that court and the Bîjapur monarchy for a considerable period.

Nṛisiṁha had two sons, Vîranṛisiṁha and Kṛishṇarâya, the former by one of his queens Tippâmbâ, and the latter by a slave or a concubine, Nâgamâmbâ. A story is related of the exposure of Kṛishṇarâya, when a child, by the order of the queen, who was jealous of the favour he enjoyed with his father, and who therefore prevailed upon the king to put him to death. He was secretly brought up by the minister, **Timmarasu** *alias* **Appâji**, and restored to Nṛisiṁha when on his deathbed, who bequeathed to him the succession, for the warlike manner in which he removed the signet ring from the hand of his dying father, by cutting off the finger, on which the ring was worn, by the sword. Some accounts state, as has already been pointed out, that he acted as minister and general of his brother whilst he lived, and became Râja on the death of that prince. These receive countenance from works like the *Manucharitra*, dedicated to Kṛishṇadêvarâya. Other accounts assert that the latter was deposed, and one narrative adds that he died of vexation in consequence. It is clear that the regal power was usurped by Kṛishṇarâya, at first perhaps in a subordinate character, but finally as king.

The existence of an independent principality on the east so near as Karnûl, the presence of Muhammadan sovereignties on the north, and the continued series of Pâṇḍya and Chôḷa princes to the south, shew that the Râja of Vijayanagara could not boast, says Wilson in his *Catalogue of Mackenzie Collections*, p. 86, of a spacious dominion on Kṛishṇarâya's accession. From the range, however, of the grants of former princes, particularly of Harihara, it cannot be questioned that their sway had at one time extended much further east, and it must therefore have been considerably reduced before the Kuruba dynasty was exterminated. Kṛishṇarâya not only restored the kingdom to its former limits, but extended them in every direction. He defeated the 'Âdil Shâhî princes on the north, and maintained possession of the country to the southern bank of the Kṛishṇâ, on the east he captured Koṇḍavîḍu and Worangal, and ascended to Cuttack, where he married the daughter of the Râja as the bond of peace. In the south his officers governed Seringapatam, and founded a new dynasty of princes at Madura and Trichi-

nopoly. The western coast had been held apparently through some extent by his predecessors, but he added to the Vijayanagara territory in that quarter also, and his besieging and taking Rachol or Salsette is recorded by Portuguese writers, whilst the imperfect traditions of Malabar preserve the fact of part of that province at least having been governed by the officers of Kṛishṇarâya, although they refer the circumstance to an erroneous era. At no period probably in the history of South India, writes Wilson, did any of its political divisions equal in extent and power that of Vijayanagara in the reign of Kṛishṇarâya. Opinions vary as to the date of this monarch.

The known lists of the kings of this dynasty are most unsatisfactory, and hardly agree on any one point, differing in regard to the dates, numbers, and order in which each king succeeded another. A reference to Kelsall's *Bellary Manual*, p. 109, and Wilson's *Mack. Coll.* p. 264, will confirm this. The traditional tables give a complete statement; but these, obviously, cannot be implicitly trusted on all points. Any attempt to make records so evidently contradictory agree with each other, must, unless fresh evidence is forthcoming, only end in failure, and much labour and research must be incurred before the tangled web can be unwoven. The only course left is to examine the inscriptions, for even when they can be proved to be forgeries, they perhaps state truly that a certain king made a grant to a certain temple. Genuine Vijayanagara grants are extremely numerous, and fresh ones are continually turning up. But the forgeries are probably nearly as plentiful as the genuine grants, for, on the disruption of the kingdom, forgery was widely practised to retain possession of lands, etc.; and to shew that the lands had been in possession of the forgers or their abettors, from time immemorial, forged grants usually purport to have been those of the popularly accepted first sovereign Bukka, whose reign is usually antedated by periods varying from 100 to 200 years.

Any attempt at present to give a genealogy of the kings is futile, as a great deal of what is sometimes accepted as fact is in reality only surmise.[5] Thus for a list, differing in many points from either of those quoted, let the reader refer to Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, pp. 54, 55. This list read in the light of inscriptions more recently discovered, and published in Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. II., will prove instructive.

We cannot exactly say the day or the year in which Kṛishṇarâya was born.[6] Some are of opinion that he was born in 1465, while others fix the date at 1487, and there is hardly any material for arriving at the truth. In the biographies of Dekkan poets, published by Kavali Venkata Ramaswami, at Calcutta, in 1829, the date of Kṛishṇarâya's death has been fixed at Ś. S. 1446, *i. e.*, 1524 A. D. From this we learn that he must have been born in 1484 A. D., for it is said in the same work that he was forty years old when he died. An impromptu poem of Allasâni Peddana, current in the Telugu country, pretty nearly confirms this view. Till more accurate information is obtained on the point, we may for all practical purposes put down the date of Kṛishṇarâya's birth as 1484 A. D. From the poem just referred to, we learn that his death must have taken place in Ś. S. 1447, *i. e.*, 1524 A. D. But from the multitudes of inscriptions of grants of land, available, modern archæologists are at one in fixing the date of his demise at 1530 A. D. There are some grants of one Achyutadêvarâya in 1526-1529, and it is highly probable that these might have been made during the lifetime of Kṛishṇarâya. We learn that this Achyuta was the son of Nṛisiṁha, by another wife Ôbâmbâ, from the following inscription of a grant of land made by Achyuta in Ś. S. 1459, *i. e.*, 1537 A. D., to a Brâhmaṇa of Nârâyaṇapura in North-Arcot District, in which it is said: —

Tippâjî-Nâgalâ-dêvyôḥ Kausalyâ-śrî-Sumitrayôḥ ।
Jâtau vîra-Nṛisiṁhêndra-Kṛishṇarâya-mahîpatî ॥
Asmâd-Ôbâmbikâdêvyâm=Achyutêndrôpi bhûpatiḥ ।

[5] [A genealogy of the dynasty, which may be regarded as reliable is, however, to be found on p. 3 of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV. — V. V.]

[6] [Whatever might have been the dates of his birth and of his death, his inscriptions range from A. D. 1510 to 1529; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV. p. 3. — V. V.]

We learn from the *Pârijâtâpaharaṇa*, that Nṛisiṁha, the father of Kṛishṇadêvarâya, brought Madura and Seringapatam under his sway. We learn from the same work and from the *Kṛishṇarâyacharitra*, that in 1513 Kṛishṇarâya began his campaign for the reduction of South-India, reduced Mysore and the country along the Kâveri to his authority — defeated the Muhammadan armies of Bijapur and Golconda — captured the forts of Udayagiri, Koṇḍavîḍu, and Koṇḍapalli, and invaded Orissa, the Gajapati prince of which country was compelled to do him homage. In the very same year he invaded the hill fortress of Udayagiri in the district of Nellore, and utterly routed Praharêśvarapâtra, and brought the fort under his sway. Sometime afterwards, his minister Timmarasu (Appâji) invaded **Kanigiri** in the same district, and sent word to **Vîra-Rudragajapati,** the king of the place and the last of the line of Pratâparudra of Worangal, requesting him to offer the hand of his daughter to Kṛishṇarâya, as an emblem for peace. Now as Kṛishṇarâya was the son of a concubine, he was not a married man at the time cf his accession to the throne, because nobody would offer him the hand of his daughter on account of his low birth. Even in such a case as this, when the offer was made by Timmarasu, the Gajapati of Kanigiri was most unwilling to accede to the proposal, but being fully aware of the consequences of a point-blank refusal, apparently consented to the proposal, and invited both Kṛishṇarâya and his minister to his palace, intending to put an end to the life of the former. But the minister, Timmarasu, scenting treachery, put on the imperial robes and dressed up Kṛishṇarâya as a servant. Unfortunately, the members of the seraglio inferred that this servant was the real king, from the signet ring that he wore in his hand. The brave Timmarasu, however, did not lose his presence of mind, and got the king out of the palace somehow. As soon as they found that they were beyond danger, they invaded Kanigiri, carried off the Gajapati's daughter, Chinnâdêvî, as a captive of war, and drove him and his family to the Vindhya mountains. Their wailings and lamentations there found a poetic expression in Peddana's *Manucharitra.*

Attempts were soon made on Kṛishṇarâya's life by his new spouse at the instigation of the few female friends, who had accompanied her to the royal household. On the very day appointed for his nuptials, the bride was covered with knives by her attendants who induced her to try and murder the king at once, and thus save the honor of her father's family. She felt compelled, though most reluctantly, to yield to the advice of her friends, and went into the bridal chamber with the knives concealed on her person. Kṛishṇarâya was startled at the sight she presented and called out to his friend and minister, Appâji. Timmarasu, who was at a considerable distance from the chamber on his own business, somehow heard the call, and sent the bride and her friends back to her father. However, in remorse for what she had done the bride led the life of an anchorite in a forest now in the Cuddapah District, where her husband provided for her decently.[7] She constructed a beautiful tank there of about twelve miles square and her image is to be seen on the inscriptions adjacent. In its bed, numerous small islands, called Lankas, are formed, with plenty of cultivable land and a number of villages.

And about this tank there is a legend. Though she spent a large amount of money to close its two *ghâṭs*, she could never complete them. She was pondering over the affair one day with sorrow at her heart, when an old shepherdess, who used to supply her with milk every day, asked her the cause of her sadness. She narrated to her the whole story, when the shepherdess solved the riddle by saying that each *ghâṭ* was in need of a human sacrifice, and offered her two sons for the purpose, turning a deaf ear to all entreaties. The old woman went home, called her sons, and told them of what had transpired between her and the exiled

[7] [That this story is not very probable and that the king treated his queen, Chinnâji-amma, as he did his other queen, Tirumala-amma, are shown by the inscription from Siṁhâchalam quoted below and by the fact that severa valuable gifts were made at Tirupati, Tiruvaṇṇâmalai and other sacred places by both of these queens. A labelled stone image of each of these two queens exists in the Tirupati temple on either side of an image of Kṛishṇarâya; *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. X. p. 674. — V. V.]

queen, and said that the time had now arrived for them to become famous in the world, so long as the world would last. Thereupon the two sons girded up their loins, and, intent upon acting up to the dictates of their mother, came as cheerfully as a person going to his own marriage, to Varadarâjamma, for that was the name by which the exiled queen was familiarly known to them, and said:—"O mother, bless us that our names may last as long as the world lasts!" The queen was delighted at the brave words uttered, and told them of her incompetence and inability to do anything for them in return. But she offered them some money which they might devote to a charitable purpose. On this they said that if she was really in earnest about it, she might build two cities in their honour and in their names. Varadarâjamma gladly acceded to the proposal, and then the two brothers went fearlessly like two brave warriors going to battle, and with hands upraised offered their prayers to Paramêśvara, and entered the *ghâṭs* as if to gain a victory over the lord of the waters. The diggers of the tank thereupon threw a few baskets of mud over their heads. Everything afterwards, it is said, went on smoothly. Varadarâjamma, as promised, built two villages in honour of them. The brothers went by the names of Peda Kambaḍu and China Kambaḍu, and the villages bear the names of Peda Kambam and China Kambam. Their fame was afterwards amalgamated under the name of Kambam, familiar to all the presidency of Madras.

So far about the story of Kṛishṇarâya's first marriage. Let us now turn our attention to some of the conquests he made. We have seen that in 1515 A. D. he started on a plan of campaign for subjugating the southern country, and brought under his sway Koṇḍavîḍu, Bellamkoṇḍa, Vinukoṇḍa, Bezwâḍa, Koṇḍapalli, Râjamahêndri, etc. In 1516, he raised a stone pillar at Potnûr, about ten miles distant from Bhimilipatam in the Vizagapatam district, describing the conquests he had made. He then extended his conquests to Vaddâthi in the Vîravalli Taluk of the same distrct, went on to Cuttack in Orissa and set fire to it, when **Pratâparudra, king of Kaliṅga,** who was reigning over Orissa, effected a reconciliation with him by offering him the hand of his daughter in marriage. Kṛishṇarâya, therefore, gave back the whole of the Kaliṅga country, as far as Râjamahêndri, to Pratâparudra, and entered Kâñchîpura, the modern Conjeeveram, in the Chinglepat District, towards the end of 1516 A. D. His marriage with the daughter of the Raja of Orissa and his return to Vijayanagara form the concluding portions of *Kṛishṇarâyacharitra*, a work by Dhûrjaṭi, son of Arugandi Kâsîpati, composed by the order of the ruler of Ârvidi in the Ceded Districts.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

KALAMPAT—A FORM OF EXORCISM.

THE **Kalampât** is a ceremony performed in certain parts of Malabar by Nairs, Tiyyas and other **Malayâḷi Hindus**:—in the case of a married Malayâḷi Hindu girl of seventeen or eighteen years of age, with the view either of bringing about maternity; and with the view of insuring easy delivery in the case of a woman who is *enceinte*.

The evils of barrenness and miscarriage are ascribed to malignant genii who have special power and influence over women. These spirits are **Vimâna Badakal** (Spirit of the Skies), **Vimâna Sundaran** (Siren of the Skies), **Yecchen, Brahma-Râkshasan, Uddal Varatti** (Drier of Body), **Pillay-Thîni** (Eater of Infants), and **Rekta-Eeswari** (Goddess of the Blood). The propitiation of these malevolent imps is the object of the ceremony, which is got up by the relatives of the young wife, but her husband has to meet the incidental expenses.

If the object is to guard against the misfortune of barrenness, an auspicious day is chosen for the function, but if the end in view is an easy delivery, some day in the seventh month of pregnancy is fixed upon. A *pandal*, standing on four pillars, decorated entirely with fruit and flowers, and ceiled and screened at one end with cloths, is put up for the occasion. Burning lamps are suspended near each of the pillars, and the sanctuary thus made is adorned with a representation of **Kâmen**, the Cupid of the Hindu Pantheon, wrought into a carpet made of field and meadow blossoms and pigments of various colours. A pot of *gurusi* (consecrated water) is placed near the spot.

The ceremonial is performed after nightfall. The young woman in whose favour it is performed, bearing a pot containing rice, betel, a cocoanut and three little bundles, enters the *pandal* and walks round the sanctuary thrice and then stands facing the East. Meanwhile, a band of *kanisans* or astrologers have already turned up and taken their seats near the *pandal*, whence they chant a *stothram* (anthem). The young woman sets the vessel down. Some rice and cocoanut flowers on a plate are handed over to her. She takes the plate and sits down The astrologers resume their music, singing hymns of invocation to Ganapati, Sarasvati and Kṛishṇa. The afflatus at this stage descends upon the young woman who rises and dances about wildly. Should this mood prove to be unusually exciting, rice and ashes are prayed upon and are then applied to her head.

Time has slipt by almost imperceptibly while all these mystic functions have been going forward and while the stillness of the night has been constantly broken by the montonous and almost painfully weird chant of the indefatigable choristers. It is now noticed that the earliest streaks of the new dawn are beginning to appear faintly and gradually in the low Eastern sky. So the chief of the choristers rises from his seat and produces a plantain-tree stalk, which he cuts down to a convenient size and drives into it three broom sticks, at the higher ends of which are attached some little ornamental designs made of the tender leaves of the cocoanut palm. The top of the plantain stalk is lighted by means of three wicks, also attached to broom sticks. The chorister holds the illumined stalk in his right hand, and a bell in his left. He approaches the young woman and squats down in front of her. He moves both his arms about, and the musical tinkling of his little bell harmonises with the hymn or *stothram* which he starts singing before the girl. After a litte while he ceases chanting, sets down the bell, takes up the holy water, which, it will be remembered, had been placed there earlier, and going off to a corner of the yard throws down the plantain stalk and empties the holy water over it, thus removing all the malignant influences from the woman. He returns to the *pandal* and sacrifices a fowl and when the bird is quite dead, he throws it to some distance, going afterwards to see to which side the head inclines, in order to make certain predictions as to the results that may be expected from the ceremony. These results may be either good or evil.

The husband of the young woman recompenses the astrologers with new cloths. A *kalampât* may be conducted by from four or five to as many as thirty or forty of these hired astrologers, according as the means and the station in life of the family permit. The head astrologer of the village has to take the responsibility of bringing the other functionaries. In addition to the cloth, with which he in common with the others is presented, he is the recipient of certain other gifts, such as rice, cocoanuts, betel and money.

It may be remarked that considerable importance is attached to the lighting of the superstructure, wherein the described ceremony is held. No religious function of the Hindus or of the demonolators of Malabar is complete without its burning lamps. The Malabar *dur-mantravâdi* sets the greatest value on his various little burning wicks. In the shrine of his snake-god, the pious Malayâḷi nightly burns a little lamp, and at the family altar in a corner of the yard a little lamp sheds its fitful gleam on certain prescribed nights. This importance of light as a religious symbol is, of course, not peculiar to Malabar. Life and light have always been associated together, both by savages and civilised people. Fire, as the great Zoroaster said, "is the soul of everything."

"CASUAL."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BAO.

I HAVE lately come across yet another form of this curious word: *ante*, p. 196, and Vol. XXII. p. 165.

c. 1700. — "They (Peguers) have Images in all their Temples or **Baws**, of inferior Gods, such as Somma Cuddom (Sâmana Gôtama) . . . . They never repair an old **Baw**, nor is there any Occasion for that Piety or Expence ; for in every September there is an old Custom for Gentlemen of Fortune, to make Sky Rockets, and set them a flying in the Air, ... but the happy Man, whose Rocket makes him in the God's Favour, never fails of building a new **Baw**, and dedicates it to the God he adores, ... I must not omit giving the Clergy their due Praises in another particular Practice of their Charity. . . . and when the unfortunate Strangers come to their **Baws**, they find a great Deal of Hospitality. — Alexander Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II. pp. 55 f., 62.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE SIEGE OF AHMADNAGAR AND HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE FORT BY CHAND BIBI—A NARRATIVE OF AN EYE-WITNESS.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING.

The Indian Staff Corps (retired).

(*Continued from p. 270.*)

Night attack made by Mubâriz-ud-Dîn Abhang Khân on the army of the Mughals; and explanation of some of the fatalities which occurred in that interval.

It has been already related that when the **Habshî amîrs**, owing to quarrels among themselves, became dispersed, each of them became scattered through the various quarters of the dominions. Of these, Ikhlâs Khân, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, Bulail Khân and others hastened to Daulatâbâd; and the garrison of that fort having espoused their cause, they raised to the sovereignty one named Motî, and called him "**Motî Shâh,**" and hoisted the standard of opposition and independence. And in like manner Mubâriz-ud-Dîn **Abhang Khân,** in order to get one of the sons of the kings and heirs of the country, hastened towards Bijâpur, where he procured His Highness **Mîrân Shâh 'Ali,** [son of ?] the late Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who was living under the protection of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, with the sagacious son of that sovereign, who was twenty years of age. With a number of followers he then entered the district of Bhîd, where he engaged himself in arranging the affairs of State and the conquest of the kingdom; and collected a large crowd of dispersed troops in that district, who had been scattered throughout all parts of the country.

When Miyân Manjû, through fear of the Mughal army, went with Ahmad Shâh towards the district of Bhîd, Her Highness **Chând Bîbî** — who constantly took part in the affairs of State and the arrangement of the business of the kingdom — sent to Mubâriz-ud-Dîn Abhang Khân, a confidential messenger with her private seal, and forbade that nobleman to engage in war with Manjû or to pursue him; but ordered him to proceed to Daulatâbâd, and in conjunction with all the Habshî *amîrs* and other confederates, to expel the Mughal army. In accordance with this order, Mubâriz-ud-Dîn Abhang Khân with His Highness Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and about 5,000 veteran cavalry, proceeded towards Daulatâbâd.

When the news of the approach of Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân reached Ikhlâs Khân and the other Habshîs, owing to a quarrel which had previously taken place between them, they were not desirous of an alliance with Mîrân Shâh 'Alî; so, taking counsel with one another, they said, "We have appointed a person to the sovereignty, and raised the regal umbrella over his head, and have given him the control of all the affairs of State. To depose him now without cause, and to choose the service of Shâh 'Alî, who is a protégé of Abhang Khân's, and to place ourselves under the orders of our enemy, can have no result but repentance." Consequently, not being willing to form an alliance with Abhang Khân or submit themselves to His Highness Mîrân Shâh 'Alî, they refused to meet them or speak with them; but about 500 celebrated cavalry — well armed and brave — of their army, separated themselves from Ikhlâs Khân and joined the camp of Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân.

When His Highness Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân gave up all hopes of an alliance with, or the submission of, Ikhlâs Khân and the other Habshî *amîrs*, they sent to Her Highness Chând Bîbî a representation of the state of affairs, saying:— "If Your Highness so order it, with the force which we have with us we shall gird up our loins in the service of the State, and use our best endeavours in the defence of the fortress and fighting against these lords of arrogance."

Chând Bîbî issued orders summoning them to the capital, and accordingly they turned towards the city. When they arrived near it, they sent to the neighbourhood of the city a spy, to verify the roads and places intervening between them and the fortress, which might be free from obstruction by the Mughal army. The spy, after reconnoitring, brought information that the east side of the for-

tress, which was the general highway for all, was clear of Mughals ; consequently Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân, with a force of their warriors always eager for battle, at the close of Saturday, the 28th Rabî' II. [21st December, 1595] started towards the fortress by the road which the spy pointed out.

It was a wonderful coincidence that on the morning of this same day **Prince Shâh Murâd** started to examine the surroundings of the fortress, and to inspect and distribute among the *amîrs* of his army the various batteries and trenches ; he went about like a travelling star in the revolving heavens, and with the eye of confidence and attention observed the surroundings of the fortress. The east side, which was the general highway and the road of the avenging army, he entrusted to the charge of the **Khân-Khânân.** At the close of the same day the Khân-Khânân marched from the neighbourhood of the *namâz-gâh*, and alighted in the garden of the *'abâdat-khânah* [house of worship], which is situated directly on the road of the force of His Highness Mîrân 'Alî Shâh and Abhang Khân. The whole of the Khân-Khânân's army pitched their camp round that garden ; and as they were not aware of the arrival of the hostile army, on this dark night both great and little of the Khân-Khânân's army slept the sleep of carelessness, and observed no vigilance or caution. After two watches of the night had passed, His Highness Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân, with their formidable force like a powerful torrent and raging river, reached the army of their opponents and became aware of the encampment of the Mughal army ; and as it was an exceedingly dark night, and the opposing force was wrapped in the sleep of negligence, they threw themselves on those incautious ones and attacked them ; and falling on them like distracted lions in the midst of sleeping wild asses, they put those negligent sleepers to the sword. When the Khân-Khânân's troops opened their eyes from sleep, they saw standing round them a formidable crowd like a sudden calamity ; they found the road of escape blocked on every side, and the gates of death open in the face of their desires ; consequently they saw no remedy but fighting, so they hastened to the field of battle and the acquisition of a name and reputation. Some at the doors of their tents and sleeping places travelled on the road of obliteration and oblivion, and a few, abandoning their property, went to the Khân-Khânân's pavilion.

When the rank-breaking army of the Dakhan found the tents freed from the existence of their enemies, abandoning all caution, they hastened to plunder the property of their enemies. Abhang Khân, with a body of his troops like savage lions, took up a strong position like the mountain of Damâwand near the Khân-Khânân's tent, and for nearly two hours fought with that army. The Khân-Khânân with a body of expert archers, who on a pitch dark night could have sewn up the eye of a snake or an ant [with their arrows], got into the house by the roof of a very lofty building, and made Abhang Khân and his followers the target of their arrows. From the fire of the stone-splitting arrows they set fire with it to the plain of battle, and dried up with it the bodies of the brave men, till time after time as the Khân-Khânân's force increased in numbers, the Dakhanî force, through lust of plunder, diminished. Since Abhang Khân saw that the enemy having become strong, the affair had gone beyond the bounds of rashness, he, with the body of troops which he had with him, carried off the son of Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and gallantly made for the fortress, whilst Shâh 'Alî with some of his men returned by the way they had come. Daulat Khân Lûdî, one of the *amîrs* of the Khân-Khânân's army, followed Shâh 'Alî, took about two hundred prisoners, and killed a great number. But Abhang Khân with the sons of Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and a great number of men, on that dark night reached the gate of the fortress, and made up the strength of the garrison to 1,000. The chamberlains of the court, by order of Her Highness Chând Bîbî, admitted Abhang Khân with the sons of Mîrân Shâh 'Alî to the fortress, and brought them before her. Her Highness was much pleased at the account of the excellences and good qualities of the great *amîr*, and suitably acknowledged his virtuous efforts in the cause of the State, and confirmed the signs of his intrepidity and boldness. By her gratitude and condescension as well as by general rewards and countless royal kindnesses she showed her appreciation of his services.

Since Abhang Khân had shown such superiority over the Mughal army, and displayed such valour, extreme terror of the rank-breaking army of the Dakhan obtained ascendancy in the minds

of the enemy's army, and the vain-glory which they had hitherto felt, owing to the absence of opposition on the part of the Dakhanîs, became changed into fear. From this great night attack a great terror reached the enemy's force, and they became excessively afraid of fighting against the people of the Dakhan. Abandoning their natural disposition of carelessness which they had shown on that night, after this they observed the greatest caution, and used their utmost endeavours to take the fortress.

The surroundings of the fortress were divided among the celebrated *amîrs* and seasoned troops. The Prince chose the east side of the fortress, which is opposite the place of the battle, as the position of his own special division and the army of Gujarât ; the south side, which is opposite the village of Shaitânpur and towards the Faraḥ-bakhsh Garden, he gave in charge to the force of the Khân-Khânân ; and the west side of the fortess, which is towards the city of Aḥmadnagar, and is the principal gate of the fortress, was entrusted to Shâhbâz Khân and Mîrzâ Shâh Rukh. The north side, which is towards Burhânâbad and the Namâz-Gâh, was entrusted to Râjâ 'Alî Khân, the *wâlî* of Burhânpur. From all four faces the Mughal army, with the intention of battle, advanced the batteries and entrenchments and completely surrounded the fortress. Day and night they carried on the work of the siege, and strove their utmost to take the fortress.

The brave Mujâhid-ud-Dîn **Shamshîr Khân,** who with his sons and a body of his troops outside the fortress, up to the last showed eagerness in defending himself and fighting, came into the fortress ; and then the doors of entrance and exit were barricaded, and the defenders, of all ranks, giving up their minds to war, were assiduous in the work of battle. For a long time from inside the fire of slaughter and fighting blazed up, and night and day they employed themselves in the arrangement of bloodshed.

* * * * *

Although the enemy used to strive their utmost to take that fortress, all their endeavours were of no avail, and the face of victory did not show itself in the mirror of their desires. The Prince, from the great energy and diligence which he used in the conquest of that fortress, used often himself to go into the batteries, and strive to fill in the ditch and erect the *sar-kûb ;* so that in a few days it reared its head to a level with the walls of the fortress, and they also filled in the ditch with earth and rubbish.

Her Highness Chând Bîbî also took an active part in the defence of the fortress and observing the affairs of the troops ; and used her queenly endeavours in arranging the affairs of religion and the State. By day, like the world-illumining sun, she rested not from bestowing benefits and instructing those under her ; and at night by the aid of her own rare good fortune, she slept not, but with weeping and wailing before the throne of God, prayed for tranquillity ; consequently the arrow of the enemy's arrangements did not hit the target of their designs, and none of their attempts to take the fortress gave birth to their desires. Although the Mughal troops used the utmost diligence in erecting the *sar-kûb*, the people of the fortress raised one of their towers to a level with it, or erected a building higher than it, and so rendered abortive the plans of their opponents.

In the midst of these affairs, **Vankûjî Kûlî,**[10] who before this had been a staunch ally of Aḥmad Shâh and Mîyân Manjû, with their concurrence now returned to the neighbourhood of the Mughal army. Several times he threw himself on the outposts of the Mughal army, who were charged with the protection of the forage place, and seizing many of their horses, elephants, camels and cattle, killed a countless number of their men. In like manner Sa'âdat Khân, who some time before this had gone to the Nâsik district, having collected a numerous army, came directly on the road of the opposing army, and blocked the enemy's communications, so that no created being could possibly pass from the limit of Sulṭânpur and Nandurbâr in this direction.

Sayyid Râjû — who was one of the *amîrs* of Akbar's army, and was distinguished for his bravery — by the Prince's orders, went to drive back Vankûjî ; and from his excessive haughtiness and pride, giving no attention to the organization of his force, with a limited number who came to him, proceeded to repel Vankûjî. When he reached the enemy ; in advance of his supports, helpless as a

[10] This must be Venkatâdri of Penkonda — *vide Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. p. 380.

moth, he suddenly threw himself on the fire of battle; and the army of Vankûjî, like a halo, surrounded Sayyid Râjû and his allies. Since divine predestination had decreed that the sigh of calamity should come forth from the illustrious house of Sayyid Râjû, and become the smoke of destruction of his family and his army, by the fortune of war, his troops who were brave as lions, being rendered helpless by the attacks, wherever they looked they saw the road of escape blocked by the blades of keen-edged, blood-shedding swords; consequently, washing their hands of their lives, they placed the foot of bravery on the plain of fool-hardiness, and drew the sword of valour. After much strife and slaughter, that *sayyid* of high degree, with a number of his own people and his allies and assistants, was killed on the field of battle. Some unfortunate ones, whose appointed time was delayed, with a thousand troubles, from that Red Sea of destruction, reached the shore of escape, and spread the news of the death of Sayyid Râjû. From this event immeasurable weekness owing to loss of prestige reached the proud army of the enemy; and the nobles of the conquering dynasty became much elated at the victory.

Simultaneously with this circumstance, news reached the Mughal army that a body of the Gujarât troops accompanying **Sayyid 'Âlam** — who was one of the *amîrs* of that kingdom — bringing with them immense treasure and goods innumerable, was approaching the army. **Sa'âdat Khân,** who was marching through the district of Nâsik and those parts, laid an ambush for them, and killed Sayyid 'Âlam together with a great number of his men, and took possession of the whole of the goods, elephants and baggage of that force.

On hearing this news, all at once the hearts of both great and little in Akbar's army were disturbed; and in order to discover a remedy and repair this great weekness, Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân Atâlîḳ, with a large force, was appointed to repel Sa'âdat Khân in order that he might remove the obstruction of that body from before the opposing forces. Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân, with Mîrân Khân, Sayyid Murtaẓâ and a body of chosen warriors and one of selected young men and about 2,000 cavalry, marched with the utmost speed to take vengeance on Râjâ Jaganâth and Sa'âdat Khân. It was nearly evening when they arrived near the army of Sa'âdat Khân; and as they had marched a long distance, it would have been extremely difficult for them to engage him on that night; so they halted for the night.

When Sa'âdat Khân heard of the arrival of the Mughal army, his force was heavily laden with the plunder of the Gujarât army, so making careful arrangements for guarding the baggage and defenceless part of his force, he marched away from Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân's army without baggage, with about three hundred skilled Afghân bow-men, and drew up his force on the bank of a river[11] which intervened between him and the enemy. Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân also on the other side of the river, with his army, made ready for battle. In a moment the two forces, from opposite sides of the river, opened the battle, and with their arrows and bullets made brisk the market of destruction. Notwithstanding the smallness of Sa'âdat Khân's force, **Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân,** putting out of his head the claim of equality, stepped into the valley of return, and opened the door of reproach in his own face. At the time of his return the *khân* turned topsy-turvy the *parganah* of Sangampur,[12] seized all the cattle of the country people of those parts, which had been collected in one place, made prisoners of a great number of both little and great of the *parganah* of Sangampur, and hoisted the standard of return.

There was an old feud between Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân and Shâhbâz Khân; and the Khân-Khânân in all matters used to protect and assist Shâhbâz Khân. Finding an opportunity at this time when Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân was not in the camp, the Khân-Khânân sent a person to the Prince with a message, saying, "As long as Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân may be on service, the affair of the conquest of the Dakhan will not advance: the most advisable course is to relieve him from the duties of *wakîl*, and give him permission to return; so that your attentive slaves may accomplish the conquest of the Dakhan, and devote all our energies to taking the fortress." The Prince, according to the exigency of the time, agreed to this suggestion; and in order to please them, went to the dwell-

11 Probably the Godâvarî.

12 This must be Sangamner, about half way between Aḥmadnagar and Nâsik.

ing-place of the Khân-Khânân, which at that time was the Faraḥ-bakhsh Garden ; and as the air of that garden was pleasing to the Prince, he moved from the village of Bhingâr[13] to the building in that Paradise-like garden ; and for ten or fifteen days he employed himself in pleasure and amusement in that delightful building. At that time Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân — no longer engaged in the business of administrator [*wakîl*] — used to be in the village of Bhingâr ; but there was secretly a constant correspondence between the Prince and the *amîrs*.

In the midst of these affairs the spies of the Mughal army brought them news that Ikhlâṣ Khân, with all the Ḥabshî *amîrs* who used to be in Daulatâbâd, and a person named Motî, whom they had named Motî Shâh, with about five or six thousand cavalry, were advancing towards them. The Khân-Khânân on the surety of Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân (who had contemplated repelling Sa'âdat Khân, but had not advanced the work), appointed Daulat Khân Lûdî Afghân — who was the most warlike of his army — with about 8,000 well-trained mounted archers selected from the army of the Prince and Shâhbâz Khân and his own army, to repel Ikhlâṣ Khân and the other Ḥabshî *amîrs*. On the bank of the river Gang [Godâvarî] a battle took place between the two forces : at the close of the day they kindled the world-consuming fire of battle.

When **Ikhlâṣ Khân** and the Ḥabshî *amîrs* saw the Mughal army, they sent on the advanced guard of their army towards Daulatâbâd, and they themselves drew up their force in battle array in a central position[14] on the bank of the river Gang [Godavârî] ; but immediately on the arrival of the Mughal rank-breaking army, their firmness gave way, and without fighting or striving for their reputation, they took to flight. A few of the Mughal force pursued the flying army for some distance, and killed several of the stragglers ; then halted in that same place, and passed the night there. Next day they marched from that place, which was near the town of Patan,[15] and moved towards the above-mentioned town, in which a number of poor merchants and some helpless and poor peasants, relying upon the promise of security, had remained. Immediately upon arriving in the town of Paithan, they threw the fire of rapine and plunder among the houses and inhabitants, and by tyranny and glaring injustice forcibly removed all the stuffs, money and goods of those people. All the females and males of the above-mentioned town they stripped of their borrowed raiment, to such an extent that they did not leave in that town even the veil of a woman — whether plebeian or noble ; after that they returned. A crowd of those oppressed persons, without a stich of clothes, limped after them and reached the Khân-Khânân's army, and loudly complained in his *darbâr* of this tyranny. But since Daulat Khân and the other *amîrs* of the Khân-Khânân had brought the plundered property, the Khân-Khânân, who throughout the world had earned a false reputation for generosity and manliness, through covetousness of those stuffs, sprinkled the dust of inhumanity in the eye of generosity, and took no pity on the state of those wretched oppressed people. Most of the stuffs of the unhappy merchants he divided among his own troops. A few, with naked heads and feet, who were the owners, used day and night to weep and bemoan in that court ; but out of their stuffs he did not give them a single article of apparel. Prince Shâh Murâd was much disgusted at this, and moved back from the Faraḥ-bakhsh Garden to the village of Bhingâr ; on the way two of the intimates of the Khân-Khânân having arrived near the army of the Prince, the rage of the latter was all at once excited against the Khân-Khânân,[16] and he reinstated Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân in the office of *wakîl*.

[13] A small town about one mile east of the Aḥmadnagar fort.

[14] Or on a rugged difficult piece of ground.

[15] This is evidently Paithan or Pratishthân, N. Lat. 19° 29′, E. Long, 75° 27′, an extremely ancient town on the left bank of the Godâvarî, celebrated for its silk and fine muslin manufactures. — *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. p. 351.

[16] Details of this occurrence are given as follows by Mîrzâ Rafî'-ud-Dîn Shîrâzî :— "At this juncture, one day Sultân Murâd went out for a ride, and from a distance seeing a number of people who were going along quickly, he asked who they were, and was told it was one of the Khân-Khânân's *sardârs*, who had also the rank of *Pîshwâ*. He said, "Why is it that he neglected to come and salute me ? Bring him to me." When they brought him, Prince Murâd ordered him to be beaten with a stick for not saluting him. When news of this reached the Khân-Khânân he sent the following message to Sulṭân Murâd, — "In the same manner as your father and your elder brother treat me and respect me, you also must treat me ; I cannot submit to such disrespect. Akbar Pâdshâh will be a judge between me and you."

The Khân-Khânân waited some days in the Faraḥ-bakhsh Garden, employing himself in pleasure and amusement, and did nothing whatever towards the taking of the fortress ; but the Prince from morning till evening used to go round the fortress, intent upon arrangements for its reduction. Then a number of the reformers of the State advised the Khân-Khânân, and brought him from the Faraḥ-bakhsh Garden to the houses of the city of Aḥmadnagar, when outwardly he was in all things attending to the siege of the fortress, and reducing the besieged to extremities ; he posted a party of his own troops in the vicinity of the Kâlâ Chautarah, which is opposite the gate of the fortress.

As there was a firm alliance of long standing between **Râjâ 'Alî Khân, wâlî of Burhânpur,** and the people of the fortress, they continually kept up communication with him, and through his agency their requirements used to be conveyed to the fortress. And when a number of artillerymen from all the forts and districts came to the assistance of the people of the fortress, they made their way into the fortress from his side, and caused the strength of the garrison to be doubled. But the Prince having observed this, caused Râjâ 'Alî Khân to march away from there and gave his battery in charge to Râjâ Jaganâth, who was one of the greatest of the Rajput *amîrs;* so the road of coming and going of the people of the fortress became entirely blocked.

In the days of the siege of the fortress and the flaring up of the fire of battle, Râjâ 'Alî Khân, *wâlî* of Burhânpur, at the instigation of Akbâr's *amîrs*, sent a letter to Chând Bîbî to the following effect :— "I, knowingly, and for the sake of the honour of this high dynasty, have come to these frontiers in company with the Mughal army, and I know for certain that in a few days more, the fortress will be reduced by this army. Take care in the fighting not to exercise caution but to save your reputation surrender the fortress to the Prince ; then any fort and any district which you wish for, they will let you have in exchange for this. Since, on account of the affinity between us my reputation is in truth bound up in that of Your Highness, I have determined with myself, regardless of arrows and musketry fire, to come to the gate of the fortress and convey Your Highness to my own camp."

When this communication reached the people of the fortress, it became the cause of increased perturbation and helplessness among them, and they were on the point of agreeing amongst themselves to surrender the fortress. **Afẓal Khân** strove to assuage their hearts, and wrote as follows in reply to Râjâ 'Alî Khân :—"It is surprising that with the perfection of Your Highness' understanding and planning you should write such a letter as this, and endeavour to ruin this high dynasty, seeing that you hastened to go forth to meet the Mughâl *amîrs*, and brought them into this country. The kings of the Dakhan will not forget this. By the aid of God Almighty the Mughal *amîrs* will shortly be made to return, and Your Highness will again be subject to the kings of the Dakhan, and must fear the vengeance of the ferocious warriors of the Dakhan, and take thought for your reputation and that of your own kingdom."

When this answer reached Râjâ 'Alî Khân, he was ashamed of what he had written ; and the Mughal *amîrs* also, on the arrival of this letter, became hopeless of taking the fortress. But Mîyâṉ Manjû, who together with Aḥmad Shâh, in the beginning of the Mughal invasion, had taken refuge in the territory of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, had sent to the foot of the throne of that monarch petitions founded on self-abasement and despondency, representing their weakness and imploring assistance. That king, looking to what was good for the State and the integrity of the kingdom, striving his utmost to repel the enemies of the country and to reinforce the people of the fortress, issued *farmâns* about sending a force to those well-wishers of the State, and made prudent arrangements for repelling the army of Akbar Shâh. From the 'Âdil-Shâhî court, **Suhail Khân** — who at that court held the title of Âyîn-ul-Mulk — with a number of celebrated *amîrs* and about 3,000 well-trained cavalry, was appointed to go to the assistance of the Niẓâm-Shâhî kingdom, that with the world-consuming sword he

At this speech Sulṭân Murâd made use of very harsh language, and the dispute was the origin of much trouble. Tempters and tale-beaters used to widen the breach between them. One day Sulṭân Murâd was saying to those near him, "As long as the Khân-Khânân and Shâhbâz Khân Kambû exist they will not let me attain to the sovereignty of the Dakhan, but, please God, after taking Aḥmadnagar ——." They replied, "Do what you please after taking Aḥmadnagar, if you can take it."

should throw the fire of chastisement into the harvest of the existence of the hostile troops, and with the sponge of the sharp swords of his warriors, he should make the face of the earth a sea of blood, and clear the kingdom of the Dakhan from the discord and rebellion of the lords of perverseness and injustice.

From the Kuṭb-Shâhî court also, **Kulî Sulṭân Ṭâlash** — who was renowned for his bravery — with about 10,000 celebrated cavalry and 20,000 brave infantry, was sent to repel the enemy. In like manner, from the court of 'Âdil-Shâh, *farmâns* were issued to Ikhlâṣ Khân and all the Ḥabshî *amîrs*, inviting them to put aside their hostility, which was the cause of the ruin of the country and State, and join the nobles in repelling the enemies of the country. According to His Majesty's orders, Ikhlâṣ Khân and the other Ḥabshî *amîrs*, with about 20,000 cavalry collected from the various cities, marched in that direction. Through the kindness of 'Âdil-Shâh, in a short time about 70,000 well-equipped cavalry, with elephants, cannon and all the implements of war, were assembled on His Majesty's frontier. From the thronging of them, the plains and hills were pressed for room.

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A breach is made in the wall of the fortress of Aḥmadnagar. Fight with the enemy, in which fight the defenders are victorious. Great exertions of Her Highness Chând Bîbî, and the sincerity of her faith.

When the siege of Aḥmadnagar — owing to the perfection of its strength and fortification — had lasted a long time, and the face of its conquest still remained hidden by the veil of protraction and delay, it became manifest to the Mughal *amîrs* that by the agency of guns and the filling in of the ditch, they would not be able to reduce the fortress ; so, after praying for success, and taking council together, they decided on making excavations under the foundations of the wall and towers ; and in order that the defenders might not obtain information of their plan, they kept it concealed from both small and great, and used their utmost endeavours to carry it out. Opposite the Prince's battery they excavated several places, and hollowed out the pillars of the walls of the fortress. When they had finished the excavation, on the night of Friday, the first night of the moon in the month of Rajab [20th February, 1596], by the Prince's orders, they filled the hollow of that excavation with gunpowder and tamped it with clay and stones, in order that at the time of dawn — which is the time of ease and repose of the sentries vigilant during the night, and time of the owl of negligence of the defenders of the fortress — they might fire the mine and throw down the wall of the fortress, and by that means their troops might complete the conquest of the fortress. But since Fate had decreed that the fortress was not to be taken, **Khwâjah Muḥammad Khân** — who was one of the nobles of Fârs and a *wazîr* of Shîrâz, and was distinguished for the integrity of his faith and the sincerity of his intentions — having become aware of the position of the enemy's mine, employed the people of the fortress, both small and great, on that dark night in digging down, to the foundations of the walls of the fortress in the positions where they imagined the enemy's mines to be. They found one mine, and carrying away the powder which the enemy had put into it, they filled up its place with stones and earth. The defenders being relieved from the fear of this mine, commenced digging out another. And **Sâdiḳ Muḥammad** observing the day of Friday, the first day of the moon of Rajab, which is the sacred month, postponed the firing of the mines till after noon. In truth, according to the saying, "Good in what happens," the defenders benefitted by this delay ; for on that night both small and great of the people of the fortress were employed till the appearance of the true dawn, in excavating the mines ; and after dawn, all of them, very tired, went to their houses to rest and repose.

The Prince and Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân, at the first appearance of dawn on Friday ordered their forces to assemble and get ready all the implements of war, and parade fully armed at the foot of the fortress. When the Mughal army, with swords, shields, spears and daggers flocked from all quarters towards the fortress of Aḥmadnagar, the ground round the fortress, from the thronging together of the forces was like a swelling sea in a state of commotion. Prince Shâh Murâd in his own person took an active part in the operations ; and all the *amîrs* and *khâns* of high rank — except the Khân-

Khânân and Shâhbâz Khân, who did not approve of the conquest of the Dakhan — with their horsemen and retinue, drums and standards, stepped into the plain of battle.

After the assembly of the Mughal army the engineers being ordered to fire the mines and throw down the walls, they set fire to those mortar-like mines. At this time the defenders had found two of the mines and emptied them of powder, and having found the third mine also, were in the act of digging it out, when suddenly the smoke of destruction came forth from that mortar-like mine, and the flame of misfortune fell in the foundation of that wall. All at once the wall of the fortress tottered, and from terror of it the earth came forth from its place, and the sound of it came forth from the position of that foundation, so that you would have thought the trumpet of the resurrection had been blown, and you beheld the day of resurrection face to face. About fifty cubits[17]-length was breached and all at once demolished and broken, and by the force of the explosion the pillars of the walls of that impregnable fortress were laid low.

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A number of the enemy's force who were standing by the ditch waiting for the destruction of the wall, threw themselves into the ditch and made for the breach ; and as they expected the demolition of the other walls, most of the army were waiting for that in order that they might with ease enter the fortress and take it. The stones which, bird-like, flew from the wall of the fortress, like the hunting-falcon of death killed several of the Mughal troops who were near the fortress, waiting for the assault ; and as many of the defenders were engaged in digging out the mine under the same wall, a number of them also were buried under the stones and earth. Some who were farther off, when they saw so great a breach in the pillars of the fortress, fled from the stones.[18] Some crept into corners, and some went to Her Highness **Chând Bîbî**. The *amîrs* and leaders of the army, who, in their own houses heard of that great occurrence, hastened in a frantic state towards the breach in the wall. Of the *amîrs* and great nobles, Mujâhid-ud-Dîn Shamshîr Khân and 'Umdah-ud-Daulah Mubâriz-ud-Dîn Abhang Khân first arrived at the breach, and with arrows and swords opposed the entrance of the Mughal troops. After that, Sadr-ul-Umrâ Muḥammad Khân with his sons and relatives, and Multân Khân, Aḥmad Shâh, 'Alî Shîr Khân and all the *amîrs* and leaders of the army, following one another, went to the breach and blocked the way of the enemy's force. And a number of the foreign nobles, such as Afẓal Khân, Maulânâ Muḥammad — ambassador of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil-Shâh — Maulânâ Ḥâjî Muḥammad — ambassador of Muḥammad Ḳulî Ḳuṭb-Shâh — Mîr Muḥammad Zamân, Mîr Saiyid 'Alî Astarabâdî and Khwâjah Ḥusain Kirmânî, who, owing to the great bravery which he displayed on this day, received the title of Tîr-andâz Khân. Troops of strangers and all the foreigners too, who in their own houses heard of this occurrence, hastened with all speed to the breach, and with their stone-splitting arrows blocked the way of coming and going of the enemy's troops. Most of the foreign nobles, such as the ambassadors of the Dakhan kings, by the advice of the *amîrs* and nobles of the State, hastened to wait on **Chând Sulṭânah**, and in order to strengthen the warriors and further the business of the fighting, brought the Queen from the palace to the breach and the scene of the combat. When her sun-like umbrella cast the shadow of protection and favour over the heads of the lords of the State, the strength and ferocity of the warriors was increased a thousand-fold. The lightning-making guns and flaming rockets drove the enemy from the neighbourhood of the breach ; and the engineers and artil-

[17] 1 *gaz*, or cubit = 24 finger-breadths.

[18] In connexion with this Mîrzâ Rafî'-ud-Dîn relates an episode which reads like a story from the adventures of Baron Munchausen, — "It was an extraordinary occurrence that when a bastion and some of the parapet of the fortress were blown up, three persons on top of the bastion, sitting on a slab of stone, were playing a game of *nard* [a kind of backgammon], when suddenly they were blown to the heavens with that stone, and descended near Ja'far Âḳâ's well, which is nearly one *farsakh* (6,000 yards) from the fort. One of those three escaped uninjured, and when I was sent on a diplomatic mission to mediate between Niẓâm-Shâh and the *amîrs*, between whom dissensions had arisen, that person was shown to me. I asked him how he had felt in going up and coming down. He replied :— 'Such terror pervaded my heart that I was unable to open my eyes till the stone reached the ground and I became separated from it. Thanks be to the Creator, who brings safely out of such a whirlpool of danger anyone He wishes. By this action the Almighty shows to his servants the perfection of His power.' " — *Tazkarat-lu-Mulûk*, I. O. MS. p. 275.

lery also from the tops of the towers, with guns and *ḥuḳḳah-bâzân* and *pûkbân* [rockets] sent the flames of destruction to the lives of the enemy, and drove them away from the ditch. The well-wishers' exertions in the fight against the enemy were such, that Muḥammad Lârî, ambassador of His Majesty 'Âdil-Shâh (although there was no pause in the fire of the rockets and guns), in the hottest part of the fight went up on one of the towers of the fortress opposite the breach in the wall and kindled a *khirkah* and firing several guns in that *khirkah*, opened the doors of destruction in the face of the enemy. As all the defenders were aware of the presence of the Queen herself in the battle, all ranks — young and old — hurried in that direction, and with their own bodies blocked the breach in the wall.

They say that when the Queen arrived in the neighbourhood of the breach, a number of the elephant-keepers brought forward the elephants that they might interpose them between her person and the fire of the enemy, but she forbade them, and would not allow the elephants to be placed in front of her. With the tongue of inspiration she caused the following speech to be interpreted :— "Although to take one's own life is forbidden both by the understanding and the divine law, yet I have brought a cup of poison with me, and if (which Heaven forefend !) the enemy take this fortress, I shall drink the cup of poison, and free myself from the annoyance of my enemies. Besides, since one will of a certainty obtain the rank of martyrdom from the wound of the enemies of the faith and the State, how can I guard myself against the wounds inflicted by the enemy ?"

Consequently God, the most holy and most high, owing to the sincerity of intention and purity of her faith, bestowed on the Queen that fortress (which in fact had almost fallen into the hands of the enemy), and defended it against the oppression of that band of tyrants.

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Of the people of the fortress, a number who were near the wall, engaged in the work of defence, some were killed by the falling of stones and earth, and some remained firm till the arrival of Mujâhid-ud-Dîn Shamshîr Khân and Mubâriz-ud-Dîn Abhang Khân saved the breach. By the will of the Omnipotent, Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân, in order to fire the other mines and breach another part of the fortress, prevented his men from making an assault on the breach, and so gaining an easy victory. A number of rash ones who, in advance of the others had gone into the ditch reached the breach in the fortress, but as no one had the hardiwood to follow them, they stopped ; and after the enemy's force, from the failure of the other mines to explode, abandoned the hope of firing them, the defenders repaired the breach, and displaying much boldness and bravery, killed most of those who had gone into the ditch and scattered themselves about.

In the midst of the fury of battle, an arrow struck Afẓal Khân on the breast, but the covering of an amulet which he wore on his arm saved him from injury, and by the felicity of the sincerity of his intentions and the purity of his mind, no annoyance whatever was caused to him.

The remainder of the enemy's force, seeing the state of affairs, and none having the boldness to enter the ditch, with their own hands they opened the doors of misfortune and adversity in their own faces ; but having no other resource, they formed up on the edge of the ditch and attacked the wall of the fortress. From both sides the world-consuming fire of slaughter and battle blazed up.

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Although the enemy fought bravely, yet since it was not so decreed by Fate, the face of victory did not show itself in the mirror of sword and dagger ; and they only opened the register of their endeavours at the verse "suffering loss" and "regret." A number of celebrated and brave men of the enemy's army, by the arrows, stones, guns and matchlocks of the defenders were overthrown and sent to the house of perdition. Many of the warriors received disabling wounds, and retired with repentance, wailing and restlessness.

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When the sun set and darkness came on, the enemy's army, who after all their exertions had experienced no result but hurtfulness and regret, drew back their footsteps from that fatal place, and only half alive, wounded by arrows, matchlocks, cross-bows and stones, went to their habitations.

circulated in their camp ; till the people of the fortress sent many rare presents for the Prince, the Khân-Khânân, Shâhbâz Khân and Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân.

Afẓal Khân, owing to the high reputation which he enjoyed among the grandees of the country and celebrated men of the State as a diplomatist, was appointed Niẓâm-Shâhî ambassador ; and having earned the approbation of Her Highness Chând Bîbî by his praiseworthy services, especially in the days of the siege, she conferred on him the office of Nâ,îb and the rank of Pîshwâ, and exalted him with the title of Chingîz Khân.

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In like manner **a legation from the Prince** was selected to arrange the terms of peace : it consisted of the Khân-Khânân, Mîr Muḥammad Zamân Raẓwî Mashhadî (who to the end of time will be renowned for his faithfulness in the discharge of his duties) ; and Shâh Bahrâm Astarabâdî was appointed as the deputy of Shâhbâz Khân.

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On Sunday, the 10th of the month of Rajab [1st March, A. D. 1596], the dawn of which was the rising of the sun of happiness and reconciliation, and the beginning of the happy and fortunate days, the ambassadors above mentioned, by order of Her Highness the Bilkîs of the age, went out of the fortress and hastened to their duties. When the news of the arrival of the ambassadors reached the Prince, he ordered a place to be given to them in the camp of Saiyid Murtaẓî, in order that whenever he should summon them Saiyid Murtaẓâ might bring them. Then he sent a person to summon the Khân-Khânân, Shâhbâz Khân, Râjâ 'Alî Khân, Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân and all the great men and *amîrs*. A royal assembly was arranged for the reception of the ambassadors. Afẓal Khân, Khân-i Khawânîn Chingîz Khân with Mîr Muḥammad Zamân and Shâh Bahrâm were taken to the foot of the Prince's throne, and kept in the place of servitude. After the ambassadors had performed the ceremonies of "*kurfush*" and "*taslîm*" — which is the method of salutation of the Chaghtâ,î kings — the Prince and the Khân-Khânân called them near, and they asked an explanation of the cause of the war and their object in coming. Concerning the terms of peace they used the above-mentioned words. Afẓal-ul-Khawânîn Chingîz Khân hastened to reply ; and after the usual complimentary phrases, he represented his case as follows :—

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The Prince approved of the eloquent words ; he bestowed on the delegates of the Queen robes of honour and Arab horses, and said : — "The completion of your affairs I entrust to the care of the Khân-Khânân : represent your case to him in order that it may be settled according to your wishes."

Next day, the Khân-Khânân having met in council, summoned the ambassadors of the Queen ; and at first deceiving them asked for a promise and agreement, in order that they might seduce that well-wishing *khân* from his allegiance, and by bribes and stratagems obtain possession of the fortress. They said to Afẓal Khân : — "We will make you a commander of five thousand, and cede to you by treaty whatever district of the Dakhan you may desire ; your opinion shall be made the rule in all affairs, and we shall allow no transgression of your wishes. It may be that in some way this fortress may come into our possession."

Afẓal Khân, in reply to them, said:—"The conquest of this fortress by assault is an impossibility ; for though at one time it seemed to be attainable because the provisions of the fort and war-like material came to an end ; yet now that they have the provisions of ten years in corn, gunpowder, arms and war-like implements ; and nearly 10,000 brave warriors, all anxious to achieve fame, are in the fortress, and for the sake of guarding the rights of salt and service of so many years, as long as they have a breath left in their bodies, they would choose to die rather than yield the fortress."

When the *amîrs* saw that their fraud and spells had no effect on Afẓâl Khân, they became hopeless of taking the fortress, and made the following insolent speech :— "Since His Majesty the late Burhân Niẓâm-Shâh, at the time of going towards the Dakhan, made a present of the kingdom of

Varhâḍ [Berâr] to the Nawâb of His Majesty the King [Akbar], that province now belongs to the servants of that court; you must therefore withdraw your hand from its possession. And as the Prince has honoured this country by a visit — and in fact holds possession of the whole of the kingdom of the Dakhan — your advisable course is to consign to the servants of His Highness the province of Daulatâbâd also with its dependencies, in order that the army may withdraw from the siege of the fortress. We shall then return all the provinces to Prince Bahâdur Shâh, and afford him assistance in taking vengeance on his enemies."

Afẕal-ul-Khawânîn Chingîz Khân replied to them:—"At present there is no king in this State to whom this matter can be referred. The province of Varhâḍ [Berâr] now belongs to the Sulṭâns of the Dakhan, and the army of this State also has confirmed them in its possession. The mention of Daulatâbâd is the cause of the increase of matters of sedition and mischief; because for a long time past the people of that province have withdrawn the neck of obedience from the halter of subjection, and having become travellers on the road of rebellion, have set up another king, but according to the orders of Her Highness Chând Bîbî, he will not exercise dominion. Besides, the *amîrs* of the Dakhan who are in the fortress will not agree to this, and the peace negociations will be altogether abandoned. What defeat have you inflicted on the army of the Dakhan that the provinces of Varhâḍ [Berâr] and Daulatâbâd should be given to you? Your fortune was good, in that hypocrisy having shown itself among the *amîrs* of the State, each of them became scattered in a different direction, and the State remained denuded of troops. You, seizing the opportunity, hastened in this direction; if there had been 10,000 cavalry in the limits of the Gâlna Ghât, you would not have been able to invade the frontier. Now, one *lak* of man-over-throwing cavalry of the Dakhan with the utmost preparation and grandeur are advancing towards you, and have arrived within eight *farsakhs*.[21a] You must first fight with them: after you have answered them, you can then talk of giving and taking."

Ṣâdiḳ Muḥammad Khân Atâliḳ, who was at the head of affairs in the Dakhan, being much disturbed, said to Afẕal Khân:—"What nonsense this is! You keep a woman in the fort in hopes of a eunuch coming to your assistance, or that assistance will reach you from him. This is the son of His Majesty Jalâl-ud-Dîn Muḥammad Akbar Pâdshâh, in whose court so many monarchs have girded up their loins in his service. Do you imagine that the crows and kites of the Dakhan which have sat down on some spiders, can oppose the descendants of Tîmûr and celebrated *amîrs* such as the Khân-Khânân and Shâhbâz Khân, each of whom is equal to any ten of the Dakhan? We have thrown down the walls of this fort of yours, and have undermined the remainder. In two or three days more we shall level it with the ground. Behold! up to now the conquest having happened, did you imagine that the honour of Her Highness would remain, and that men like you, who are of our own race, would not perish?"

Afẕal Khân hastened to reply:—"For the space of forty years we have eaten the salt of the kings of the Dakhan, and on the day we entered this fort, we resigned our lives, property and offspring; and now we have come to this service of yours. Since all cannot fly from death, we are prepared for death, and having made up our minds to suffer martyrdom, have waited on you. What can be better than this, that a person should be killed in the service of his benefactor, and by this means obtain an eternal good name? **We used to hear that Akbar Pâdshâh was laying claim to godhead;** now we see that his *amîrs* also lay claim to the prophetical office. Apparently it has been revealed to you in a vision that this country shall be conquered by you; but the Most High God has no admission to this laboratory that you can make so positive a statement as 'in three days more we shall certainly take this fort.' It is possible that with the assistance of the people of this country, you may be obliged to return from the foot of this fortress without the attainment of your object; and it is apparent to you that the people of this country live at enmity with foreigners, and will continue to do so. I am a well-wisher of His Majesty the King, and my advice is that the great *amîrs* of the Prince be sent away from the neighbourhood of the fortress, lest there happen to them a fatal misfortune, to remedy which may be beyond the area of possibility. There are great numbers of warriors in this fortress, who if they

21a About 27 miles.

be killed, become martyrs, and if they kill, they will become *ghâzîs* [heroes] : how can you compel them to submit to you? Very shortly the army of the Dakhan will arrive ; the road of going to and fro will then become closed on you, and after much ruin and misfortune, trouble and injury, you will return with the greatest difficulty, and seek assistance and protection in the service of the King. And certainly what I am now saying will also be represented to His Majesty the King."

Mîr Muḥammad Zamân also in that assembly fearlessly made a well-weighed and manly speech, and convinced his opponents.

Several days were spent in this controversy, and the pacification was delayed, till news of the approach of the formidable army of the Dakhan was circulated in the Mughal army. Spies brought information that about 70,000 cavalry with many elephants and artillery were advancing march by march ; consequently the *amîrs* of the Mughal army, deeming it advisable to abandon contention and dispute about Daulatâbâd, forbore to make useless demands, and contenting themselves with the province of Varhâḍ [Berâr], concluded the treaty of peace. On Tuesday, the 23rd of the month of Rajab [14th March, A. D. 1596], the lords of peace and reconciliation came and went from both sides.

Since the provisions of the fortress were exhausted, the besieged were in great difficulty. In these days when Afẓal Khân was in the Mughal camp the people of the fortress several times wrote to him, saying :—" By whatever means it is possible, conclude the treaty of peace quickly, for we cannot hold the fort another day." Moreover most of the people of the fortress, owing to the scarcity of food and want of strength, had agreed among themselves and intended throwing themselves down from the towers and walls and taking refuge with the Mughal army. On this account Afẓal Khân arranged with the Mughal *amîrs* that they should send Sayyid Murtazâ and Kâẓî Ḥasan to the gate of the fortress to arrange the terms of peace. The two being appointed for the purpose, hastened to attend at the court, and were distinguished by royal favours. These nobles, for the sake of peace, and owing to the exigency of the time, consented to give Varhaḍ [Berâr], and the foundations of friendship and agreement were strengthened by a treaty. Muḥammad Khân with a number of the great men of the country and celebrated men of the State, for the purpose of completing the treaty of peace, hastened from the fortress to the presence of the Prince, and had the honour of kissing his hand, and were distinguished by royal kindnesses according to their circumstances. Their leader was treated with the greatest honour, and all the *amîrs* and *khâns* of the assembly were presented with special robes of honour and Arab horses.

When from both sides the foundations of friendship and agreement were laid, the matters of contention and resistance ceased ; and the causes of alienation being changed to a state of courtesy and unity, the gardens of good-fellowship flourished ; the bases of familiarity and friendship received fresh strength ; the ties of faith of the agreement of both sides arrived at a stage of firmness ; and the affairs of religion and the State, and the affairs of the kingdom and the faith, by the blessing of this reconciliation were arranged anew. Muḥammad Khân, Chingîz Khân and all the great men returned from the Prince's camp with happy and cheerful hearts, and had the honour of kissing the vestibule of sovereignty of Her Highness the Bilkîs of the age ; and the endeavours of all in arranging the affairs of State having met with Her Highness' approbation, they were distinguished by innumerable royal favours.

The Mughal army also withdrew their hands from the siege of the fortress, and their feet from the plain of war and battle ; and returned the sword of contention and opposition to the scabbard of agreement.

The people of the fortress of **Aḥmadnagar** who from weakness and want of provisions had been reduced to helplessness, stepped from the narrow pass of the siege into the open plain of the desert, and opened the doors of purchase and sale with the army. The Mughal troops, who in the days of the siege had hoarded up much grain, having by the peace obtained tranquillity of mind, and being relieved from the troubles of the siege and fighting, now made themselves lightly loaded. In two or three days the people of the fortress collected so much provisions, that if there had again been war and a siege, they would have been free from anxiety.

When the news of the approach of the relieving force (which was marching from the direction of the mountainous country and the district of Mânikdaund[22]) reached the Mughal army, they had arrived within five *gâw* of Aḥmadnagar. At first the Prince, with the intention of giving them battle, marched from the neighbourhood of Aḥmadnagar on the night of Wednesday, the 27th of Rajab [18th March, A. D. 1596], one day's journey towards [Shâhdurg], but the plans of the Mughal army being again changed, they turned their reins from opposing that force; and turning towards the Jeur Ghât, they marched from there towards Daulatâbâd; and passing through the neighbourhood of Daulatâbâd, started in the direction of Jasâpur[23] and Varhâḍ [Berâr].

When the news of the march of the Mughal army reached the *amîrs* and leaders of the army of the Dakhan, they came to the neighbourhood of Aḥmadnagar, and halted at the village of Pâtûrî [Pâthardî]. Ikhlâṣ Khân and most of the Niẓâm-Shâhî *amîrs* sent to the foot of the throne petitions tendering their obedience and submission, and asking for the royal promise of amnesty. According to the royal commands written promises were issued to the *amîrs* and leaders of the army, and all were made hopeful of ungrudged royal favours. Consequently Ikhlâṣ with the whole of the Ḥabshî *amîrs* separated themselves from the army of His Majesty 'Âdil-Shâh; and coming to the neighbourhood of the city of Aḥmadnagar, encamped in the garden of the 'Abâdat-Khânah, and sent a person to the foot of the throne of sovereignty, asking for an audience. An order was issued from the palace that the purchased *amîrs* should be honoured by kissing the threshold of sovereignty. Ikhlâṣ Khân with his sons and brothers, and 'Azîz-ul-Mulk with his brothers, and Malî Khân and Khudâwind Khân, and Dilpat Râya with all the *amîrs* of the sacred places [*aḥrâm*] attended at the royal court, and their heads were exalted to the heavens by the honour of kissing the ground; and they were distinguished by robes of honour and copious honours.

When His Highness **Mîrân Shâh 'Alî** used to be among the Ḥabshî *amîrs*, all the Ḥabshîs in the kingdom were willing to serve under him. At this time when the Ḥabshî *amîrs* hastened to present themselves at the royal court, Shâh 'Alî becoming alarmed, abandoned all the paraphernalia of royalty, and taking refuge with Shâh 'Âdil-Shâh, placed himself under the protection of Suhail Khân. A body of troops which had been ordered to go in pursuit of him, when they reached him, plundered his tents and other property and returned.

(*To be continued.*)

DISCURSIVE REMARKS ON THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF TELUGU LITERATURE.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(*Continued from p.* 279.)

WHEN the marriage of **Kṛishṇarâya** with **Prâtapa Rudra's daughter** was settled the matter was reported to the bride, who could not brook the idea of taking a man of low birth as her partner in life. She, therefore, thought over the affair for a long time, and resolved to murder the king, and then slay herself. Her resolution was communicated to an intimate friend of hers, who extolled her for her daring resolve, and assured her of the secrecy of the affair, but no sooner did the lady reach home than she communicated it to a very intimate friend of hers, who in turn intimated it to another, till it reached the ears of Timmarasu. Meanwhile, Kṛishṇarâya was annointed for the marriage. Timmarasu had pondered over the affair, and approached Kṛishṇarâya, and secretly informed him of what was intended, but at the same time assured him that he was equal to the occasion, provided the king did as he told him. On this **Appâji (Timmarasu)** prepared a likeness of the king and filled it with pure honey, and substituted it for the king on the bed of soft swan feathers in the mystical chamber, covered it with a sheet, and informed the women of the palace not to disturb the king as he was very tired. As the women were in the secret, they left the bride in the chamber, while Appâji hid himself beneath the cot. No sooner did the bride find herself alone in the room than she struck the image on the bed with a sword, when the honey in it spurted on to

22 Mânikdaund is a village about 26 miles east of Aḥmadnagar. *Gâw* is a land-measure of about six miles.

23 Not identified.

her face and mouth. She at once began to regret being unable to live with a man whose blood was so very sweet! And on this Timmarasu rose up and gently approached her, and said that he would bring her back the king if she would promise him to behave very much better in the future. She remained petrified for some time, and when she grasped that it was the *wazîr* who was standing before her, became very much abashed, and requested him to intercede on her behalf, and procure the king's pardon for her treachery. She further requested him to bring her back the king immediately. After making her swear fidelity Timmarasu went to an adjacent room where the king was lying concealed, narrated to him what had happened, fetched him thither, and took oaths from both of them that they should not bear any ill-will in future towards each other, blessed them, and went home. After this they lived happily together. That the king had two wives is ascertained from the *Vishṇuchittîya*, a poetical work by the king himself.

When he set on his first campaign, he visited **Siṁhâchala**, and made various grants of land to the temple there. This is proved by the inscription on the seventh pillar of the Siṁhâchala temple, of which the following translation is culled from the local records of the District of Vizagapatam: —

Blessings and greetings. Mahârajâdhirâja Paramêśvara Mûru Râyara Gaṇḍa Âdi Râya Vijaya Bhâshege tappura Râyava Gaṇḍa Yavanarâjyasaṁsthâpanâchârya Vîrapratâpa **Kṛishṇadêvamahârâyalu**, who is reigning at **Vijayanagara**, having come on his first campaign and subdued the fortresses of Udayagiri, Koṇḍavîḍu, Koṇḍapalli, Rajamahêndri, etc., came to Siṁhâdri and visited the place in *S. S.* 1438 on the twelfth day of the black fortnight of the month of Chaitra of the Dhâtu year and for the salvation of his mother Nâgâdêvamma and his father Narasarâya, gave to God one necklace of 991 pearls, a pair of diamond bangles, a *padaka* of *śaṅkha* and *chakra*, one gold plate of 2,000 pagoda weight, and through his wife **Chinnâdêvamma**, a gold *padaka* of 500 pagoda weight and one of a similar weight through his other wife **Tirumaladêvamma**.

There are a good many stanzas in the *Manucharitra* and *Pârijâtâpaharaṇa* illustrative of Kṛishṇadêvarâya's conquests, which need not be quoted here.

Three years elapsed between Kṛishṇarâya's first campaign and his second, which interval was spent by him in conversations and discussions with the chief *literati* of the day. It was during this time that **Nandi Timmana** prepared his *Pârijâtâpaharaṇa* and **Allasâni Peddana** his *Svarôchisha Manucharitra*, and dedicated it to the king between 1516 and 1520. We are led to infer this, as in neither of the two works mention is anywhere made of his fight with the Muhammadan sovereigns of Bijapur in 1519 and of his complete victory over 'Âdil Khân in 1520, whereas the event finds a poetic expression in Kṛishṇarâya's *Âmuktamâlyada* or *Vishṇuchittîya*, from which we infer that the latter work must have been composed by the king after 1520.

His South-Indian empire embraced a vast extent of country, including Golconda and Worangal. He was by far the best of the South-Indian emperors. He had all the elements of greatness — prudence, activity, and courage — in a great degree. His success in arms had gained him the highest military reputation, while the good order that prevailed in his kingdom, notwithstanding his frequent absence from it, proves his talents for government. It is said of him that he never fought a battle that he did not win, nor besiege a town that he did not take. But though great as a warrior, he was greater as a scholar and a patron of letters, and his fame rests more on the large sums of money he gave to learned men than on the conquests he made, which marked him out as a liberal supporter of literature and the arts. He subjugated the Gajapatis of Orissa, the Moslem Aśvapatis, and the Telugu Narapatis, and received the title of **Mûrurâyara Gaṇḍa**, a Kanarese appelation meaning "the husband of three Râyas or kings."[7] He had many such titles. He built a dam over the Tungabhadra near Vijayanagara.

[7] [For a different explanation of the title *Mûru-râya* see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 111, note 3. — V. V.]

He conducted his affairs both in peace and war in person, and was very much benefited by the aid and council of the minister of his father, who had preserved his life, and who continued to be his minister until his death, three years preceding that of the Râja. This person known as **Timmarasu, Timmarâja, Appâji,** and so on, is evidently the same as the **Heemraj of Scott,** who makes so great a figure in the Muhammadan annals. The account given by Farishta of the various princes successively elevated and deposed by Heemraj, originates probably in the circumstances attending the death of **Vîranṛisiṁha** and the accession of Krishṇarâya, but the particulars are evidently confused and inaccurate. *E. g.*, the inscriptions prove that Kṛishṇarâya reigned for above twenty years, although the Muhammadan account would leave it to be concluded that he came to the throne an infant, and died without reaching maturity. He belonged to the Tuluva family. Sâḷuva is his house name. He is also known as belonging to the Sampeta and Selagola families named after the villages in which his ancestors flourished. We learn the two latter names from the *Koṇḍavîṭi Kavula Charitra* written by certain Karnams or village accountants.

As regards **Kṛishṇarâya's literary attainments.** He was called **Ândhra Bhôja** on account of his occupying the same place in Telugu literature as king Bhôja in the Sanskṛit. He was not only a patron of learning, but was also a man of letters himself, but none of his Sanskṛit writings are available at present. Whatever may have been his work in the field of Sanskṛit literature, there can be no gainsaying the fact that he **did an incalculable amount of good for Telugu literature.** The *Prabandha* had its origin under him. Up to this work the local poets merely translated into Telugu from Sanskṛit *Itihâsas* and *Purâṇas.* Among them **Kêtana** and **Srînâtha** translated into Telugu metre *Yâjñavalkyasmṛiti* and Harsha's *Naishadha* respectively. **Allasâni Peddana,** the Laureate of Kṛishṇadêvarâya's court, was the pioneer of original poetical composition in Telugu. His first work is *Svarôchisha Manucharitra.* The plot of the story was taken from the *Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇa.* As he was the pioneer in this respect he was called **"Andhrakavitâpitâmaha, the Grandsire of Telugu poets."**

That Kṛishṇarâya had an extraordinary command of both Sanskṛit and Telugu is shewn by his *Âmuktamâlyada.* Some are of opinion that this work was not his, but was the work of Allasâni Peddana, who out of courtesy published it in his name. The king, it is said, wanted Allasâni Peddana and **Râmarâjabhûshaṇa** to prepare and bring him each a *Prabandha.* When the works were brought, it is said that the king expressed an opinion that the *Manucharitra*, the work of the former poet, was not as elegant as the *Vasucharitra*, the work of the latter, and therefore it was that Peddana afterwards prepared the story of Vishṇuchitta under the appellation of the *Âmuktamâlyada.* We do not know if Râmarâjabhûshaṇa, the author of the *Vasucharitra*, was alive at the time of Kṛishṇadêvarâya or not. Even if he was, he must have been very young, for he prepared his *Vasucharitra* not earlier than half a century after the date of the *Âmuktamâlyada.* We can also with certainty say that the *Manucharitra* and the *Âmuktamâlyada* are not the compositions of a single poet, as there are differences in style between the two works, and while the one is free from grammatical errors, the other for a major portion abounds in them. In the latter work are found certain *saṁdhis* (*viz., e-kâra-saṁdhis, a-kâra-saṁdhis* in Tatsama *śabdâs*, Kvârthaka *saṁdhis*) which are ungrammatical, and are not found in the former work. Certain of these *saṁdhis* are exemplified and discussed by Chinnayasûri in his *Bâla-Vyâkaraṇa*, p. 12, which is more or less a Telugu rendering of *Atharvaṇa-Kârikalu*, a treatise on Telugu Grammar in Sanskṛit, written by **Atharvaṇâchârya**, who may be taken to be more or less a contemporary of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa. We can infer therefore that the *Âmuktamâlyada*, which can be said to be more or less flooded with ungrammatical *saṁdhis* is not the work of that "Grandsire of Telugu Poetry." Moreover, it is not so soft and flowing as is the work of Peddana.

Others are of opinion that the work should be ascribed to Peddana on account of the similarity of diction in the opening stanzas of both poems. In the description of the family of

the king in the opening stanzas of the *Âmuktamâlyada*, he was obliged to speak in eulogistic terms of his own character and of the conquests he had made, and out of proper feeling inserted stanzas for the purpose quoted from Peddana's *Manucharitra* into the mouth of God Veṅkaṭêśvara, and thus incorporated the needful phrases into his work. But as there are a good many stanzas, more especially in the 5th and 6th cantos of the poem, modelled after "the hard-constructed" Peddana's verses and "the sweet words" of Nandi Timmana, it is to be inferred that he at least received help from the poets of his court, more especially from the two poets above referred to, in the preparation of the poem. We should not, however, attribute literary plagiarism to the king, merely on the ground that a few stanzas of Peddana's are found in the poem under consideration. It was but natural that, when a poem was prepared by the king, he should have brought it and read it before the assembly of learned *pandits* of his court, and thrown open the subject for discussion. And then certain stanzas might have been altered and certain others remodelled, while certain other fresh ones might have been introduced by the poets. It ought not to be forgotten that it was a maiden attempt of the king, so far as Telugu literature was concerned, and considering the respective literary attainments of the king and his Laureate, Peddana, he would have been naturally glad to allow his poem to benefit by the fine touches of Peddaṇa's pen.

That the poem is really the composition of the king is further evidenced not only by the opening and closing stanzas of the poem in which mention is plainly made of the author, Kṛishṇarâya, but also by certain stanzas in the body of the poem itself, in which he plainly talks of the other works in Sanskrit, etc., which he had written. That the king was a poet of a high type is mentioned by the poets of his court in some of their works written anterior to the composition of the *Vishṇuchittîya*, *e. g.*, Nandi Timmana, in *âśvâsa* 4 of his *Pârijâtâpaharaṇa*, speaks of the king as 'Kavitâprâvîṇyaphaṇîśa.'

It is stated in the *Vishṇuchittîya* that he went to Bezwâḍa for the subjugation of the Kaliṅga country, and then pushed on to Chicacole for paying a visit to the Vishṇu temple there, and that Veṅkaṭêśvara appeared to him in a dream on the night of the Harivâsara and called upon him to write the work. This event took place, as we have already seen, in 1515 A. D., but from certain events narrated in the poem, *e. g.*, his victory over 'Âdil Khan, etc., we are able to infer that the poem was not completed before 1520 A. D.

One strong point in favour of Kṛishṇarâya being the author of the poem under discussion, is that it is filled with descriptions of Vishṇu. It begins with a tinge of Vaishṇavism; the plot of the story is Vaishṇava; it treats of Vaishṇava *dharmas*, of the secrets of that faith, and is surcharged with Vaishṇava stories. We are, therefore, led to believe that it must have been written by a person of that faith, to which the king belonged, and not by a pure *advaitin* of the type of the writer of the *Manucharitra*. Indeed, the king was a Viśishṭâdvaitin and an earnest disciple of Tâtâchârya, a fact which speaks volumes in his favor as the author of a poem so Vaishṇava in its nature.

There are, however, certain resemblances between the poetry of Peddana and that of Kṛishṇadêvarâya. The same sort of similes, hyperboles, proverbial sayings, hardness of style, abound in both, so that it is sometimes rather difficult to draw a fixed line of demarcation between the compositions of the two poets.

It is said that the *Âmuktamâlyada* was written by Peddana after his *Manucharitra*. But would a work of a later date abound in more mistakes, grammatical, rhetorical, than one of an earlier date if written by the same individual? Would not Peddana have lost his reputation by the later work? Moreover, there is not that elegance of diction in the *Âmuktamâlyada* which is discernible in the *Manucharitra*, and Kṛishṇarâya, being a king, would surely have tried to find out a royal road to learning, resulting in a certain inferiority in his work.

Recently a story has been afloat for the rise of the *Âmuktamâlyada*, which seems to strengthen our position instead of weakening it. A certain poet prepared a work entitled *Kavi-*

karnarasâyana, on the model of Peddana's *Manucharitra*, and wished to dedicate it to Kṛishṇarâya. He therefore took it to Vijayanagara, shewed it to Peddana, and requested him to shew it to the king. Peddana having read it carefully, thought that by shewing it to the king he would lose his position in the king's court, and therefore devised means for shutting out the new poet from the presence of the king. Meanwhile, the new poet starved, and at last in despair, as he did not know what to do under the circumstances, he wrote four stanzas from his poem on a *cadjan*, gave it to his servant, and told him to effect a sale for it at the market-place. The servant perambulated the city, and coming to the palace, said in a big manly voice that he offered for sale four stanzas at a thousand rupees each, when the king's daughter, who was sauntering in the verandah adjoining her room on the topmost story, heard this, she called on one of her female attendants to fetch her the stanzas. They were accordingly brought. She read them, was exceedingly pleased, paid the servant the amount demanded, and got them off by heart.

Meanwhile, the author of the *Kavikarṇarasâyana*, still unsuccessful in seeing the king, finally went to 'Srirangam, the island in the Kâvêrî, famous for its Vaishṇava temple and in the early annals of the English in South India, dedicated his work to the god Ranganâtha, and became "double-lived in regions new."

Afterwards, while at a game of chess with her father, the king's daughter chanced to make some remarks on the play, and quoted a line of the poetry she had learnt. This attracted the king's attention, and he requested her to quote the whole stanza. She did so, and the king was exceedingly pleased, and asked her for some details of the author, when she narrated to him the circumstances in which she got possession of the stanzas, but said that she knew nothing of the author. The king immediately rose up, went to his court, read the stanza before the assembly, and asked them whence it was, when one of the assembly informed him that it was from such and such a work, of the author's advent hither, how he had remained a long while in order to see the king, how he was frustrated in his attempt, and how in utter disgust he left the place. The king was very grieved, and immediately sent word to the poet to come to see him. But by that time the poet had dedicated the work to the god Ranganâtha, and he sent word to the king to that effect. The king thereupon requested the poet to allow him an opportunity to go through the book, which request was complied with. The king then, it is said, compensated himself by the writing of *Vishṇuchittîya*, though some maintain that the work of writing the new poem was entrusted to Peddana by the king as a sort of punishment. But considering the importance of the position Peddana held at the court, and the amount of respect he commanded, one is bound to say that this was highly improbable in the very nature of the circumstances.

Although a Vaishṇava, Kṛishṇarâya shewed no hatred towards the 'Saiva, and the various grants of land he made to 'Saiva temples speak very well of him. At his court were members of other sects also.

There were 'Saivas of the type of **Nandi Timmana**; extreme 'Saivas of the type of **Dhûrjaṭi, Mâdanagâri Mallayya**, etc. Of the learned men of his court, eight are distinguished as the *ashṭa-diggajas*, or eight elephants who uphold the world of letters, in allusion to the eight elephants that support the universe at the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass. **Allasâni Peddana, Nandi Timmana, Iyalarâju Râmabhadra, Dhûrjaṭi, Mâdayyagâri Mallana, Pingali Sûrana, Râmarâjabhûshaṇa and Tenâli Râmakṛishṇa** are their reputed names. We have our own doubts as to the three last being contemporaries of Kṛishṇarâya, but we can learn from some of the works of these authors that the first five flourished in his time. We have already seen that the first two have dedicated their works to the king. The third must have been very young at the time, but he began to write, under the orders of the king, the *Kathâsârasaṁgraha*, which was afterwards completed. It is not half so chaste and elegant as his later work the *Râmâbhyudaya*. Dhûrjaṭi in his *Kṛishṇarâjavijaya* states certain facts about

the conquests of Kṛishṇarâya over the Musalmân princes of Bijapur and Golconda, which he says were recorded by Mallana in his *Râjaśêkharacharitra.* We learn from the History of Koṇḍavîḍu that Tâḷḷapâka Chinnana, the writer of the *Ashṭamahishîkalyâṇa,* flourished at the same period. But though Râmarâjabhûshaṇa and others are said to have flourished at this time, and though stories are current in the Telugu country to that effect, we learn a contrary state of things from a study of the inscriptions and from other more reliable sources. A study of the works themselves will confirm the inscriptions.

There is a story current that Timmarasu *alias* Appâji was a Niyôgi Brâhmaṇ. Of all those, who by their own efforts and without usurpation of the rights of others, have raised themselves to a very high social position, there is no one the close of whose history presents so great a contrast to its commencement as that of Appâji. Left an orphan at a very early age he eked out a livelihood by tending cattle near Tirupati. And the story goes that while sleeping under the leafy spreading branches of a large banyan tree on a summer afternoon, a huge snake about the thickness of a walking stick emerged from the tree, approached the boy, and with its hood upraised prevented the sun's rays from falling straight on his face. A wayfarer saw the incident, waited at a distance till the boy rose up from his sleep, informed him of what had happened, and requested him to remember him when he should attain an exalted position. The wayfarer was, it is said, Bhaṭṭumûrti, a celebrated poet. But it can be proved, however, that they were not contemporaries !

We learn from a great many records that Kṛishṇadêvarâya left no sons, while from one of the inscriptions we find that **Achyutarâya** was his son, and from another that **Sadâśivarâya** was his son. But these are matters for further investigation.

The transactions that followed the death of Kṛishṇarâya, says Wilson in his *Catalogue of Mackenzie Collection*, p. 87, are very unsatisfactorily related by native writers. The prince had no legitimate male children of his own, and the nearest heir, Achyutarâya, who is variously termed his brother, cousin, and nephew, being absent, he placed a prince named Sadâśiva on the throne, under the charge of Râmarâja, his own son-in-law. Achyuta returned and assumed the government, and on his death Sadâśiva succeeded under the care and control of Râmarâja as before. There is in some statements an intimation of a short-lived usurpation by a person named Salika Timmana, and of the murder of the young prince who succeeded Kṛishṇarâya in the first instance, and the Muhammadan accounts tend to shew that some such transaction took place. On the downfall of the usurper, the succession proceeded as above described. The reigns of Achyuta and Sadâśiva and the contemporary existence of Râmarâja are proved by numerous grants. Those of Achyuta extend over a period of twelve years, from 1530 to 1542 A. D., and those of Sadâśiva from 1542 to 1570, whilst those of Râmarâja occur from 1547 to 1562.

Who Sadâśiva was, however, does not very distinctly appear. Some accounts call him the son of Achyuta, whilst others represent him as descended from the former Râjas of Vijayanagara; at any rate, it is evident that during Râmarâja's life he was but a puppet prince. According to Farishta, **Râmrâj** was the son of Hêmrâj and son-in-law of a Râja whom he names Sivaray erroneously for Krishnaray. Râmaray, he adds, succeeded on his father's death to his office and power, and on the death of an infant Râja, for whom he managed the affairs of the government, he placed another infant of the same family on the *masnad*, and committing the charge of the prince's person to his maternal uncle, **Hoji Trimmal**, retained the political administration of the state. During his absence on a military excursion, the uncle of the Râja and several nobles conspired against the minister, and gained to their party an officer of Râmrâj, who was one of his slaves left in military charge of the capital. Finding the insurgents too strong for him Râmarâja submitted to an amicable compromise with them, and was allowed to reside on his own territorial possessions. After a short interval, the slave, being no longer necessary, was murdered, and Trimmal, the uncle, assumed the whole power. He next killed his nephew, and reigned on his own behalf, conducting him-

self with great tyranny, so that the chiefs conspired to dethrone him, but with the assistance of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh he was enabled to maintain his authority. On the retreat of his Musalmân allies, the Hindu nobles with Râmarâja at their head again rebelled, defeated the usurper, and besieged him in his palace in Vijayanagara; when finding his fortune desperate, he destroyed himself. Râma then became Râja.

Now, comparing this with the Hindu accounts, we should be disposed to identify Hoji Trimmal with Achyutarâya. Some of the Hindu accounts, as above noticed, concur with the Muhammadan as to the murder of the young prince, and in Salika Timma we may have the slave of Râmarâja, although the part assigned to him in both the stories does not exactly coincide. Râmarâja, both agree, was obliged to resign the authority he held after Krishṇarâya's death, and the only irreconcilable point is that Hindu accounts specify the appointment in the first instance of Sadâśiva. But the weight of evidence is unfavourable to their accuracy, and Sadâśiva was probably made Râja by Râmarâja and his party in opposition to Achyutarâya. This will account for the uncertainty that prevails as to his connection with Krishṇarâya, as well as for his being taken, as some statements aver, from the family of the former Râjas. At the time of the demise of Krishṇarâya, the kingdom of the Carnatic had reached its zenith, and Achyutarâya who succeeded him in 1530 A. D. added to the empire by subjugating Tinnevelly and other places.

We shall next enquire in detail of the poetical merits of the *Achyuta-diggajas* (!), who formed the beacon-lights of the court of the Andhra-Bhôja. The foremost of them was, as we have already seen, **Allasâni Peddana.** He was a Nandavarîka Niyôgi Brâhmaṇ, the son of Chokkana. He was born in the village of Dôranâla, in Dupad taluk, in the Bellary District. He was, as we have already seen, the Laureate at the court of Krishṇadêvarâya. In his infancy he studied the Sanskrit and Telugu languages, and in due time obtained a critical knowledge of both these tongues, and was able to compose verses in either of them. His abilities procured him the situation of court poet to Nṛisiṁharâya, on which monarch he wrote several panegyrics. After his death, his son and successor, Krishṇarâya, patronized him, and appointed him as one of his *Ashṭa-diggajas.*

Peddana's Telugu poems are much esteemed for their harmony. He composed an elaborate work, entitled *Svarôchisha Manucharitra*, or more shortly *Manucharitra*, in four *âśvâsas.* The poem deals with the following subject. A religious Brâhmaṇ, Pravarâkhya, an inhabitant of Mayapuri, felt an ardent desire to visit the summit of the Himâlayas, and as it was impossible to proceed there by human ingenuity, he was anxious to satisfy his desire by some supernatural agency, and in consequence stopped every *sannyâsin* and traveller that he saw journeying thither, in order that he might obtain from them the secret, by which they were able to surmount all difficulties, and go to the mountain-top. He was in the habit of inviting these people to his house, and courteously to entertain them in hopes to obtain from them the secret. In this way there came a devotee to his abode, and as his manner was more than usually complaisant, the Brâhmaṇ strenuously besought him to furnish him with the means of proceeding to the summit of the Himâlayas. The devotee acceded to his entreaties, and gave him the juice of a plant, which he rubbed on his feet, and desired him to soar up into the ethereal regions, repeating the name of the goddess. Pravarâkhya immediately soared up into the skies, not for a moment thinking how he was to return home, and when the juice on his feet was dried up, he lost the power of flying, and roamed about the beautiful gardens on the mountain-summit. While he was thus strolling about, he heard certain soft sweet notes, and proceeding thither, saw a beautiful Gandharva damsel, went up to her, and besought her to direct him in the right track. As he was very comely, and the damsel had never before beheld a human being, she fell in love with him, but was resolved to behave with reserve, so that he might not discover her real sentiments. She, therefore, reprimanded him for entering her bower without her permission, and told him to find the road out as well as he could for himself. The Brâhmaṇ, discouraged at the harsh tone in which the damsel spoke, made a precipitate

retreat, and making his way to a neighbouring grove, performed intense devotion to the god of fire, who, it is said, appeared to him under the semblance of a Brâhmaṇ and conveyed him to his own lodgings. Meanwhile the Gandharvâ was inconsolable at his loss, having no idea that her behaviour to the Brâhmaṇ would have such a termination. She expressed her grief by dashing her head on the ground and rolling on the floor, and by various other deeds which shewed the poignancy of her affliction. A male Gandharva, in the interim, took the form of the Brâhmaṇ, came to her, and passing himself off for Pravarâkhya, enjoyed with her. She discovered the trick when too late, but resolved to be revenged. She became pregnant, and was in due time delivered, and the child waxed great, and became Svârôchisha-Manu, the sovereign of Jambudvîpa.

In the introduction to the poem, Peddana takes an opportunity of expatiating on the valour of Kṛishṇarâya and describing his victories over his enemies, and chiefly over those of the Muslim faith. The poet must have survived the king pobably by about five years and breathed his last about 1535 A. D. at his own residence at Doranala. The severe misfortune he experienced in the loss of his royal patron found a poetic expression in the very pathetic elegy he wrote on the occasion, in strains the more touching as they were really felt. The sorrow that he expressed was unfeigned on his part, as the munificence of his royal master, on many an occasion, created in the poet sentiments of the most fervent gratitude. The heir and successor of Kṛishṇarâya, Râmarâya, shewed great kindness to the poet, who commanded a world of reverence and love from the king, and would utter verses only when he willed, and not at the royal command. His works are disseminated in every province where the Telugu language is spoken and understood, and there are few poets who gained more popularity during their lifetime and have been more esteemed by posterity than Allasâni Peddana, **Tikkana** (the writer of the later fifteen *parvans* of the *Mahâbhârata* in Telugu) excepted.

One day, when the court was full of poets of all descriptions, Peddana poured forth an impromptu verse at the request of the sovereign and displayed his equal knowledge of Telugu and Sanskṛit languages and received marks of distinction from the king to the entire satisfaction of the people assembled, poets included. The poets had previously been contented with translations from the Sanskṛit and had never tried their hands at original Telugu compositions. As Peddana was the pioneer of that movement, he was called "the grandsire of Telugu Bards." He gathered materials from a scrap of the *Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇa*, and wrote an original poem, the first of its kind, — the *Svârôchisha Manucharitra*, and from his time to that of Râmarâjabhûshaṇa, the writer of the *Vasucharitra*, the poets one and all followed his footsteps.

He was treated more or less as a sort of feudatory prince, and was presented with a good many *agrahâras*, the chief of which was **Kôkata.** Though by birth a Smârta, he was a latitudinarian in religion. This is borne testimony to by the following inscription found in Col. Mackenzie's *Manuscript Collections :* — "Allasâni Peddana, a Brâhmaṇ, a Nandavarika, the son of Chokkarâjah. The village of Kôkata conferred on him by king Kṛishṇa Deva Roya, was given over by the poet to a certain number of Vaishnavas. The new appellation which the village received was Saṭagôpapura. In S. S. 1440, on the 15th day of the white fortnight of Vaisâkha (*i. e.*, full-moon day) of the year Bahudhânya, the poet raised a stone inscription in Sarvakâlêsvara Swami temple of the place, that he gave over land yielding two *puṭṭies* for purposes of daily oblations. The next year on the twelfth day (*dvâdasî*) of the white fortnight of Karttika, he gave land yielding four *puṭṭies* and a half to Channakesava Swami and raised an inscription to that effect . . . . After the time of Krishna Deva Roya, *i. e.*, during the time of Sadasiva Roya and Krishna Roya, and Mallu Ananta Roya of Nandyal, this Kôkata Agrahâra became the exclusive property of Brahmans."

It is said that Peddana has written a poem entitled *Harikathâsâra*, but we know of it only from fragments that have come down to us of the work in the *Raṅgarâṭchhandas* and other treatises on Rhetoric. He was the first to introduce a large influx of Muhammadan and other words of foreign origin into serious composition in Telugu, and more or less thoroughly

naturalised them. His contemporaries followed his footsteps in this direction also. A critic on his *Manucharitra* finds fault with him for having plagiarised from the *Naishadha* and *Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇa*. It is true that he has taken the plot of his poem from the *Svârôchisha Manusambhava* in the *Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇa*, and that he has imitated in certain methods of expression Mârana, the Telugu translator of the aforesaid *purâṇa*. From a study of Peddana's poem itself, also, numerous instances can be found, shewing that he had the greatest regard for **Śrînâtha** and his *Naishadha*, and that he, to a major extent, modelled his expression after the fashion of the *Naishadha*. Śrînâtha was the first to introduce long Sanskṛit *samâsas* into Telugu poetry, and there can be no gainsaying that Peddana stuffed his poem, the fourth *âśvâsa* excepted, with long-tailed Sanskṛit *samâsas*, the result of a careful study of the work of Śrînâtha. We have no reason, however, on this account, I think, to find fault with Peddana, and charge him with plagiarism. Indeed, the system of borrowing expressions from the older poets is in vogue down to the present day. There are certain stories current of Tenâli Râmakṛishṇa finding fault with Peddana for certain stanzas of his, but such stories are far from being credible, considering the times in which both of them flourished, and the reputation the latter enjoyed in and out of the king's court and the way in which he put poetical queries to people who visited the place to receive royal presents.

The poet next in importance was **Nandi Timmana**. He was a Niyôgi Brâhmaṇa of the Âpastamba *sûtra*, Kauśika *gôtra*, and the son of Nandi Siṅgana and Timmâmbâ. He was a pure Śaiva and the disciple of Aghôraguru. He was the nephew of Malayamâruta, the writer of the *Varâha Purâṇa*. He was a native of the village called Gannavara. He composed a work called the *Pârijâtâpaharaṇa*, in which is recorded the story of Śrî Kṛishṇa procuring the *pârijâta* flower from the garden of Indra through the sage Nârada, for his consort Rukmiṇî. The poem consists of three *âśvâsas* written in a smooth, elegant style, and the images and similes are very bold and striking.

There is a curious story current regarding the circumstances under which the poem was written. It is said that on a certain night after supper the king held court till midnight, and then retired to bed. His wife who remained a long while conversing with her female friends, waiting for her husband, at last retired to bed as it was very late. Her female friends then covered her with a sheet and went their own ways. Kṛishṇarâya then entered the room, and reclined on his bed. Not long after his wife's feet came in contact with his ears. The king immediately rose, surveyed the room, saw the sleeping posture of his spouse, and, bitter with rage, stood pondering thus within himself: — "How hard-hearted are women? Perhaps she was angry with me for having delayed so long. It does not matter much if she is angry, but she has tried to insult me. She will not do so in future, if I punish her now." Grinding his teeth, he resolved to punish her very severely, and went and slept in a different room. The queen heard of what had transpired from her maid-servants, was sore afraid, and remained disconsolate. Nandi Timmana, the poet who accompanied her from her father's household, understood that something was wrong from her face, approached her in secret, and requested her to inform him of what troubled her. She replied that her very life would be at stake if the secrets of the seraglio got abroad, that she would have to suffer according to her past *karma*, and that he need not trouble himself about her trouble. He assured her that he would keep her secret, and devise means for an amicable settlement, and that he was of no use to her if he could not render such trifling help, being an intimate friend of her father. The queen then informed him of what had happened, sobbing from very heaviness of heart. The poet consoled her, assured her that within a week everything would go on smoothly, and that her husband would pardon her. He then went home and thought seriously of the difficulty of his undertaking, prayed to his deity, and came to a resolve that he would write a poem in which he would incidentally give full expression as to what he had undertaken to do and thus bring the king over to his side. He, therefore, took the story of Pârijâtâpaharaṇa, and composed a poem on the subject, and accomplished his object in the very first *âśvâsa*. He then finished the

poem and informed the king, who, on an auspicious occasion, ordered Timmana to read his poem. In the course of the reading, Timmana narrated how Nârada, on a visit to Śrî Kṛishṇa, gave him a *pârijâta* flower, which was given over by the latter to Rukmiṇî, how Satyabhâma, another wife of Śrî Kṛishṇa, became enraged at it, and abused Śrî Kṛishṇa for his partiality, how she kicked him on the forehead with her left leg, how the latter tried to console the former instead of feeling angry with her, and so on. This immediately recalled to the king's mind his quarrel with the queen. He became very sorry for his past conduct, and desired to effect a compromise with his spouse. The poet understanding the accomplishment of his object from the expression of the king's face, was right glad, and, at the special request of the king, continued his poem. After the court was dispersed, the king went and lived happily with his queen. The matter was communicated very confidentially to the poet by the queen next morning, who, when he heard it, was exceedingly glad.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. F. D'PENHA.

No. 21. — The Louse and the Rat.

A New Cumulative Rhyme.

A LOUSE was once going to seek, as she said, *pôṭ bharun khâvâ pivâlâ ani âng bharun kaprâ*, a bellyful of food and clothes to cover her body. As she was trudging on slowly she was met by a dog, who said :— " *Vu bâi, Vu bâi, kaṅha go zâtê ?* Sister louse, sister louse, where are you going ? "

The louse answered :— " *Zâtaiṁ zavâr milêl pôṭ bharun khâvâ pivâlâ ani âng bharun kaprâ*, I am going where I can get a bellyful of food and clothes to cover my body."

Upon this the dog said :— " *Chal mânje sangâti*, Come with me."

But the louse said : — " *Kôn êl tuje sangâti ? Tulâ koni mârlaṁ kelaṁ mhanje tum bhu bhu bhu bhu karśil ani palśil; mangaṁ mi kavâr zâuṅ ?* Who will come with you ? Should any one beat you, you will cry ' bow bow wow wow ' and run away ; where shall I go to then ?"

So saying the louse resumed her slow walk, and as she walked and walked and walked, she came across a cat who said to her : — " *Vu bâi, Vu bâi, kaṅha go zâte ?* Sister louse, sister louse, where are you going ? "

And the louse answered :— " *Zâtaiṁ zavâr milêl pôṭ bharun khâvâ pivâlâ ani âng bharun kaprâ*, I am going where I can get a bellyful of food and clothes to cover my body."

Hearing this the cat said :— " *Chal mânje sangâti*, Come with me."

Whereupon the louse replied : — " *Kôn êl tuje sangâti ? Tulâ koni mârlaṁ kelaṁ mhanje tum mew mew karśil ani palśil ; mangaṁ mi kavâr zâuṅ ?* Who will come with you ? Should any one beat you, you will cry 'mew mew' and run away, where shall I go to then ? "

Having thus spoken she went her way, and again she walked and walked and walked. On her way she met many animals who all asked her where she was going, and who, on being told of her errand, asked her to go with them, but she refused every offer. At last, as she was still walking and walking, she came upon a rat, who asked her : — " *Vu bâi, Vu bâi, kaṅha go zâte ?* Sister louse, sister louse, where are you going ?"

The louse answered : — " *Zâtaiṁ zavâr milêl pôṭ bharun khâvâ pivâlâ ani âng bharun kaprâ*, I am going where I can get a bellyful of food and clothes to cover my body."

The rat hearing this said : — " *Chal mânje sangâti*, Come with me."

Now the louse knew that a rat must be living comfortably, with plenty of food to eat and clothes to wear. So she accepted the rat's offer and went into a hole in which the rat dwelt.

There, as she had anticipated, the louse found plenty of all things — food as well as clothes, — and lived happily for some time.

One day the louse said she would make *âṭṭolaṁ*[1] if the rat would fetch some rice and spices and jaggree. The rat went about and soon brought what was necessary from shops and elsewhere, and handed it to the louse, who set about making the *âṭṭolaṁ*. As the *âṭṭolaṁ* was cooking, the rate smelt a fine savour, which made him restless as to when it would be ready, so that he might eat it. The louse, who observed the restlessness of the rat, and knew well the greedy propensities of that animal, warned him not to peep into the pot, as he might possibly fall inside. Having thus warned the rat, the louse went to fetch water. As the *âṭṭolaṁ* became more and more savoury in the course of the cooking, the rat became more and more restless, so restless that he could restrain himself no longer, and, disregarding the warning of the louse, got up on the oven to have a look at the *âṭṭolaṁ*, but down he fell in the pot and died.

When the louse returned with water she missed the rat, and easily guessed that he had not heeded to her warning: and right enough, on looking, she found him dead in the pot in which the *âṭṭolaṁ* was being cooked. But what was to be done now? She threw away the *âṭṭolaṁ*, dug a hole near a hedge, and buried the rat. In digging the hole, some of the roots of the trees that formed the hedge were cut up, and consequently the trees became somewhat shaky.

Now it happened that a *baglâ* (a crane) was in the habit of every day coming and taking his stand on one of the trees. For many a day the crane had found the tree steady, and was, therefore, surprised when it shook as he alighted on it, and thought to himself: — "*Kâl mi iâ zhârâvar baisluṁ te eṁ zhâr hâlat nôtaṁ, âz baisluṁ te zhâr hâltei*, Yesterday when I sat upon this tree it did not shake, but to-day as I sat down it shook." So he asked the tree for the reason of it.

The tree replied:— "*Undîr mâmâ mele te oiche faṭṭi gârile, oi reli mulâṁ vin, ani baglaṁ relaṁ pinsâṁ vin*, Uncle rat died and was buried at the side of the hedge, so the hedge became rootless, and the crane became featherless."

Upon hearing this, "*gal gal gal gal*" the crane dropped all his feathers and flew away and alighted upon a banyan tree. The banyan tree which had often seen the crane before with his feathers on, now began to wonder at seeing him featherless, and began to think within itself: — "*Kâl eṁ baglaṁ âilaṁ te tiâlâ pinsaṁ hotiṁ, âz âilaṁ te tiâlâ pinsaṁ nai*, Yesterday when this crane came he had feathers, to-day he has come, but he has no feathers" — and the tree asked the crane for the reason of it.

Said the crane: — "*Undir mâmâ mele te oiche faṭṭi gârile, oi reli mulâṁ vin, baglaṁ relaṁ pinsaṁ vin, ani vôr relâ pânâṁ vin*, Uncle rat died and was buried at the side of the hedge, so the hedge became rootless, the crane became featherless, and the banyan tree became leafless."

Upon this "*khal khal khal khal*" fell off all the leaves of the banyan tree. Now a horse, that was in the habit of grazing in that part of the forest, often took protection from the rays of the sun under that tree, and was quite surprised to see the tree leafless. The horse began to think over the matter, and thought within itself: — "*Kâl âilum te iâ vôrâlâ pânaṁ hotiṁ, âz âiluṁ ani bagitaiṁ te pânaṁ nai*, Yesterday when I came I saw that the tree had leaves, to-day when I come I see that there are no leaves upon it." So he asked the tree for the reason of it.

The tree replied: — "*Undir mâmâ mele te oiche faṭṭi gârile, oi reli mulaṁ vin, baglaṁ relaṁ pinsâṁ vin, vôr rela pânâṁ vin, ani ghorâ relâ kânâṁ vin*, Uncle rat died and was buried at the side of the hedge, so the hedge became rootless, the crane became featherless, the banyan tree became leafless, and the horse became earless."

1 This is a sort of gruel, prepared out of new rice, with the addition of jaggree and some ingredients such as cardamoms to sweeten and lend flavour to it. Almost every Bombay East Indian family makes *âṭṭolaṁ* on All Souls' Day.

As soon as the horse heard this, he dropped his ears! Having done this, the horse went, as was his wont, to a tank close by to drink water. When the tank saw the horse without his ears, it began to wonder, and to think thus: — "*Kâl o ghorâ âilâ te tiâlâ kân hote, âz âilâi te tiâlâ kân nai,* Yesterday when this horse came he had ears, to-day he has come but he has no ears" — and the tank asked the horse for the reason of it.

And the horse replied: — "*Undir mâmâ mele te oiche faṭṭi gârile, oi reli mulâṁ vin, baglaṁ relaṁ pinsâṁ vin, vôr relâ pânâṁ vin, ghorâ relâ kânâṁ vin, ani talaṁ relaṁ pâniâ vin,* Uncle rat died and was buried at the side of the hedge, so the hedge became rootless, the crane became featherless, the banyan tree became leafless, the horse became earless, and the tank became waterless (dried up)."

Scarcely had the horse finished his tale, when the water in the tank dried up. An old groom, who drew his daily water-supply from the tank, came to fetch water, and was surprised to see all the water dried up. Thought he to himself: — "*Kâl âiluṁ te talaṁ bharlelaṁ hôtaṁ, âz bagitaiṁ te suklaiṁ,* Yesterday when I came the tank was full, and to-day I see that it has dried up" — and the groom asked the tank for the reason of it.

The tank replied: — "*Undir mâmâ mele te oiche faṭṭi gârile, oi reli mulâṁ vin, baglaṁ relaṁ pinsâṁ vin, vôr relâ pânâṁ vin, ghorâ relâ kânâṁ vin, talaṁ relaṁ pâniâ vin, ani ghorewâllâ relâ sosâ vin,* Uncle rat died and was buried at the side of the hedge, so the hedge became rootless, the crane became featherless, the banyan tree became leafless, the horse became earless the tank dried up, and the groom must remain without quenching his thirst."

When the old groom heard this story, he was so overcome with grief that he dashed his head against a stone on the edge of the tank, and then, wonder of wonders! the tank immediately filled with water, the horse got back his ears, the banyan tree its leaves, the crane his feathers, and the hedge its roots!

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON MARATHA FOLKLORE.

WHEN a Marâṭhâ gets up in the morning, he will not allow the first sight to be the face of a widow. If he so sees one accidently, that day is supposed to pass not without much friction. To see the face of a baby or child early in the morning, is considered to be very lucky. Some people, as soon as they awake, take the name of God, and then look at the palms of both hands. The finger ends are supposed to be the seat of Lakśimî (Goddess of Wealth), the palm that of Sarasvatî (Goddess of Learning), and the wrist is supposed to be the seat of the Almighty. Some repeat some ennobling poems for an hour or so. After washing their mouths in the morning they utter the twelve names of Arjun — the beloved of Śrî Kṛishṇa. The name of that great hero of the Pauranic Age is supposed to do away with all calamities, and to lead to success. Then they utter the names of the five virtuous, much eulogised, women — Ahilyâ, Draupatî, Sîtâ, Târâ and Mandôdarî. Their names are supposed to have the power of expiating all sin.

A man going on an important business will not allow the first sight to be the face of a widow. But if he accidently does so, the object looked for will not be attained. On stepping out of the house, if he first sees a virgin or a woman coming towards him with a pot full of water, it is considered to be very auspicious. The simplest rule — as it obtains among the Marâṭhâs — is to take the name of God and then go to work.

Whenever any one writes a letter or any other important paper he puts on a turban or a cap on his head. Mourners write such things bareheaded.

Unwelcome or shocking news is not given to a man while he is taking his meals. The object of this is not to disturb the feelings of anybody while he is taking his meals. Letters are not read while a meal is being taken.

Men in mourning do not put on their turbans. They tie a *dhôtî* round the head. Females in mourning do not apply *kunkum* (a vermilion spot, the sign of wifehood) to the forehead. They neither put on their ornaments, nor comb their hair, as long as the mourning lasts. Toilet is strictly prohibited in mourning. Sweetmeats are not taken nor holidays are observed, out of respect to the memory of the deceased. When a

man dies, his friends and relatives go to his house and console the members of the family. They allude to the virtues and keen intellect of the departed, and then say that they were very much aggrieved when they heard the news. The feelings of the family, especially women, being touched, they begin to cry. They are then told that the world is all *mâyâ* or illusion. It is just like a *bâzâr*, where we come for business and then depart. Death is sure to overtake every body and what happens is through the will of God. No marriages or other festivities take place in the house of mourning for at least six months. The family is even prohibited from cooking rich dishes. If the neighbours, especially women, see that they do so, they murmur and taunt the family with having no respect to the memory of the deceased. If a father or mother dies, the eldest son abstains from going to parties or other entertainments at his friends or other relatives. He sleeps on a hard bed, and does not put on shoes for a year. Lamps, drinking pots, *dhôtîs*, bedding and other clothes are given in charity. It is said that the soul of the dead requires a year to go to heaven.

On the tenth day after the death of a person, his relatives go to a river and make small balls of rice, which, after some ceremonies, are thrown to crows to eat. If the crows do not come, they say that some desire of the deceased remains unfulfilled. Judging from the character and wishes of the dead, they guess what these may be. They then express every likely desire one by one, and call on the crows to eat the balls. When a crow touches a ball, the desire named at the time is considered to be unfulfilled. They guarantee to fulfil that desire themselves, and then leave the place for home. Two days after they give a sumptuous banquet to their caste-fellows in the name of the dead.

If the father or mother of a person dies within six or eight months of the date of his marriage, the bride is considered to be unlucky. They say that the family did not fare well on account of her coming to their house. But if the family gains some pecuniary ends during the said period, they attribute that incident to her presence.

Among Marâṭhâs, the husband and wife never address each other by their names. Life is supposed to be shortened if they so address each other. This supposition, I believe, has grown out of the modesty peculiar to the Marâṭhâ society.[1]

A Brâhmaṇ will not drink water or eat anything, when his sacred thread is broken asunder. A married woman will not go out of the house unless there is *kunku* (sign of wifehood) on her forehead. She will not drink water if the *mangal sûtra* (small beads of glass with golden beads in the middle threaded together and tied by the husband round the neck of his wife at the time of marriage) is broken asunder.

The mother of the bridegroom is very much respected and honoured by that of the bride. The latter has, on one occasion in the marriage ceremony, to wash the feet of the former.

When the bride comes to the house of her husband, a new name is given her. The bride is then introduced to the friends and relatives of her husband. The couple have to go to the shrines of their family gods. The *Śâstras* enjoin that, whenever a man makes a pilgrimage to any holy place, he should be accompanied by his wife. If he disregards this injunction, his act is not considered to be meritorious. At sacred places, — especially at Banâras — they vow not to eat for the rest of their lives certain vegetables and fruit.

On the fifth day of the birth of a child the goddess Satî is supposed to write the future career of the child on its forehead. The goddess is therefore worshipped and invoked to make the future of the child as brilliant and successful as possible. On the twelfth day, a name is given to the child, and sugar distributed amongst friends and relatives.

A mother, while applying lampblack to the eyes of her child, applies the same a little to its cheek. The object of this peculiar act is that the child should not suffer from the glance of the Evil Eye. When a child cries too much the mother attributes it to the effect of the Evil Eye. She then takes a little salt and chillies and removes (by uttering certain charms) the blast of the Evil Eye.

A widow wears a red, yellow or orange-coloured sâṛî. She is prohibited from wearing black or semi-black coloured *sâṛîs*, and from putting on ornaments or jewels on her person. The object of such a prohibition seems to be that she should not make herself attractive by putting on ornaments, or rich and fancy clothes. Child-widows keep their hair, put on ornaments, and wear any *sâṛîs* they like. The father or mother see to this, that being the only kindness which they can shew to their beloved child.

Sâṛîs worn at night are considered unclean, and are not touched so long as the morning meal is not over.

Women generally worship the *tulasî* (a sacred plant) and Rangunâth (the idol of Śrî Kṛishṇa).

[1] [It is, however, a custom common to all India.—ED.]

In the morning they bathe, change their *sâṛîs*, and, before eating anything, attend to the worship. They pray and implore for the longevity and welfare of their husbands. A virgin prays for a virtuous and good husband. In the evening, males as well as females go to temples.

In *chatur masya* (*i. e.*, four months in a year) *Purâṇas* are everywhere read, and *Kirtanas* (religious lectures accompanied by singing) celebrated. A woman generally takes up some *vrata*, *i. e.*, she vows to give daily some article of food in charity; to supply some articles of worship to a temple; to abstain from eating some articles of food during the said period. She chooses such *vrata* as the means of her husband will permit or as will be compatible with her health. Some women make it a rule throughout life to utter the name of Râm before eating anything. When anybody commits sin inadvertently, or hears any horrible news, he says:— "विष्णवेनम:" (we bow to the God Vishṇu).

The bride and bridegroom tie to the hand of each other a *kankan*, which is a sign of the life-long bonds of union. They have also to walk seven steps together and utter some *mantras* to the effect that mutual love should be genuine and that they should contribute to the welfare of each other.

A pregnant woman is very sumptuously fed, and all her desires are attended to. Clothes of her liking are also supplied her. Her desires and likings are supposed to have effect on that of her child. If any of her desires be thwarted, the child will subsequently hanker after the desired object.

A woman is called the "Lakshmî of the house." If a husband unnecessarily abuses his wife the Goddess of Wealth (Lakshmî) will not smile on him. On the contrary he will be cursed and destined to drag a miserable existence.

Before going to stay in a newly-built house, a religious ceremony is performed. The object of this ceremony is two-fold: to pacify the evil spirit if the house is haunted by one, and to pray that the new house should be propitious to the family.

If a crow enters a house, it is considered to be polluted, and a religious ceremony is prescribed for its purification. It is a great sin, in the eyes of a Marâṭhâ, to see a couple of crows sitting together. If anybody kills a cat, the penance for his sin is to go on a pilgrimage to Banâras. To hear the hooting of an owl is considered to portend evil.

At the time of bathing, a Marâṭhâ invokes the rivers Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ, Godâvarî, Narbûdâ and other Tirthâs to come to his bathing water and to expiate his sins.

The morning and the evening times are considered to be sacred, and everybody tries then to speak truth and to avoid bad language.

Y. S. Vavikar.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CYPAYE AND BAILLARDERE.

Here are two extracts from the *Journal* of M. Flouest, 1782-6, in Burma, which by the way is full of valuable Indo-European expressions, giving new forms, not to be found in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, for two well-known words:—

Sepoy.

"Je reçus (le 7 Janvier, 1785) les ordres de ce général de partir le 12 pour l'établissement de Karikal, d'embarquer le mât de pavilion, l'artillerie, les vivres et 400 cypayes commandés par M. Hobillard avec dix officiers passagers."— *T'oung Pao*, Vol. I. p. 204.

Bayadère.

(Bayadère is not a real Indo-Europeanism, but a Franco-Portuguese term.)

"Lorsque tout est préparé, orné et décoré avec art, ils donnent un festin, font jouer la comedie, ensuite ils donnent un bal ou figurent les Baillardères . . . . Femmes qui sont appelées a toutes les ceremonies pour danser."— *T'oung Pao*, Vol. II. p. 15.

R. C. Temple.

MARATHA MARRIAGES IN HIGH LIFE— SUDRA CASTE — BRIDEGROOM'S PROCESSION.

On his way to the bride's house, the bridegroom stops at the Mârutî (temple of Hanumân) to rest and make his devotion. Every village in Western India possesses one. The Gâyakwâṛs of Baṛôdâ halt at Râjrajêśwar, a well known temple to Mahâdêva in Baṛôdâ, containing also a shrine to Mârutî (Hanumân, the monkey-god). A brother or some very near relative of the bridegroom precedes him, carrying in procession to the bride jewellery, a *sâṛî* (robe), and a *chôlî* (bodice). On arrival he is feasted, but returns in time to meet the bridegroom with people from the Mârutî to invest him with the *pôshak* (dress of honor). The whole cavalcade then proceeds to the bride's house, so as to reach it at the appointed hour, the bridegroom being mounted on a charger or an elephant.

The Late B. V. Shastri in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARDT.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,

by G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 232.)

PARADIGMS.

202. 1st Declension (Masculine, *a* base).

چور *tsûr*, thief, Oblique base چور *tsûra.*

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	چور *tsûr*, the thief, اک چوره *ak tsûrah*, a thief... ...	چوز *tsûr*
Voc.	چورا *tsûrâ* or چوره *tsûrạ*, O thief!	چورو *tsûrau*
Acc.	چور *tsûr*, a thief	چور *tsûr*
Instr.	چورن *tsûran*, by a thief	چورو *tsûrau*
Dat.	چورس *tsûras*, to a thief	چورن *tsûran*
Abl.	چورس [گره] نشه *tsûras* [*garạ*] *nishạ*, from a thief ...	چورو نشه *tsûrau nishạ*
Gen.	چوره سنده *tsûrạ sond*, etc. (see §§ 198 and 206),[74] a thief's.	چورن هنده *tsûran hond*, etc.[74]
Loc.	چورس منز *tsûras manz*, in a thief	چورن منز *tsûran manz*

Example of a noun of action. — دین *diun*, to give; Nom. acc. دین *diun*; Dat. دنس *dinas*, etc.

203. 2nd Declension (Masculine, *i* base).

کل *kul*, tree, Oblique base کل *kuli.*

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	کل *kul*, the tree, کله *kulah*, a tree	کل *kuli*
Voc.	کلیا *kulyâ* or کلہ *kuli*, O tree!	کلیو *kulyau*
Acc.	کل *kul*, a tree	کل *kuli*
Instr.	کل *kuli*, by a tree...	کلیو *kulyau*
Dat.	کلس *kulis*, to a tree	کلن *kulen*
Abl.	کله [گرس] نشه *kuli* [*guris*] *nishạ*, from a tree	کلیو نشه *kulyau nishạ*
Gen.	کلیک *kuly-uk*, etc. (see §§ 198 and 206), of a tree ...	کلن هنده *kulen hond*
Loc.	کلس منز *kulis manz*, in a tree	کلن منز *kulen manz*

[74] The Genitive will be dealt with separately, hereafter.

204. 3rd Declension (Feminine, *i* base).

کُور *kûr*, a daughter, Oblique base کورِ *kôri*.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	کُور *kûr*, the daughter, کورہ *kôrah*, a daughter... ...	کورہ *kôri*
Voc.	کوری *kôri* or کورہ *kôri*, O daughter!	کوریو *kôryau*
Acc.	کُور *kûr*, a daughter	کورہ *kôri*
Instr.	کورہ *kôri*, by a daughter...	کوریو *kôryau*
Dat.	کورہ *kôri*, to a daughter	کورن *kôren*[75]
Abl.	کورہ نشہ *kôri nisha*, from a daughter	کوریو نشہ *kôryau nisha*[75]
Gen.	کورہ ہند *kôri hond*, etc. (see §§ 198 and 206), of a daughter.	کورن ہند *kôren hond*,[75] etc.
Loc.	کورہ منز *kôri manz*, in a daughter	کورن منز *kôren manz*[75]

[This Hindû grammarian Îśvara-kaula, in his *Kaśmîra-śabdâmṛita*, makes the oblique base of the dative, genitive and locative singular, and the nominative and accusative plural, in this declension, end in *e* not *i*. Thus *kôre hond, kôre manz, kôre, kôre*. This does not apply to the instrumental or ablative singular. This refinement of pronunciation does not seem to prevail amongst Musalmâns.]

205. 4th Declension (Feminine, *i* and *a* base).

گاڈ *gâḍ*, a fish, Oblique bases, گاڈِ *gâḍi* (sg.), گاڈَ *gâḍa* (pl.).

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	گاڈ *gâḍ* the fish, گاڈہ *gâḍah*, a fish	گاڈہ *gâḍa*
Voc.	گاڈی *gâḍi*, or گاڈہ *gâḍi*, O fish!	گاڈو *gâḍau*
Acc.	گاڈ *gâḍ*, a fish	گاڈہ *gâḍa*
Instr.	گاڈہ *gâḍi*, by the fish	گاڈو *gâḍau*
Dat.	گاڈہ *gâḍi*, to the fish	گاڈن *gâḍan*
Abl.	گاڈہ نشہ *gâḍi nisha*, from the fish	گاڈو نشہ *gâḍau nisha*
Gen.	گاڈہ ہند *gâḍi hond*, etc. (see §§ 198 and 206), of a fish..	گاڈن ہند *gâḍan hond*
Loc.	گاڈہ منز *gâḍi manz*, in a fish	گاڈن منز *gâḍan manz*

[75] On account of the frequent interchange of َ *a* and ِ *i*, we find, side by side in Np., forms like اچھِو *achhiu* and اچھَو *achhau*, from اَچھ *achh*, the eye (*cf.* the 1st Declension). [The correct form is اچھیو *achhyau*.]

206. The Genitive of the four Declensions.

There are four possible cases in each instance: —

(a) When the governing noun is in the masculine singular.
(b) When it is in the feminine singular.
(c) When it is in the masculine plural.
(d) When it is in the feminine plural.

Thus: —

1st Declension.
[Animate Noun.]
Singular.

(a)	سُند ...	چوٗرٕ *tsûra* ...	*sond* ...	of the thief
(b)	سَنز ...		*sanz* ...	
(c)	سَند ...		*sandi* ...	
(d)	سَنزٕ ...		*sanza* ...	

Plural.

(a)	هُند ...	چوٗرَن *tsûran* ...	*hond* ...	of the thieves
(b)	هَنز ...		*hanz* ...	
(c)	هَند ...		*handi* ...	
(d)	هَنزٕ ...		*hanzî* ...	

[An example of the case of an inanimate noun of this declension is *mûl-uk, mûlach, mûlachî, mûlache,* of a root; plural, *mûlan hond*, etc.]

2nd Declension.
[Inanimate Noun.]
Singular.

(a)	یُک ...	کُل *kul* ...	*yuk* ...	of the tree
(b)	چ ...		*ich* ...	
(c)	ک ...		*iki* ...	
(d)	چھ ...		*ichi* (*iche*).	

Plural.

(a)	هُند ...	کُلن *kulen* ...	*hond* ...	of the trees
(b)	هَنز ...		*hanz* ...	
(c)	هَند ...		*handi* ...	
(d)	هَنزٕ ...		*hanza* ...	

[An example of an animate noun of this declension is *guri sond,* etc., of a horse; plural, *guren hand,* etc.]

3rd Declension.

[Animate or Inanimate.]

Singular.

(a) هُند ...	کورِہ *kôri* ...	... *hond* ...	of the daughter
(b) هَنز ...		*haṇz* ...	
(c) هَندِ ...		*haṇd*^{i} ...	
(d) هَنزَہ ...		*hanzạ* ...	

Plural.

(a) هُند ...	کورِن *kôren* ...	... *hond* ...	of the daughters
(b) هَنز ...		*haṇz* ..	
(c) هَندِ ...		*haṇdi* ...	
(d) هَنزَہ ...		*hanzạ* ...	

4th Declension.

[Animate or Inanimate.]

Singular.

(a) هُند ...	گاڈِہ *gâḍi* ...	... *hond* ...	of the fish
(b) هَنز ...		*haṇz* ...	
(c) هَندِ ...		*haṇdi* ...	
(d) هَنزَہ ...		*hanzạ* ...	

Plural.

(a) هُند ...	گاڈَن *gâḍan* ...	... *hond* ...	of the fishes
(b) هَنز ...		*haṇz* ...	
(c) هَندِ ...		*haṇdi* ...	
(d) هَنزَہ ...		*hanzạ* ...	

207. The following are examples of the use of the Genitive : —

(1) *Governing noun, and noun in Genitive, both masculine :* —

خداوند ...	سُند ...	نوکرہ	*naukarạ* ... *sond* ...	*khudâwand*	the master of the servant
	سُندِ ...		*sạnd^{i}* ...		the masters of the servant
	هُند ...	نوکرن	*naukaran* *hond* ...		the master of the servants
	هندِ ...		*hạnd^{i}* ...		the masters of the servants

(2) *Governing noun, feminine ; and masculine noun in Genitive :* —

سنز کتاب ...	نوکرہ	*naukarạ* ... *sạnz kitâb*	... the book of the servant
سنزہ کتابہ ...		*sanzạ kitâbạ*	... the books of the servants
هنز کتاب ...	نوکرن	*naukaran* ... *hạnz kitâb*	... the book of the servants
هنزہ کتابہ ...		*hanzạ kitâbạ*	... the books of the servants

(3) *Governing noun, masculine ; and feminine noun in Genitive :*—

نوکر ...	هُند ...	کورِ	*kôri* ... *hond* ...	*naukar*	the servant of the daughter
	هندِ ...		*hạnd^{i}* ...		the servants of the daughter
	هُند ...	کورن	*kôren* ... *hond* ...		the servant of the daughters
	هندِ ...		*hạnd^{i}* ...		the servants of the daughter

(4) *Governing noun, and noun in Genitive, both feminine :* —

هنز کتاب ...	کورِ	*kôri* ... *hạnz kitâb*	... the book of the daughter
هنزہ کتابہ ...		*hanzạ kitâbạ*	:.. the books of the daughter
هنز کتاب ...	کورن	*kôren* ... *hạnz kitâb*	... the book of the daughters
هنزہ کتابہ ...		*hanzạ kitâbạ*	... the books of the daughters

The governing noun has often to be understood ; *e. g.*, ای کاش چھ زانھک تمہ کتھہ یمہ چانہ سلامتی هنزہ چھہ *ai kâsh tsạ zânahak timạ kathạ yimạ chấni salâmatĩ hanzạ chhe* (sg. کتھہ *kathạ*), if thou hadst known the things which belong unto thy peace (Luke, xix. 42).

208. Declension of the words سُند *sond*, etc., which indicate the genitive. The masculine forms are declined according to the second, and the feminine forms according to the third declension.

		(*a*)	(*b*)
2nd Declension. Governing noun in singular, masculine.	Nom....	... ... سُند *sond*...	... ... هُند *hond*
	Voc. ...	... ... سندہ *sandi*...	... ... هندہ *handi*
	Acc. ...	... ... سُند *sond*...	... ... هُند *hond*
	Instr.	... ... سند *sạnd^{i}*	... ... هند *hạnd^{i}*
	Dat. ...	... ...سندِس *sandis*	... ...هندِس *handis*
	Abl. ...	... ... سندہ *sandi*	... ... هندہ *handi*
	Gen. ...	... ...سندِس *sandis*	... ...هندِس *handis*
	Loc. ...	... ... سندِس *sandis*	... ...هندِس *handis*
3rd Declension. Governing noun in singular, feminine.	Nom....	... ... سنز *sạnz*...	... ... هنز *hạnz*
	Voc....	... ... سنزہ *sanzi*	... ... هنزہ *hanzi*
	Acc....	... ... سنز *sạnz*...	... ... هنز *hạnz*
	Instr.	... ... سنزہ *sanzi*	... ... هنزہ *hanzi*
	Dat. ...	... ... سنزہ *sanzi*	... ... Do.
	Abl. ...	... ... سنزہ *sanzi*	... ... Do.
	Gen. ...	... ... سنزہ *sanzi*	... ... Do.
	Loc. ...	... ... سنزہ *sanzi*	... ... Do.
2nd Declension. Governing noun in plural, masculine.	Nom.	... ... سند *sạndi*	... ... هند *hạndi*
	Voc. ...	... ...سندیو *sandyau*	... ...هندیو *handyau*
	Acc. ...	... ... سند *sạndi*	... ... هند *hạndi*
	Instr.	... ... سندیو *sandyau*	... ... هندیو *handyau*
	Dat. ...	... ... سندن *sanden*	... ... هندن *handen*
	Abl. ...	... ... سندیو *sandyau*	... ... هندیو *handyau*
	Gen....	... ... سندن *sanden*	... ... هندن *handen*
	Loc....	... ... سندن *sanden*	... ... هندن *handen*

3rd Declension. Governing noun in plural, feminine.

	(a)	(b)
Nom.	سنزہ sanzạ	ھنزہ hanzạ
Voc.	سنزو sanzau[76]	ھنزو hanzau[76]
Acc.	سنزہ sanzạ	ھنزہ hanzạ
Instr.	سنزو sanzau[76]	ھنزو hanzau[76]
Dat.	سنزن sanzan[76]	ھنزن hanzan[76]
Abl.	سنزو sanzau	ھنزو hanzau
Gen.	سنزن sanzan	ھنزن hanzan
Loc.	سنزن sanzan	ھنزن hanzan

Note.—Before prepositions (post-positions) which are properly substantives (such as سببہ *sababạ*, by the reason, *i. e.*, on account of; مارفتہ *mārifatạ*, by the means of, *i. e.*, through; خاطرہ *khōtrạ*, with the intention (*i. e.*, for), before the word کھتہ *khotạ*, than, used with a comparative, and before adjectives in ک ـــ *uk*, used for the genitive, the genitive always takes the form in ہ ـــ *i*; thus, سندہ *sandi*, ھندہ *handi*, سنزہ *sanzi*, ھنزہ *hanzi*. I also find therein, a vocative ھندو *handô* instead of ھندیو *handyô*.

[A genitive in *uk* is thus declined. Only the principal parts are given.

First Declension.

Singular.

Nom. ...	گرک *garuk*	گرچ *garạch*, of a house
Instr. ...	گرک *garạki*	گرچہ *garachi*
Dat. ...	گرکس *garakis*	گرچہ *garachi*
Abl. ...	گرکہ *garaki*	گرچہ *garachi*

Plural.

Nom. ...	گرکی *garạki*	گرچہ *garachi*
Instr. ...	گرکیو *garakyau*	گرچیو *garachyau*
Dat. ...	گرکن *garaken*	گرچن *garachen*

[76] [In the 3rd declension, in the plural, *i* becomes *ạ*, *yau au*, and *en an*, after *z*.]

2nd Declension.

Singular.

	Masculine.		Feminine.
Nom. ...	کُلیُک *kulyuk*	... ...	کُلِچ *kulich*, of a tree
Instr. ...	کُلِک *kulikⁱ*	... ...	کُلِچہ *kulichi*
Dat. ...	کُلِکِس *kulikis*	... ...	کُلِچہ *kulichi*
Abl. ...	کُلِکہ *kulikĕ*	... ...	کُلِچہ *kulichĕ*

Plural.

	Masculine.		Feminine.
Nom. ...	کُلِک *kulikⁱ*	... ...	کُلِچہ *kulichĕ*
Instr. ...	کُلِکیَو *kulikyau*	... ...	کُلِچیَو *kulichyau*
Dat. ...	کُلِکَن *kuliken*	... ...	کُلِچَن *kulichen*

So also Genitives in *un*.

Thus (first Declension).

Nom.	رامُن *rāmun* ...	... ...	رامَن *rāmaṇ*, of Rāma
Instr. ...	رامَن *ramaṇⁱ*	... ...	رامَنہ *rāmaṇĕ*

and so on.

Again, Genitives in *uv*.

Third Declension.

Nom. ...	ہَچیُو *hachyuv*	... ...	ہَچِو *hachiv*
Instr. ...	ہَچِو *hachivⁱ*	... ...	ہَچِوہ *hachivĕ*

and so on.]

On adjectives agreeing with a Genitive; On Genitives dependent on a Genitive; Apposition.

209. (1) An adjective agreeing with a genitive, is put in the dative case;[78] *e. g.*, بڈِس خُداوَندہ سَند نوکر *baḍis khudāwanda-sond naukar*, the servant of the great Lord.

210. (2) So also a genitive dependent on a genitive, is put in the dative; *e. g.* دیوَن ہَندِس سردارہ سَندہ مَدَدہ سیت *dēvan-handis sardāra-sandi madada sŭt*, through the help of the chief of the devils (Luke, xi. 15).

[78] See § 198, note 68.

نبین هندن مارنوالن هند نیچو *nabiyan-handen māranvālen-handi nechivi*, the children of the killers of the prophets (Matth. xxiii. 31).

پرت بستی هندن لکن هند ناو *prat bastī-*(§ 214, 4, *b*)*-handen lukan-handi nāv*, the names of the people of each village (پرت *prat* is an indeclinable).

اسرائیلہ سندس خدایہ سنز ستایش *isrāīla-sandis khudāya-sanz sitāyish*, the praise of the God of Israel (Matth. xv. 31).

زبدی سندن نیچون هنز ماج *zabadī-*(§ 212, 3, *c*)*-sanden nechiven-hanz mōj*, the mother of Zebedee's children (Matth. xx. 20).

انسانن هندن (کتھن) چیزن هنز فکر *insānan-handen* (*kathan*) *chīzan-hanz fikr*, care for (of) the needs of men.

لکن هندن گناهن هنزہ معافی هندہ سببہ *lukan-handen gunāhan-hanzi ma'āfī-*(§ 214, 4, *b*)*-handi sababa*, for the sake of the forgiveness of the sins of the people.

211. (3) So also a noun in apposition to a genitive[79] is put in the dative. It may, however, also be put in the nominative; thus, سانس مالس داؤدہ سنز پادشاهت *sōnis mōlis dāūda-sanz pādshāhat*, the kingdom of David, my (our) father (Mark, xi. 10).

زکریاهہ سندس نیچوس یوحناهس *zakarīyāha-sandis nechivis yōhannāhas*, to John the son of Zachariah (Luke, iii. 2).

سردار کاهن ابیاترہ سندہ وقتہ *sardāri kāhen abyātara-sandi waqta*, in the time of Abiathar, the high priest (Mark, ii. 26).

پننس بندہ داؤدہ سندہ گرہ اندرہ *pananis banda dāūda-sandi gara andara*, from the house of his servant David (بندہ *banda* for بندس *bandas*) (Luke, i. 69).

خدایہ سندس یسوع مسیحہ سنزہ انجیلہ هند گد *khudāya-sandis Yasū' Masīha-sanzi injīla-hond god*, the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus, the Messiah; the Son of God (Mark, i. 1).

پننس بآیس فلیوسنہ آشنہ هیرودیاسہ هندہ سببہ *pananis bōyis Fīlibūsani* (*cf.* § 198) *āshani Hīrōdiyāsi-handi sababa*, on account of Herodias, his brother Philip's wife (Luke, iii. 19).

[There is no doubt that Dr. Burkhard's account of adjectives in agreement with a genitive is in the main correct. But my experience is that, as a matter of practice when the genitive is the genitive of a *masculine* noun in the *singular* number, the adjective in agreement is usually in the oblique case masculine. This is also the teaching of Īśvara-kaula in his *Kaśmīra-śabdāmṛita*, although he gives no example either way. The following are examples of what I mean. They are all sentences spoken by a Kāshmīrī, and may be depended upon to be correct.

Tami-sandi (not *sandis*) *khatuk kus tōrīkh chhu-s*, what is the date of his letter?

Tami (not *tamis*) *chīzuk mol*, the price of that thing (*chīz* is masculine).

Doyimi retaki godañaki tōrīkh wāti tami-sandi māluk kast, the dividend on his estate will be paid on the first date of next month. — G. A. G.]

(*To be continued.*)

[79] See § 198.

THE SIEGE OF AHMADNAGAR AND HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE FORT BY CHAND BIBI — A NARRATIVE OF AN EYE-WITNESS.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING,

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(*Continued from p.* 295.)

[THE *Burhân-i-Ma‚âṣir* here ends abruptly, without any conclusion. Probably the author died when he had written thus far.

As a supplement to the foregong history I shall now quote from the **Taẕkarat-ul-Mulûk of Mîrzâ Rafî‘-ud-Dîn Ibrâhîm B. Nûr-ud-Dîn Taufîḳ Shîrâzî,**[23] **the author's** personal narrative of a diplomatic mission to Aḥmadnagar about a year after the conclusion of the great siege. This account is quoted almost *verbatim* in the *Basâtîn-us-Salâtîn,* by Muḥammad Ibrâhîm-az-Zubairî.]

‘Âlam-Panâh [Ibrâhîm ‘Âdil-Shâh II.] sends the author to Aḥmadnagar to arrange the affairs of Bahâdur Shâh and the Amîrs.

In A. H. 1005 (A. D. 1596) ‘Âlam-Panâh ordered me to hand over my duties to one of (his ?) sons and go to Aḥmadnagar, and by peaceable means to put an end to the dissensions which had arisen between Bahâdur Shâh and his *amîrs*, and which had disoriganized the affairs of the State. ‘Âlam-Panâh added :—"They have so terrified **Suhail Khân,** now stationed on the frontier, that he has become dispirited. First see him, and re-assure him on our behalf, and consult with him as to the best means of settling the affairs of the people of Aḥmadnagar ; and while doing the work of your mission you should avail yourself of the first opportunity to bring the matter to a conclusion."

It happened that at this time much important business had been intrusted to me, such as the governorship of the capital (Bijâpur) and the office of Pîshwâ of the district under the government of the (king's) eldest son, **Fatḥ Khân**, the control of the royal mint and superintendence of about 200 elephants, 700 camels and 1,500 horses. For the keep of the horses nearly a *lak* of *hûns* had been assigned from the revenue of ten large villages. Many papers and petitions which the *kârkuns* of the districts used to send in, as well as the secret papers, used all to be laid before me, and I used to submit them to His Highness. Having handed over all these to one of the (king's ?) sons, I proceeded on my mission.

When I arrived in the neighbourhood of Shâhdurg,[24] Suhail Khân met me about a *farsakh* out, and we asked after one another's health. When we arrived near his sleeping-place I found a commodious camp pitched. On all sides tents, screens and pavilions were erected, and carpets of the utmost magnificence were spread out in regal fashion. The great men, chiefs, nobles and *amîrs* like servants were all standing or sitting each in his own place. He did not abate a jot or tittle in ceremonious treatment ; but he was excessively afraid, for people had frightened him by saying that his glory and rank having exceeded that of the other *amîrs*, ‘Âlam-Panâh had become wanting in courtesy towards him, and had behaved so because he had no option in the matter. But when I repeated to him the *ipse dixit* of ‘Âlam-Panâh ; words full of clemency and kindness, all his timidity was driven away.

[23] This work is extremely rare. Though I made special search for it in India for several years, I could only find one copy, and that a very mutilated one, in the Mullâ Fîrûz Library of Oriental MSS. in Bombay. A description of it is given in Rehatsek's *Catalogue*, pp. 73-5. It was so badly worm-eaten that there was great difficulty in finding anyone willing or competent to undertake the work of copying it. At last I found a well-educated Persian gentleman, named Mîrzâ Jawâd Shîrâzî, who copied those portions of the book relating to the Muhammadan dynasties of the Dakhan ; but the Bombay Government had to pay him a specially high rate for his labour. This copy now belongs to the India Office Library. The only other copy I know of is that in the British Museum Library. On a future occasion I hope to have more to say about this remarkable book and its author.

[24] Naldurg, Lat. 17° 49′ N., Long, 76° 21′ E., situated on the Bori river, a branch of the Bhîmâ. The name Shâhdurg was given to it by ‘Alî ‘Âdil-Shâh I. The Bijâpur and Aḥmadnagar frontier line passed a little to the west of it. For description, see *A Noble Queen*, by Meadows-Taylor, also *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X.

I uttered several congratulations, and said : — "At this time 'Âlam-Panâh is very well satisfied with you, for terror of you has impressed itself on the hearts of the Mughals, and as long as you maintain your position on this frontier they will not attack us, but will remain in their own place." And the fact of the matter was that as long as Suhail Khân was on that frontier they did not attack at all, though after his time they did much damage. He brought to notice all those of his adherents who had evinced loyalty in the service of 'Âlam-Panâh ; and to put his mind at ease, the latter sent him a robe of honour and presents.[25]

When we set foot in the Nizâm-Shâhî territory, we found a ruined country in a state of confusion ; in short nothing was to be seen but the four walls of houses and a wretched, poverty-stricken populace at enmity among themselves.

Abhang Khân Habshî, who with the *amîrs* and 20,000 horse had taken up a position outside the fort and cut off the supplies of their own people and sovereign, paraded the whole of his army and came out to give us a ceremonious reception. He reviewed his army and each of the *amîrs* paraded his own regiment. In truth, it was a well-organized force. They had besieged their own sovereign, and, being at enmity with Chând Bîbî, wished to get Bahâdur Shâh into their hands. The *amîrs* insisted upon our alighting near them.

Next day Saiyid 'Alî — known as **Târîkhî** — who was one of the celebrated men of the place, came with one of the officers (*sar-naubat*), and took us into the fort, where we had an interview with Bahâdur Shâh. A number of the nobles within the fort in a wretched and distressed state, with one tongue and a thousand complaints, related the affairs of the hostile faction. I assumed the office of mediator in the business, and after I had repeatedly and severely admonished and threatened them on behalf of 'Âlam-Panâh, terms of reconciliation were arranged. The whole of the *amîrs* then went to the foot of the bastion and rampart, and had an interview with Bahâdur Shâh, who was on top of the bastion. Robes of honour and presents were bestowed, but night having then come on [the proceedings were adjourned].

Next day the court of Nizâm-Shâh was erected in the midst of the camp. A half-throne (*nîm-takht*), with the waist-belt and head-dress of Bahâdur Shâh on it, was placed in the midst of the court. Each of the *amîrs*, members of council and military officers then came forward, saluted (the throne) and received his customary robe of honour. There was boundless rejoicing at this both on the part of the people of the army and the garrison. The drums of rejoicing were beaten and prayers for the safety, long life and prosperity of 'Âlam-Panâh were recited, in that he had put an end to the sedition and disturbance and was the cause of the tranquillity of the people. Some of the garrison of the fort went outside, and, entering the camp, inquired after their relatives whom they had not seen for a long time, and thanked God that they had met one another safe at last. The men of the army also went to and fro to the fort, and presenting their petitions in the court of **Bahâdur Shâh,** had their claims settled. Fresh officials were appointed, that the business of the State and the army might be properly arranged.

But this peace did not suit the views of some of the disaffected mischief-breeders, so they began to excite sedition and again hoisted the standard of opposition, and seized and imprisoned three or four of the (new) officials. The garrison of the fort also joined in the rebellion; the troops, with money, promises and threats, having gained them over to their side, made an agreement with them that when the *amîrs* with the army should come to take the fort, the men of the garrison should refrain from firing the cannons, guns and rockets. On this understanding one day the *amîrs* outside the

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[25] There is no subsequent mention of Suhail Khân in the course of this narrative, but we are led to infer that he with a portion of the frontier force, accompanied the author as escort to the mission ; but certainly not in a political capacity, as stated by Firishtah. The latter makes no mention of our author, although they must have known one another personally, for they both at the same time held high appointments at the Bijâpur Court.

fort, with the intention of seizing it, came with 20,000 cavalry, and, surrounding the fort, commenced the attack. The garrison, true to their compact, refrained from fighting, but some of the *amîrs* and soldiers resisted to the best of their ability and displayed much valour. When the fight waxed furious in front of the gate of the fort, the Nawwâb Bahâdur Shâh, in spite of his youth, sat on top of a bastion of the fort encouraging his men to fight. At this juncture the people of the army shot three or four arrows in the direction of Bahâdur Shâh; one arrow struck the handle of his umbrella, passing within a span from him; another struck the throat of a eunuch who was standing behind Bahâdur Shâh, and came out at the back. He fell dead on the spot, and two or three other persons were wounded; but in spite of this, Bahâdur Shâh continued encouraging his men. From above some of the soldiers fired cannons and guns at the enemy, and some of the letter were killed, and others turning about went to their camp. Again those most contemptible of people advanced, — that shameless crew who had besieged their own sovereign — cut off the supply of water and food and even aimed at taking his life. With admonitions and threats I stepped forward and reminded them, saying:— "Sulṯân Murâd with a countless force is stationed near you on your flank, and will take possession of the whole of your country. Why do you strike an axe at your own feet and overthrow the master of your own house? This disgrace and ingratitude will for years to come be recorded as a blot on the page of your history." By these impressive words I smoothed matters and again made peace. But on this occasion Chând Bîbî was not willing for peace, and would not acquiesce. She said:— "Abhang Khân, the Habshî slave is the purchased slave of my father, and in the time of my father and brothers, owing to his vicious disposition, he was thrown into prison, and after the death of my younger brother (Burhân II.) I took him out of prison and exalted him to this rank, yet, in the face of these kindnesses, he requites me by wanting to take my life; he has no other object. All this fighting and sedition is aimed at my life, so what confidence can I have in him, and how can I make peace with him? In this blessed month of Ramaẓân he has laid siege to the fort and cut off our supplies. During this month we have not even seen meat, and have had nothing with which to break our fast but the bitter water which is inside the fort and old and rotten grain. After behaviour such as this, how can my heart reconcile itself to peace with him? Now I have consented to become a slave of the Mughals, but I will not submit to the lordship of this Abyssinian slave, Abhang Khân."

One of Chând Bîbî's people had written to Sulṯân Murâd a detailed account of all that had occurred. He communicated this by letter to his father, Akbar Pâdshâh; and the latter, after reading the letter, threw it down before Sulṯân Salîm, who is commonly known as Jahângîr, and said:— "Great is my good fortune, which is increased by these results which have occurred. Wherever my army goes; whatever they do, they do of themselves, and my desires are accomplished without effort."

After many and strenuous endeavours, with the utmost difficulty I persuaded **Chând Bîbî** to agree to a reconciliation, and the peace was announced to the *amîrs* outside. For some days the sedition and disturbance was quelled. Most of the *amîrs* and soldiers went out of the fort and took up their abode in the camp, with the object of uniting to oppose the Mughal army, and driving Sulṯân Murâd out of the Dakhan.

At this juncture one day one of the private servants of Burhân Shâh, having ascended to the roof of his house, saw a number of the troops of the fort sitting in a retired place, dividing among themselves a quantity of money which was spread out before them. He informed Chând Bîbî of this, and when the matter was inquired into, it appeared the Abhang Khân, having sent some money for the soldiers, had induced them, when opportunity offered, to open the gate to him and his men and admit them to the fort, so that they might take possession of it. When the soldiers heard that Chând Bîbî was aware of their compact, and was making arrangements to drive them out, being filled with fear, they sent word to Abhang Khân, saying:— "The plot has been discovered, therefore the first thing for you to do is, at dawn to-morrow morning, mount and come to the neighbourhood of the fort, and we will open the gates; thus our lives will be saved."

Next day, at dawn, **Abhang Khân**, with his army drawn up in battle array, came to the neighbourhood of the fort and awaited events. Since the gate of the fort had been completely built up

with stone and sun-dried brick, they got through the wicket, and, having opened it, sent some one running to Abang Khân to tell him to come quickly, as they had opened the wicket.

Meantime Chând Bîbî, having been informed of this occurrence, sent some one to summon the officers of the garrison, and she urged them to desist from this idea (of rebellion) ; and in obedience to her orders, some went from her presence, but others, disobeying her, remained at the gate and prepared for hostilities. Then Abhang Khân came near the gate of the fort and sent forward an A bys-sinian slave named **'Ambar Chapû**,[26] who was one of his servants. Chând Bîbî had sent some people to fetch the remainder of the garrison, and they, obeying the order, came to the front ready to fight, and from both sides arrows and guns were discharged. The (rebel) garrison of the fort, being unable to stand against Chând Bîbî's force, took to flight and got out through one of the wickets. 'Ambar Chapû, who had come in through another wicket, made his way out through a second, for he saw that the garrison of the fort, having been defeated by Chând Bîbî's force, were going out, and the latter were in pursuit of them.

Standing on top of a tower of the gate of the fort, Malik Ṣandal Barîdî, on whom had been conferred the title of Masnad-i 'Âlî, with two hundred of his own private retinue, discharged grenades and guns among the force of Abhang Khân, and sometimes among the fort garrison. 'Ambar Chapû, owing to the number of people, could not find a way out, and there was no room to make a stand, and as there was a heavy fire from above, he was obliged to turn back. Abhang Khân dismounted and came near the gate of the fort to enter it, but some of his followers were annihilated and dispersed by a cannon-ball, and he himself, having no standing-place and no way of advancing, retreated and joined his own force, and 'Ambar Chapû made his way to him. Some of the garrison of the fort, when they found an opportunity, went outside and escaped, but some of them were made prisoners.

Four times in the space of fourteen months (that I remained in Aḥmadnagar) I made peace between the contending factions, and again each time they came into collision, so I became hopeless. Just then news came from the frontier that some of the *amîrs* of Sulṭân Murâd had laid the foundations of plunder in the country, and had taken forcible possession of some villages and their dependencies ; and that a large force was following to assist them, and would soon reach Aḥmadnagar.

I sent to 'Âlam-Panâh a written account of all that had occurred ; and when it reached him, he sent me an order saying that it was not advisable for me to remain any longer ; and that immediately on receipt of the order, I was to return to Bijâpur. I showed the order to Chând Bîbî, and asked her permission to depart. She gave it — but reluctantly, saying :— " Whilst you have been here, on the three or four occasions when the fire of rebellion has broken out, you by strenuous efforts have thrown water on the fire of that clique, and succeeded in quenching it ; now who is to say anything to them to keep them from carrying out their threats ? " At last she gave me leave to depart.

Next day I left the city, and at a distance of two or three *farsakhs* on the way, halted for some necessary matters. All the *amîrs*, both small and great, unceasingly came and handed in written petitions about their claims. Then we started from there for Bijâpur ; and next day about 20,000 men — some on horseback, some on foot — with women and children ; high and low, owing to the revolution and the wretchedness of their affairs and being deprived of their ordinary habitations, — travelled in company with us, because there was danger on the road farther on. Having arrived safely in the vicinity of Bîdbâpûr (Bijâpur), when they had recovered from the fatigue and danger of the journey, they dispersed and took refuge in various parts of the country.

When I had been exalted by kissing the threshold of 'Âlam-Panâh's court, I was reinstated in my former appointment ; that is to say, governor of the capital. 'Âlam-Panâh said so many flattering things to me, which were a hundred times beyond my deserts, that if I were to relate them, I should rouse people's envy : for this reason I have abridged them.

26 Here for the first time appears on the scene the celebrated Malik 'Ambar who afterwards became absolute ruler of nearly half of the Aḥmadnagar dominions.

DISCURSIVE REMARKS ON THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF TELUGU LITERATURE.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(Continued from p. 304.)

ANOTHER version of the same story relates that the king informed Timmana, when he read the poem, of the unnatural and improbable nature of the events related in it, and that the poet made no response. Not long after, however, the king had to experience similar incidents in his own harem when he, unable to restrain his lust, acted exactly as was narrated in the poem.

Nandi Timmana is more familiarly known as **Mukku Timmana**, on account of his long nose, or, according to an obviously apocryphal story, on account of a beautiful stanza on the nose, which was purchased from him by Râmarâjabhûshaṇa, for four thousand pagodas, and incorporated in his *Vasucharitra*. It is sufficient to remark as to this improbable tale that they were not contemporaries. As has been already noted, he was the poet who accompanied the queen from her father's household, and numerous instances are on record to shew that his ancestors were *pandits* at the court of Vijayanagara, and received presents from the king. Among them, **Nandi Mallaya** and **Malayamâruta**, who flourished at the court of Narasarâya, the father of Kṛishṇarâya, jointly wrote the *Varâhapurâṇa*; and dedicated it to Narasarâya.

Ayyalarâzu Râmabhadra was a Niyôgî Brâhmaṇa of Woṇṭimiṭṭa (Êkaśilânagara[8] in Sanskṛit), in the Cuddapah District. This place is famous as being also the birth-place of **Bammera Pôtarâja**, the celebrated writer of the Telugu *Bhâgavata*. Râmabhadra had leanings towards Vaishṇavism, being the disciple of Mummaḍi Varadâchârya. He was the son of Akkaya and the grandson of Parvatanna. In his early days he composed a *śataka* called the *Raghuvîra-śataka* on the local Vîrarâghavasvâmi temple. He entered Vijayanagara during the last days of Kṛishṇadêvarâya, and was requested by the king to translate into Telugu metre the *Sakalakathâsârasaṁgraha*, but as the king breathed his last before the completion of the poem, the poet merley entered in the introduction that it was written at the special request of the deceased king. This poem appears to be in nine cantos, giving a detailed account of the family history of Śrî Râma, Purûravas, etc., and though it vividly brings before us the poet's genius and quick-wittedness, it smacks of youthful days, being in certain portions ungrammatical and non-rhetorical. He seems to have begun to write about 1530 A. D.

He was very poor, and as he had about a dozen children, he was familiarly known as **Pillala (= children) Râmabhadrayya.** As he was in great distress, and sorely puzzled to find a livelihood, he resolved, while the trouble was weighing on his heart, to flee to the woods, leaving his wife and children to their own fate. His intimate friends prevailed upon him to go back to his family, saying that a wise man should be above the joys and sorrows of this world, and advised him to seek his fortunes elsewhere. The poet acted up to the advice thus offered, and left his birth-place for Vijayanagara the same evening, and not long afterwards reached it, arriving with his family, wet-through, in the midst of a violent thunderstorm and taking refuge in a temple, where were some students, who had been asked by their master to compose a verse on the after-deeds of forelorn lovers, and were shirking the task. Our poet after enquiry promised to extricate them out of their difficulty, if they would relieve him and his family. The students gladly agreed to the proposal, and warmed the new-comers by the fire and dressed them in their own clothes. The poet in his gratitude composed a verse and gave it to them. They then took it and gave it to their master, who proved to be no other than Râmarâjabhûshaṇa. He read the verse, was much pleased, and asked them who the author was. On their informing him that it was the work of one of their own number, he reprimanded them, and insisted on their speaking the truth. When the truth was told, he desired to be taken to the poet, which was accordingly done. Râmarâjabhûshaṇa approached the strange

[8] [From epigraphical records we know that Êkaśilânagara was the Sanskṛit name of Worangal in the Nizam's dominions and the capital of the Kâkatîya kings. The well-known rhetorical work *Pratâparudrîya* confirms this statement. — H. K. S.]

poet, embraced him, fed him and his family sumptuously for three or four days, took him to the king's presence, and spoke in glowing terms of his abilities, so much so that he was immediately enrolled as a poet of the court. The verse, in question, was afterwards amalgamated by Râmarâjabhûshaṇa in his *Vasucharitra* in honour of the new poet, or, as others say, was purchased and plagiarised. But before the *Sakalakathâsârasaṁgraha* reached its completion, the demise of Kṛishṇarâya left Râmabhadra once more on the world, and he, therefore, associated himself with Gûti Appalarâja and others, and then finally settled himself at the court of Gobbûri Narasarâja, the nephew of the son-in-law of Kṛishṇarâya. It was to this Narasarâja that he dedicated his later poem, the *Râmâbhyudaya*.

The friendship between Râmabhadra and Râmarâjabhûshaṇa did not last long, as the story goes that the latter grew jealous of the reputation that the former enjoyed at the court of Kirshṇarâya. Râmabhadra remained indifferent until one day the king received Râmarâjabhûshaṇa into his good graces and seated him on his throne. This made him lose his head and laugh at Râmabhadra, and so the latter in his rage, wrote a verse to this effect:— "Of what avail is the elevation of a mean despicable wretch while the best poets are kept down? Do not lions remain quiet under the shadows of trees, while monkeys are skipping from one branch to another?" This he tied to the throne, and went his way. Bhûshaṇa read it, was overcome by shame, and kept silence, but the enmity between the two poets waxed high. Some time afterwards, a literary discussion took place between them, which ended in their laying a wager as to which of them was the better poet. They accordingly entered into an understanding that one of them should write a poem, and the other should point out the blemishes in it, and if the mistakes were proved, the winner should kick the forehead of the loser. The king as arbitrator settled that Râmabhadra was to compose the poem in six months. The poet went home and thought over a subject to write upon, and of the rough outlines of it, but all to no purpose. The time at his command had pretty nearly expired, but not a syllable of the poem was written. But when there were but three days left, he went and closeted himself, and prayed to his tutelary deity, Râma, who, it is said, wrote a poem for him, and went his way.[9] The poem was then taken and read before the king, and Râmarâjabhûshaṇa raised an objection, but it afterwards proved to be irrelevant. The two poets were then called upon to satisfy the terms agreed upon. Râmarâjabhûshaṇa, therefore, removed his head-dress and put it down, and Râmabhadra kicked it instead of the rival's forehead. Thus the quarrel terminated.

The story must, however, be apocryphal, as it does not appear anywhere that Râmarâjabhûshaṇa had begun to compose verses during the lifetime of Kṛishṇarâya, and so it is highly improbable that he should have a retinue of students at the time. For aught we know, the *Vasucharitra* was not composed till about thirty-five years after the demise of Kṛishṇarâya.

Dhûrjaṭi was a Niyôgî Brâhmaṇa of Pâkanâḍu.[10] He belonged to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, Âpastamba *sûtra*. He was born and bred up at Kâḷahasti, in the North Arcot district, and was a good Saiva. As he lived at the time of Kṛishṇarâya, we may fix his date as probably about 1520-1530 A. D. He has written a work entitled *Kâḷahastimâhâtmya*, a *Sthalapurâṇa*, and dedicated it to the local god, Kâḷahastîśvara. His style is elegant and chaste. It is said of him that he yielded to the weaknesses of the flesh and the peculiar temptations of lust. It is a pity that the common folk generally pride themselves in attributing such conduct even to the most righteous. The same thing was attributed to **Tikkanasômayâji**, that celebrated writer of the later fifteen *Parvas* of the *Mahâbhârata*. Such a thing is highly

[9] This mode of solving puzzles by blending the natural and the supernatural has taken possession of the Telugu mind to such an extent, that the ordinary Telugu fully believes that there can be no gloomier form of infidelity than that which questions the moral attributes of that Great Being in whose hands are the final destinies of us all.

[10] [As regards the situation of this ancient division of the Telugu country see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 24. — H. K. S.]

improbable, considering the position they occupied and the high veneration with which they were regarded.

Mâdayyagâri Mallana, in contradistinction to **Prauḍhakavi Mallana**, the writer of the *Ēkâdaśîmâhâtmya*, a poet who had lived some time previously, was a writer on Rhetoric of the time of Kṛishṇarâya. He was an inhabitant of Koṇḍavîḍu, and the son of Mâdayya. He was a Brâhmaṇa of the Liṅgâyat sect. A very large number of Brâhmaṇas were converted to this sect by Bijjalarâya, king of Kalyâṇa.[11] They wear a stone *liṅga* round their necks and worship it after their daily ablutions. Mallana received a good education in his infancy, and while in his budding manhood, wrote the *Râjaśêkharacharitra*, or a poetical history of Râjaśêkhara. He dedicated it to Nandyâla Appaya, the son-in-law of Sâḷuva Timmarâja, the prime minister of Kṛishṇarâya. This poet received rich rewards from his patron in lands and other presents.

Tenâli Râmakṛishṇa *alias* **Tenâli Râmaliṅga,** was a Yâjñavalkya Brâhmaṇa of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*. He was the son of Râmayya and Lakshmamma. It is said of him that he first bore the appellation of Tenâli Râmaliṅga, and under that name wrote the *Liṅgapurâṇa*, still extant, but aferwards embraced the Vaishṇava faith to please the sovereigns of Chandragiri, and changed his name to **Râmakṛishṇa**. Kâvali Veṅkaṭarâmasvâmi, in his *Biographies of Dekkan Poets*, p. 88, speaks of him as being one of the *ashṭa-diggajas* at the court of Kṛishṇarâya. He was born, he says, in the village of Tenâli in the Kistna district in *S. S.* 1384, *i. e.*, 1462 A. D., and was of the family of Îśvarapraggaḍa. His horoscope exhibits him as born under a very propitious star. In his infancy he studied the Telugu dialect, and by the association of the *bhaṭrâjas* or bards of Bhaṭṭipalli, he became a perfect master of that language, and a professor of rhetoric. He likewise possessed a tolerable knowledge of Sanskṛit. We have no records to prove the truth of these statements, and it is highly probable that the horoscope of the poet was a later invention. Had he been born in 1462 A. D. as is alleged, he must have been about 50 years old at the time of Kṛishṇarâya's accession.

Having heard, it is said, much of the patronage afforded by Kṛishṇarâya, Râmakṛishṇa went to Vijayanagara in hopes of receiving countenance from the king. As he had no friends to forward his case, he was obliged to ingratiate himself into the good graces of the inferior servants of the household and composed a few verses on one of the female attendants of the queen. The fame of Râmakṛishṇa thus reached the ears of the king, who appointed him one of the court poets.

He was of a humorous character, and loved to play practical jokes. The *guru* Tâtâchârya was a very orthodox man, and was in the habit of visiting a cow-stall every morning as soon as he rose from bed, being taken to the place blind-folded in order to view the cows' excrement as the first object seen during the day, thinking it to be a very meritorious act. His habit was to keep his eyes shut and laying hold of a cow's tail to wait till she evacuated, when he opened his eyes to behold the excrement. One morning Râmakṛishṇa got up early, and removing the cow from the stall, stood in its place stark naked. The *guru* came as usual, and instead of the cow's tail he found a man. His rage knew no bounds, and running up to the king, he laid a complaint against Râmakṛishṇa. The king became exceedingly angry and ordered the poet to be forthwith executed. The executioners carried him to a plain and buried him in the earth as far as the neck, leaving only his head above ground, agreeably to the sentence passed on him. They left him thus, intending to return with a certain number of elephants to trample him to death. It so chanced that a hump-backed washerman was passing by, and asked the poet how he came to

11 [The founder of the Liṅgâyat sect was Basava, the prime minister of Bijjala. An inscription at Maṇagôli in the Bijapur district, dated in the reign of the Kaḷachurya king Bijjala, mentions this Basava as one of the five hundred *mahâjanas* of that village; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 10 f.—H. K. S.]

be in such a predicament. "My good friend," said he, "I was born a hump-back like yourself, and having long suffered the scorn of ill-mannered individuals, I applied to a sage who had great knowledge of the occult sciences, and begged of him to relieve me from my misfortune. He informed me that if I should consent to be buried up to my neck in this identical spot, I should be entirely cured of my deformity. In pursuance of his directions, I got some of my friends to bury me here, and as I really believe that I am cured already, I shall be very thankful to you if you will verify my statement." The washerman did as the poet requested, and to his utter amazement found him a well-made man; and as he was a credulous fellow, he believed in all that the poet had said. "As one good deed deserves another," said the washerman to the poet, "I now ask you to bury me in this place that I may be cured of my bodily deformity as you have been." Râmakṛishṇa with a grave countenance buried the poor washerman up to the neck, and after the lapse of an hour went to the king to inform him that by the personal interposition of a god, he had been restored to life. The executioners in the interim had executed the washerman, and were making their report to the king that they had killed the poet according to the royal commands. The whole court were consequently astonished to see Râmakṛishṇa, and as the king really believed that the poet had been killed and restored to life by some god, he promised to forgive him the first hundred crimes that he should commit in future!

Now, Ana-Vêma Reḍḍi had in his possession two beautiful horses of the Kandahar breed, entirely black, except the ears which were grey. Kṛishṇarâya was eager to obtain one of them, and sent an embassy to Ana-Vêma Reḍḍi to ask him for one of them, but the latter monarch replied, that if the former would send a poet, who could excel any that he had at his court, he would give him both the horses. All the poets at the court of Kṛishṇarâya refused to depart save Râmakṛishṇa, who forthwith proceeded to the court of Ana-Vêma Reḍḍi. When there, he completed every task set to him, and in his turn wrote a part of a stanza, which he desired his fellow-poets at the new court to complete. He then took his departure, and in the course of six months returned, but the poets had not been able to finish the stanzas. He therefore wrote the conclusion which so pleased Ana-Vêma Reḍḍi, that he embraced him and gave him one of the black horses, and sent him away with innumerable presents. When Râmakṛishṇa returned to the court of Kṛishṇarâya, he was received with great marks of attention, and enjoyed the king's favour in a very high degree, but he once more forfeited the good opinion of his royal master by playing on him the following practical joke. He informed the king that he had procured for him a beautiful damsel, and asked him when he would wish to visit her. The king being of a lascivious turn, appointed an early day. The poet then decorated a bed fit enough to receive his royal visitor, but instead of the maiden, placed on it a stone image, which he covered over with a rich brocade quilt. The king came at the appointed hour, and to his surprise and consequent indignation, found a stone instead of a charming virgin, and immediately ordered the poet to be executed. Ramakṛishṇa, however, concealed himself, and when the king's wrath was abated, was taken once more into his good graces.

Sometime after this, the king's daughter had composed a poem entitled *Marîchîpariṇaya*, or the marriage of Marîchî, and proposed to read the same before the king's court. But as she was aware of the satirical character of Râmakṛishṇa, she stipulated with her father, that he should not be allowed to be present. The king thereupon forbade the poet to come to the court on the day that his daughter read her poem. The poet, however, disguised himself as a maid-servant, and stood close to the princess, who began to read her poem publicly. The poem was really well-written, and abounded in good moral reflections and beautiful descriptions of the scenery and dresses of the females and other subjects, among which was the description of a pregnant woman. Just at this moment Râmakṛishṇa made a gesture which set the whole court in a roar of laughter, and so abashed and crossed was the princess that she could read no more and abruptly left the court. The king was very much vexed at the poet, and sentenced him on pain of death to leave his dominions. But he was again afterwards admitted into the king's

favour. Such are some of the stories current in the Telugu country about the vagaries of Râmakṛishṇa, more briefly known as **Tenâli Râma.**

As to the evidence for fixing the date of the poet apart from all popular tradition, instances are on record to shew that Râmakṛishṇa was a contemporary of **Appayadîkshita** and Tâtâchârya and flourished at the court of Veṅkaṭapatirâya of Chandragiri. This king flourished after Tirumaladêva, to whom the *Vasucharitra* is dedicated, changed the seat of his government from Vijayanagara to Chandragiri,[12] and ruled from 1585 to 1614 A. D. If, therefore, Râmakṛishṇa was alive at the time of Kṛishṇarâya, he must have been quite young at the time, as there was an interval of more than half a century between the demise of Kṛishṇarâya and the accession of Veṅkaṭapati. This consideration controverts the story of the horoscope.

To reconcile the facts some have made **Appayadîkshita** to be a contemporary of Kṛishṇarâya. As Appayadîkshita lived to a ripe old age, he might have been a contemporary of Kṛishṇarâya in his early days, but he is known to the world as the court poet of Veṅkaṭapatirâya.[13] He was a Tamiḻ Brâhmaṇa, an inhabitant at Aḍayapala *agrahâra*, about forty miles south-east of Conjeeveram, in the Chinglepat district.[14] He was the son of Nârâyaṇadîkshita.[15] It was current among his contemporaries that he was born of the spirit of Śiva, on account of the learning he exhibited in divinity and theology, which they thought to be too great for an ordinary mortal. At twelve years of age he gained a mastery over the *Vêdas* and several of the more abstruse and philosphical sciences. He was a Śiva *bhakta*. In early life, he obtained the favor of Veṅkaṭapatirâya of Chandragiri, for he confuted all the king's poets, in open court, on religion and philosophy, especially in shewing the perfect parity between Śiva and Vishṇu. The king granted him a tract of land, rent-free, for the maintenance of himself and his pupils. He is the author of the *Śivârchanachandrikâ*, the *Śivatattvavivêka*, the *Śivamaṇidîpikâ*, the *Âtmârpaṇa*, etc. The first three of these works were written after the author became a *sômayâjin* (*i. e.*, a performer of sacrifices). It is said that just before he wrote the *Âtmârpaṇa* he partook of the seeds of a plant, which is said to possess the marvellous quality of keeping the brain clear and fitting the mind for divine contemplation. By its use, he became inspired and dictated to four scribes at once. The poem is very much admired throughout the Dekhan. In course of time, he visited the sovereigns of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura, who gave him every encouragement on account of his talents and virtues, so that, being a strict observer and zealous advocate of ritual, he performed through the bounty of his numerous patrons, innumerable sacrifices on the banks of the Kâvêrî. He chanted forth verses in praise of Śiva wherever he went, and made a good many converts to his faith from Vaishṇavism, **Tâtâchârya,** who had been vanquished and baffled by him at the court of Veṅkaṭapatirâya in a religious controversy, cherished a mortal hatred against him, and was determined to destroy him. He consequently engaged ruffians to waylay Appayadîkshita and to put an end to him as he was wending his way through a wood. They acted as they had been directed, but at the critical moment a man of great strength, it is said, suddenly appeared on the scene and rescued the poet from danger. On this circumstance reaching the ears of the king, he made the poet valuable gifts for his firmness of faith in Śiva. At the age of sixty, as he was concerting measures to go to Benares, the Brâhmaṇas of Chidambaram, in the district of South

[12 Tirumala I. transferred for the first time the seat of government to Pennakoṇḍa in A. D. 1567, *i. e.*, two years after the battle of Tâlikôṭa. This town continued to be the residence of the kings of the third Vijayanagara dynasty even to the time of Veṅkaṭa II., the third in descent from Tirumala I. It is therefore unlikely that Veṅkaṭa I., the son of Tirumala I. and the patron of Appayadîkshita could have changed the seat of his government to Chandragiri; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 238 f. — H. K. S.]

[13 For the exact date of Appayadîkshita, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 271. — H. K. S.]

[14 Aḍayapala is a village belonging to the Ârni Jâgir in the North Arcot district. It is this village that is known as the birth-place of Appayadîkshita. — H. K. S.]

[15 Appayadîkshita was the son of Śrî-Raṅgarâjadîkshita; see extracts from Nos. 1009, 1013, and 1056 of Dr. Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts* No. II. — H. K. S.]

Arcot requested him to come there, as according to his confession, their place was more sanctified than Benares and the tank of Śivagaṅgâ more holy than the Ganges. The poet thereupon went to Chidambaram, where he remained engaged in religious controversies for the space of thirty years. At his death, he had in his possession five crystal *liṅgas*, two of which he presented to the Brâhmaṇas, and one to his nephew, to be established at Madura, another he gave to one of his relatives, while the fifth he himself established at Chidambaram sometime previous to his death. He is said to be the author of eighty-four works on theology, a good many of which are lost. The *Kuvalayânanda* and *Prabôdhachandrôdaya* (!)[17] are some of his works handed down to posterity.

Ayyâdîkshita, who wrote the *Nîlakaṇṭhavijaya* to commemorate the religious victories of his father (!), was the nephew of Appaya, and the *wazîr* of Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura.[17] This Nâyaka reigned from 1623 to 1659 A. D. over the whole of the Pâṇḍya kingdom. The story, therefore, that Appaya, the uncle of Ayyâdîkshita, flourished at the time of Kṛishṇarâya, who lived a century earlier is incredible. Râmakṛishṇa, as a contemporary of Appaya, cannot, therefore, have lived at the time of Kṛishṇadêvarâya, an inference which confirms the other evidence available.

A good many stories are told of Râmakṛishṇa's dealings with Tâtâchârya. A brief survey of **Tâtâchârya's life** is therefore desirable here. He was a native of Conjeeveram, and was so celebrated for his virtues and talents, that he was believed to have been born from the spirit of Vishṇu as Appaya was from that of Śiva. He obtained the surname of **Kanyâdânam,** for the numerous marriage ceremonies which were performed at his expense.[18] He wrote a philosophical work entitled *Sâttvikabrahmavidyâvilâsa.* He was the family priest of the Râjas of Chandragiri, and used to visit them from Conjeeveram.[19] While absent from his abode, his chaste and affectionate wife was in the habit of standing at the gate of the dwelling, awaiting the arrival of her lord. On an unfortunate day, however, some unfeeling scoundrels informed her that her husband had been accidentally killed. The shock was too much for her, and she soon afterwards died. Tâtâchârya arriving soon after this, died of a broken heart. His loss was much regretted by all classes of people, for despite his erudition, he was the most affable and benevolent of men, bestowing large sums of money on the impoverished, especially for marriage ceremonies. He rose into prominence during the last days of Râmarâja, and forced so many to embrace the Vaishṇava faith, that it became a current saying that "though the shoulder escapes Tâtâchârya's impress, the back will not escape it."

As to the internal evidences in his works for fixing the date of Râmakṛishṇa. The *Pâṇḍuraṅgamâhâtmya* is his chief work. It is a legendary account of a shrine of Vishṇu as Pâṇḍuraṅga, the pale-complexioned deity, who sanctified by his presence in this form, the place where Puṇḍarîka, a *muni*, performed his devotions. The place is now known as Pandharpur, a town on the left bank of the Bhîma, celebrated as the scene of the murder of the Gâyakwâḍ's Prime Minister, Gaṅgâdhara Śâstrî, by the ex-Pêshwâ Bâji Râo, about 1813 A. D. The deity now worshipped there is supposed to have fallen from heaven. He is, therefore, denominated Viṭṭhal Svâmi, an emblem of Vishṇu. The proofs of the efficacy of this shrine are brought out in glowing colours in the poem. One Nigamaśarma, who during the whole of his life haunted scenes of dissipation and debauchery, came to the spot during the last

16 [*Prabôdhachandrôdaya* is the name of the famous philosophical drama written by Kṛisṇamiśra. From Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* it appears that a commentary on this drama was written by Appayadîkshita. It is not known on what authority the writer of this article thinks that the original work was written by Appayadîkshita. — V. V.]

17 [*Nîlakaṇṭhavijaya* is a *champu kâvya* of great repute in the South. It was written by Nîlakaṇṭhadîkshita the grand-nephew of Appayadîkshita; see Dr. Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. II., p. viii., and also extracts from Nos. 938, 1011 and 1281. The writer of the article would have done well to quote the authority on which he says the author of the Nîlakaṇṭhavijaya was a minister of Tirumala-Nâyaka of Madura. — V. V.]

18 [The surname in question is not *kanyâdânam* but *kôṭikanyâdânam.* — V. V.]

19 [In inscriptions of the third Vijayanaga Dynasty he is called Tâtârya, the *Karṇâṭabhûbhṛidguru.* — H. K. S.]

moments of his life and gave up the ghost in the temple there. A controversy ensued between the servants of Yama and the servants of Vishṇu as to who should be in charge of his *yâtanâ-śarîra*, and the latter gained the day. He gained Vishṇutva. No doubt, he repented the sins of his life at a time which, regarded from a merely human point of view, would be an hour too late. No doubt also, he had not during his lifetime remembered that moral contagion, like the infectious power of physical diseases, borrows half its strength from the weakness of the subject with which it comes in contact. If one were only half as pure as Śrî Kṛishṇa, one might go about with harlots and be none the worse for it. No amount of sensuous excitement can compensate for the degradation which the moral nature must suffer by associating on familiar and tolerant terms with the most degraded and abandoned of the human species. In this mere human view there can be no toleration of vice. We may, and we ought, to weep for the sinner, but we must not sport with sin. But the divine view is quite different. Heaven divides the state of man into diverse functions, setting endeavours in continual motion, for which is fixed as an aim or goal, obedience. The one great difference between the human and the divine condition is that while the former judges actions by their results, the latter pries into the secrets of the heart and judges by motives; while there is a lack of equality and mercy in the former, these form the bed-rock, the *sine qua non* of the latter.

The work is dedicated to Viruri Vêdâdri, who had Kandâḷa Appalâchârya as his *guru*. Mention is made of this *guru* by **Sâraṅgu Timmakavi**, in his *Vaijayantîvilâsa*. Râmakṛishṇa must, therefore, have been a contemporary of Timma, who speaks of himself in his *Vilâsa* as the Karaṇam of Gôlcoṇḍa, which was then ruled by Maḥmûd Shâh. We know that he was Nawâb of Gôlcoṇḍa from 1581 to 1611 A. D. Râmakṛishṇa must, therefore, have flourished, towards the end of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century. We know, moreover, that Viruri Vêdâdri, to whom the *Pâṇḍuraṅgamâhâtmya* is dedicated, was the premier of a petty Jâgîrdâr, Peda Saṁgamarâja, whose father, Guravarâja, is said to have been a contemporary of Sadâśivarâya, and that in Ś. S. 1463, *i. e.*, 1543 A. D., he gave four villages for the consecration to the deity. Mention is made of this in the local records in Col. Mackenzie's *Collections*. Saṁgamarâja, the son of Guravarâja, must have reigned in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. It is highly probable, therefore, that Râmakṛishṇa must have been a poet of his court about 1560 to 1570 A. D.

His diction is on the whole excellent. It is alleged that he has written another work entitled *Pâṇḍuraṅgavijaya*, on the same subject as the *Pâṇḍuraṅgamâhâtmya*, but this is highly improbable, as this would have been a waste of his energies. And, moreover, the verses that are generally quoted from the *Pâṇḍuraṅgavijaya* (still extant), do not savour of the poetry of Râmakṛishṇa at all.

The next of the *Ashṭadiggajas* was **Piṅgali Sûrana.** He was a Niyôgî Brâhmaṇa, of the Âpastamba *sûtra* and Gautama *gôtra*. His father was Amarana, and his mother Abbamma. He had two brothers, Amalana and Errana. Piṅgali was his house-name. This is a pretty village in the Kistna district, at present called Pinâli. In describing the progenitor of his race, **Goṅka,** in his *Prabhâvatî-Pradyumna*, the poet describes him as being a resident of Piṅgali, who had a maid-servant, Pêki by name. **The story of Pêki** is even now current in the Telugu country. Once upon a time while Goṅka was wandering in the woods, he came across a beautiful bead, which he concealed in his box. On the very same day a maid-servant, Pêki by name, took service in his house, and discharged the duties of the household to their entire satisfaction. Sometime after, the lady of the house became pregnant and the maid-servant was left in charge of the lying-in room. While on this duty, it is said, that on a certain night she trimmed the wick of the lamp burning in the room, by stretching out her tongue without rising from her bed. This made her mistress quake with fear, and she told her husband the next day about it. They wanted to get rid of the maid as soon as possible, and set her on the most difficult undertakings, all of which she performed with the greatest

ease. Baffled in these attempts, they told her to go to Benares and bring the sacred Ganges' water, and in the interim changed their residence and went to a place afar off. Pêki came home, bringing the sacred water of the Ganges, and not finding any of the family there, went in search of them, taking with her a huge stone not easily carried by even half a dozen of the strongest men and gave it over to her master. On his enquiring of her kindly, as to the best way of getting rid of her, she replied that she would go on his giving over to her the bead he had obtained in the forest. This was done, and she immediately left the house.

Though his ancestors belonged to the Kistna district, Sûrana seems to have travelled southward, and to have taken up his residence at the courts of Âkavîḍu and Nandyâl in the district of Kurnul, formed after the dissolution of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. It is said that he was one of the *Ashṭadiggajas* of the court of Kṛishṇarâya, but we have no records to shew that he flourished at the time or at the court of the said monarch. The mistake that he was one of the eight poets of the court of Kṛishṇarâya must have arisen, I think, from the confusion of the name of that monarch with one who bore the same appellation and ruled long after at Nandyâl, and who seems to have maintained Telugu literature to a certain extent, just as did his more celebrated name sake of Vijayanagara. We are led to believe that the poet flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. His *Kalâpûrṇôdaya* is dedicated to Kṛishṇarâya of Nandyâl, who is there the sixth in descent from Ârvîṭi Bukkarâya. The latter monarch had, as his eldest son, Siṅgararâya, who had Narasiṅgarâya, whose son was Nâraparâya, whose son was Narasiṅgarâya, whose son was Kṛishṇarâya. Bukkarâya, as we have seen already, ruled from 1473 to 1481 A. D. If we should fix twenty years as the reigning period of each of the four kings who succeeded Bukka, Kṛishṇarâya must have flourished about 1560 A. D. It appears, therefore, that he was a contemporary of Sadâśivarâya of Vijayanagara, which fact is rendered manifest by the inscription in the Aṅkalamma temple at Karimaddâla village.[20] Achyutarâya, who succeeded Kṛishṇarâya in 1530 A. D., reigned till 1542 A. D.

We have already seen how Salika Timma assumed the reigns of government during the minority of Sadâśiva, how he tried to confine Râmarâja (the son-in-law of Kṛishṇadêvarâya) and his brother Tirumalarâya in prison, how they both fled to Penukoṇḍa and mustered forces, and with the help of the sovereign of Kurnul invaded Vijayanagara, defeated and killed Salika Timma, and proclaimed young Sadâśiva king in 1542 A. D. Sadâśiva was king only in name, and Râmarâja assumed the actual reins of government and ruled as the real monarch till 1565 A. D., when he was overthrown and killed by the Muhammadan armies at the battle of Tâlikôṭa. The Muhammadan kings entered Vijayanagara and by many atrocious acts ruined the kingdom, but, on account of internal dissensions, did not completely occupy the place. For the next five years anarchy prevailed in the land, and about 1567 A. D. Sadâśiva died. In the same year Tirumaladêva left Vijayanagara for Penukoṇḍa, proclaimed himself king in 1569 A. D., and reigned there for the brief space of three years, when he died His son, Śrîraṅgarâya, reigned from 1572 to 1585 A. D. His brother, Veṅkaṭapatirâya, then became king, and removed the seat of his government from Penukoṇḍa to Chandragiri,[21] where he died in 1614 A. D., leaving no issue. Now as Kṛishṇarâya of Nandyâl was a contemporary of Sadâśiva, he must have flourished about 1564 A. D. And Piṅgali Sûrana, who dedicated his *Kalâpûrṇôdaya* to Kṛishṇarâya of Nandyâl, must have done so at about the same period. This king is also the same Kṛishṇarâya of Nandyâl that flourished towards the beginning of the reign of Veṅkaṭapatirâya. He must, therefore, have reigned for a very short period after 1585 A. D. Moreover, mention is made in the *Kalâpûrṇôdaya* that Nâraparâya, the grandfather of Kṛishṇarâya, utterly routed Kutubu'l-Mulk, the progenitor of the Kutub-Shâhi family of Gôlcoṇḍa, at Koṇḍavîḍu. This Kutubu'l-Mulk, we know, reigned at Gôlcoṇḍa from 1512 to 1543 A. D. As this battle came off in 1515 A. D., at the time of

[20] *Local Records*, Vol. XVI. of Oriental MS. Library, Madras. [21] [See above p. 326, note 12. — H. K. S.]

Kṛishṇadêvarâya, it cannot be far from the truth to say that the grandson of the person who fought the battle must have been living thirty or forty years later.

The inference, therefore, is that Piṅgali Sûrana must have lived about 1560 A. D. We may infer the same thing from a study of the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya*. We know that this work is dedicated to Pedda Veṅkaṭâdri of Âkavîḍu, about twelve miles to the west of Koilkuṇṭla in the Kurnul district on the banks of the Tungabhadra. We learn from the poem that Veṅkaṭâdri's grandfather, Immarâya, conquered the country as far as Rajahmundry in the district of Godaveri. We learn further that Immarâya and Nâraparâya were kings tributary to Kṛishṇadêvarâya, and that they led his forces against the Muhammadans. We have already seen that Kṛishṇadêvarâya conquered Vijayanagara in 1515 A. D. It is highly probable that Immarâya may have been with him at the time. That the Âkavîḍu kings were feudatories of the kings of Vijayanagara is borne out by the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya*. From that reference, we are led to infer that the poem must have been written previous to the dissolution of the kingdom of Vijayanagara in 1565 A. D.

There is also a story current which confirms the above statements. It is said that this Sûrana was the husband of Allasâni Peddana's grand-daughter, and in his young days roamed about like a loafer in the streets, and so the people not only laughed at him but also at his wife for having secured a pudding-headed husband. Sûrana enraged at this treatment went away to a foreign place, became a good *pandit*, returned home, and began to write the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya*. When the matter was reported to Peddana by his grand-daughter, he asked the poet Sûrana to read a stanza from it. A certain portion of a stanza was read, when Peddana said that it was a laboured one, but before the same stanza was completed, he changed his opinion, and extolled his grandson. As Sûrana lived with the Âkavîḍu kings and wrote the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya* before his other work, the *Kalâpûrṇôdaya*, was written, he must have written it about 1550 A. D., when he was in the first flush of manhood. The *Garuḍapurâṇa*, written previous to this date, is lost.

Sûrana is by far the best of medieval poets and makes a near approach to Tikkana. We learn from the opening stanzas in his *Prabhâvatî-Pradyumna* that he wrote previously the *Garuḍapurâṇa*, the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya* and the *Kalâpûrṇôdaya*. Râmarâjabhûshaṇa's *Hariśchandra-Nalôpâkhyâna* was composed after Sûrana's *Râghavapâṇḍavîya*. Sûrana was the pioneer in the production of those complete poetical works, of which each stanza carries two meanings and so continuously tells two stories. Such poetical compositions are called *dvyarthakâvyas* in Telugu. In the preface to his *Râghavapâṇḍavîya*, Sûrana has well defined the way in which such *kâvyas* ought to be written, and has thus paved the way for the guidance of future poets treading on the same lines.

We have already pointed out that the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya* must have been written by Sûrana in the flush of manhood. Taste, the handling of subjects, and style, generally differ with men with the advance of age. This is clearly brought before us in the case of poets generally. Take Śrînâtha for instance, who has written voluminously, and compare the poetry of his youth with that of his manhood and old age, and one perceives a world of difference. There is a world of difference between his *Vîdhi nâṭaka* and his *Naishadha* between his *Mârutarâtcharitra* and his *Sâlivâhanasaptaśati*, between his *Kâśîkhaṇḍa* and his *Paṇḍitârâd-yacharitra*. The spectacles through which poets* view the world are different at different stages of their life. When a man begins to write poetry in his youth his head is so stuffed with a surfeit of Sanskṛit poetry and dramatic lore that he merely pours forth his book-learned skill. But when the flush of youth has cooled down, when he is no longer brisk when he is tossed about in the wider sphere of busy and active life, he no longer sees through the spectacles of his books, but observes things as they are in the work-a-day world. When men come to view life through the spectacles of Nature, a wide change comes over them, which s brought very vividly before us in their style, no longer laboured, no longer that of the studious recluse, but flowing like running water.

Sanskrit drama seems to have taken so firm a hold of Piṅgali Sûrana, that he could not help adopting the style of the dramatists in his poetic compositions. He had the greatest regard for Kâlidâsa and some for Bâṇa. But still he did not tread the beaten track of poetic routine, and shews some originality in his poems. He lead a phase of Telugu poetry to a certain extent. The one great peculiarity with him is that his descriptions are true to Nature, and are dramatic. The descriptions of Ayôdhyâ and Hastinâpura in his *Râghavapâṇḍavîya* are not hyperbolical as is generally the case with other Telugu poets, and I am puzzled to observe that he has fallen into that pit in his descriptions towards the beginning of the *Kalâpûrṇôdaya*, for there is a certain conventionality which Telugu poets generally adopt in their descriptions of towns and cities, which Sûrana did not generally follow. In his *Prabhâvatî-Pradyumna* he went straight on with the subject as if it was a drama to be enacted on the stage, and then made Indra and his charioteer, Mâtali, view Dvârakâ from their seat in the heavens and describe the place, so that the description of the town was not the poet's but Indra's and Mâtali's.

The Kalâpûrṇôdaya is the best among Sûrana's *prabandhas*. It was entirely a product of the poet's brain. The following is its story in brief :—

I. — In the Trêtâ-Yuga. Nârada, put to shame by Tumbura, prays to Vishṇu who confers on him certain gifts.

II. — In the Dvâpara-Yuga. In a park at Dvârakâ, Kalabhâshiṇî with her female friends is swinging in a cradle. Nârada informs his disciple, Maṇikandhara, that these women of the earth are setting the celestials at naught. Rambhâ, who is beneath a cloud, sauntering in the heavens with her lover Nalakûbara, overhears the conversation, comes before them with her lover, and speaks in rather an arrogant fashion, and says that in beauty she has no compeer. Nârada informs the celestial lovers that there shall arise a false Rambhâ and a false Nalakûbara, to put a barrier between them, and descends to the earth near the park. The two lovers go their own way. Meanwhile Kalabhâshiṇî, who is in the park, sees Nalakûbara and falls in love with him. Nârada comes and sees Kalabhâshiṇî, and informs her that she will one day become a co-wife with Rambhâ. She hears the good news gladly, serves Nârada as becomes a hostess and goes home. Nârada then retires to Śrî Kṛishṇa's court.

III. — Nârada goes to Śrî Kṛishṇa's seraglio with Kalabhâshiṇî, leaving Maṇikandhara outside to play on the *vîṇâ*, and under the orders of Śrî Kṛishṇa learns music from Rukmiṇî and other members of the seraglio. Śrî Kṛishṇa invites Nârada, Kalabhâshiṇî and Maṇikandhara to his presence, hears their music, and says that they are on a par with each other in the art, and are unrivalled in the fourteen worlds.

IV. — Nârada has doubts as to whether the praise bestowed on him by Śrî Kṛishṇa is merely formal or real, and sends Kalabhâshiṇî, with the gift of assuming any feminine form she pleases, to learn the true opinions that the members of the seraglio entertained about him, and informs Maṇikandhara of the cause of his bitter enmity with Tumbura. Kalabhâshiṇî returns and informs Nârada that the praise bestowed on him was real, which satisfies him very much. Nârada then dismisses her, and sends Maṇikandhara on a mission to sacred watering places.

V. — Maṇikandhara goes to Ślêśvara Upâdhyâya of Śâradâpîṭha in Kâśmîr on a mission which proves fruitless. He thereupon retires to perform *tapas*.

VI. — Kalabhâshiṇî who has centred her mind on Nalakûbara remains in her park, being very much troubled by her love for him, when Maṇistambha, a Siddha, comes and creates confidence in her, both by his words and deeds, tells her that he will take her to Nalakûbara, and goes up to the heavens with her in his lion-shaped chariot (*siṁha vâhana*).

VII. — As his chariot does not proceed far, Maṇistambha informs Kalabhâshiṇî that they have arrived at the temple of a deity who has a lion-shaped chariot, and that unless the deity is propitiated, they will not be able to proceed further, descends from his chariot, leaves Kalabhâshiṇî near the temple, and goes in search of flowers.

VIII. — An old woman, Sumukhâsattî by name, comes and informs Kalabhâshiṇî that the Siddha is a magician, and that he has brought her there to be offered up as a sacrifice to the deity, and shews her in corroboration thereof an inscription which she reads, and is satisfied with the veracity of all the old woman has said, and bursts forth into lamentations. Meanwhile, the Siddha returns, holds Kalabhâshṇî by her tresses, and is about to slay her, when the old woman makes a vow on the deity, whereupon the Siddha slays the old woman. The deity soon after this appears before them, and allows the Siddha to roam the heavens with Kalabhâshiṇî. Sumukhâsattî then becomes a young woman and extols the deity.

IX. — Maṇistambha and Kalabhâshiṇî fall on a bed of flowers in a park. When the latter cries out, Maṇikandhara who has assumed the form of Nalakûbara and has enjoyed Rambhâ, at a distance, hears the cry, and comes and terrifies Maṇistambha. Meanwhile, Kalabhâshiṇî looses herself from the hold of the Siddha, assumes the form of Rambhâ, and approaches the false Nalakûbara to live with him. In the interim the real Rambhâ goes in search of him, and comes upon the scene, when both the real and the apparent Rambhâ quarrel with each other as co-wives, and the latter is cursed and retires. Soon after the real Nalakûbara appears on the scene, curses the false one, and retires to heaven with Rambhâ. Maṇistambha flies with his sword.

X. — Kalabhâshiṇî, Maṇikandhara and Maṇistambha come one by one to Sumukhâsattî at the temple already mentioned and narrate to each other their respective stories. Maṇikandhara then offers up Kalabhâshiṇî. She is cut to pieces, and the pieces become invisible. Sumukhâsattî and Maṇistambha go their own way. Maṇikandhara then retires to Śrîśaila, to breathe his last, and a Malayâḷa Brâhmaṇa, who comes there, takes possession of the necklace of the deceased and performs *japa*.

Such is the main story of this beautiful poem which contains many shorter stories as well all happily brought to a close in its fifth canto.

The last of the bards whom we have to deal with is **Râmarâjabhûshaṇa,** sometimes styled **Baṭṭumûrti.** No two critics, however, agree as to whether these two names belong to one and the same poet or are the names of two different poets. I shall endeavour in the following lines to present the reader with the case on either side and leave him to form his own judgment.

Râmarâjabhûshaṇa was the poet who wrote the *Vasucharitra.* Some are of opinion that this name was an honorific title, conferred on him by the fact of his having played an important part at the court of Râmarâja, and that his real name was Baṭṭumûrti. He was born at Baṭṭupalli. The village was given to the poet's ancestors, known as the Prabandhâṅkas, by Kṛishṇadêvarâya, for their poetic excellence. Some identify the village with one near Pulivendla in the Cuddapah district, and others with one in the district of Bellary. The poet may have been born at the time of Kṛishṇadêvarâya, but it is highly improbable that he was one of the eight poets of his court. He really gained the title of Râmarâjabhûshaṇa for a few impromptu verses on Râmarâja, during the last days of his life. Râmarâja, as we have seen already, was the son-in-law of Kṛishṇarâya, and the regent who guided the helm of the state during the minority of Sadâśivarâya from 1542 to 1564 A. D. We may say, therefore, that possibly the poet began to write about 1560 A. D. We learn that he addressed some commendatory verses to Râmarâja during his lifetime from the fact of Tirumalarâya, to whom the *Vasucharitra* is dedicated, referring to the same fact in addressing the poet in his *Vasucharitra.* From the *Narapativijaya* we learn that Râmarâja married Tirumalâmbâ, the daughter of Kṛishṇarâya, and had by her Kṛishṇarâja and Pedda Ṭimmarâja.

After the demise of Râmarâja, the kingdom of Vijayanagara, which ought properly to have fallen to his son Kṛishṇarâja, as being the property of his maternal grandfather, was usurped by Tirumalarâya and Veṅkaṭapatirâya, the brothers of Râmarâya.

To return to the names of Râmarâjabhûshaṇa. Some say that Mûrti and Râmarâjabhûshaṇa are the names of two different poets, and that the former was the author of the *Narasabhûpâlîya*, while the latter wrote the *Vasucharitra* and *Hariśchandra-Nalôpâkhyâna*. Others maintain that Mûrti was the real name and that Râmarâjabhûshaṇa was an honorific title given to him for holding the leadership of the court of Râmarâja, and that he was the son of Sûraparâja and the adopted son of Veṅkaṭarâjabhûshaṇa. Those who maintain the latter view say that the colophons in the *Vasucharitra*, *Narasabhûpâlîya*, and *Hariśchandra-Nalôpâkhyana* vary, and that in the colophons of the last two works there is a variation in the names of the father of the poet. Vîrêśaliṅgam Pantulu[22] says that though at the first reading of the works under reference we are led to believe that the writers are different, further reflection will make us feel that we must receive that opinion with a little caution.

In the beginning of each of these works, there is a slight difference in the adjuncts used, but as these are not contradictory, we have no reason to infer that the poets are two different people. As both the writers are *bhaktas* of Hanumân, as their style is not different, as it has been generally admitted till lately, that Baṭṭumûrti was the author of the *Vasucharitra*, and as the commentators of the *Vasucharitra*, who flourished very soon after him, say that he wrote the *Narasabhûpâlîya* illustrative of the figures of speech used in the former work, we are forced at least to doubt that these works are due to two different authors.

There can be no gainsaying the fact that Mûrti was the author of the *Narasabhûpâlîya*. 'Baṭṭu' and other adjuncts must be either family names or honorary titles. In the work under consideration, there is an adjunct 'Śubha' attached to the word 'Mûrti.' How came this word to be there, and to whom ought it to be properly applied? From the colophon to the *Hariśchandra-Nalôpâkhyâna*, we learn that this adjunct 'Śubha' was conferred by Râmarâja on the poet Râmarâjabhûshaṇa. All this tends to shew the identity of the writers of the *Vasucharitra* and *Hariśchandra-Nalôpâkhyâna*. Were 'Râmarâjabhûshaṇa' a mere title, there would be no occasion at all to doubt the identity of the writers. But were the word used to express the name and not the title of a person, then there would be no occasion for using 'Râmarâjabhûshaṇa' in one place, 'Ramanṛipabhûshaṇa' in another, and 'Râmabhûshaṇa' in a third. In his preface to the *Hariśchandra-Nalôpâkhyâna* Poondla Ramakrishniah says that this is a fact of trivial importance, and that he is at a loss to know how Vîrêśaliṅgam Pantulu drew that inference. For, says he, had the expression 'Râmarâjabhûshaṇa' been a mere mark of honour, the poet would not have curtailed it, but assuming it to be the poet's own name he was at liberty to deal in whatever way he pleased with it as suited his own convenience. If, as that writer maintains, 'Râmarâjabhûshaṇa' is a mere title, what means have we, asks Poondla Râmakrishniah, to learn the genuine name of the poet? A book does not go by the mere title of the writer, and what has Vîrêśaliṅgam Pantalu to say for the word 'Veṅkaṭarâyabhûshaṇa'? If he explains 'Râmarâjabhûshaṇa' in the way he does, he must also explain 'Veṅkaṭarâyabhûshaṇa' in just the same way. And as the latter appellation seems to be an anonymous one, it follows, says Poondla Râmakṛishniah, that the word 'Bhûshaṇa' is a common appellation for all the members of the poet's family. It is said in the last of the works, the *Hariśchandra-Nalôpâkhyâna*, that the poet had written previously the *Vasucharitra*, and other works, and that he had dedicated them to many of the greatest kings.

We learn two facts from the foregoing statements, *viz.*, that the poet must have written at least one more work than the *Vasucharitra*, *i. e.*, the *Narasabhûpâlîya*, and that he must have dedicated these to more than two, at least three, kings, *viz.*, Râmarâja, Tirumalarâya and Narasarâya. I leave the credibility of this explanation to the reader.

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22 *Biographies of Telugu Poets*, Vol. II. p. 91.

Some maintain that the poet wanted to please his real and foster fathers, and has therefore entered the name of the one in one of his works and of the other in the other, while in the third no mention is made of either, and that in the *Hariśchandra-Nalôpâkhyâna* the mention of the expression 'Sûrapâtmaja' shews that he was the son of Sûraparâja, while in the *Narasabhûpâlîya*, the mention of 'Veṅkaṭarâyabhûshaṇasuputru' shews that he was the adopted son of Veṅkaṭarâyabhûshaṇa.

The first of the poet's works is the *Vasucharitra*, which is an exaggerated description of the loves of king Vasu and the beautiful nymph Girikanyakâ. It was dedicated as we have already seen to Tirumalarâya. The following metrical rendering is taken from the second book of the poem, and is supposed to be spoken by Mañjuvâṇî when she was deputed by her mistress Girikanyakâ to Vasuraja :—

"O ruler of the world, thy presence bright
Fills each expanding heart with true delight
And joy, as when propitious fortune pours
Unmeasured treasures down in golden showers,
Or when the moon in plenitude arrayed
Shoots her bright splendours through the midnight shade.
Friend of the world! O powerful deity!
The effulgence of thy penetrating eye
Dispels the darkness and the gloom profound,
Whose sable mantle covers us around.
Thy graceful presence this auspicious day,
O king of kings, sends far each care away!
With every keen desire and wish possessed
Filled to satiety we stand confessed.
O sovereign of the earth! Thy heavenly tread
Approaching doth with potent blessings shed
On mortals immortality and grace,
And makes us wise as is the ethereal race.
Pre-eminent in good thy virtue pours
Like fruitful autumn its prolific stores:
Our homage paying we profit by thrift.
The rural goddess sheds her choicest gift
Exuberant on me and on my friends; with joy
In plenty we our happy hours employ,
That can a grateful voice enow upraise,
Receive the boon and give eternal praise?"

The *Vasucharitra* was much admired by the contemporaries of Baṭṭumûrti, and became a model for later poets to follow. The poet was highly rewarded by Tirumalarâya for this and other works that he composed at the command of that monarch. The descriptions of nature and the diction of the poem are excellent. It was written after 1570 A. D. Tirumalarâya, to whom the work is dedicated, removed the seat of his government to Penukoṇḍa in 1567 A. D., and his battle with the Moslems after that date is recorded in the poem, and a slight reference is also made to the king transferring the reins of government to his second son Śrîraṅgarâya after making him heir-apparent, after the demise of his eldest son Raghunâtharâya.

Whoever the writer of the *Narasabhûpâlîya* may be, it is dedicated to Narasarâya, the nephew of Râmarâya and Tirumalarâya. Śrîraṅgarâya, the maternal grandfather of Narasarâya, had five sons — Kôṇarâja, Timmarâja, Râmarâja, Tirumalarâja, and Veṅkaṭapati-

râja, and three daughters — Lakkamâmbâ, Ôbamâmbâ and Kônamâmbâ. Of the offspring of the daughters: to Narasarâya, son of Lakkamâmbâ, is dedicated the *Narasabhûpâlîya*, to Gobbûri Narasarâja, son of Ôbamâmbâ, is dedicated the *Râmâbhyudaya*, while the *Paramayôgivilâsa* is dedicated to Timmarâya, son of Kônamâmbâ. The *Narasabhûpâlîya* is a Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit *Pratâparudrîya*, of which the portion dealing with the drama (*Nâṭaka Prakaraṇa*) and the examples illustrative of the rules are omitted. The examples were prepared afresh by the author in the name of Narasarâja. It is said that Râmarâjabhûshaṇa had a taste for music.

By the time he composed the *Harischandra-Nalôpâkhyâna*, Râmarâjabhûshaṇa must have been of a ripe old age, and by that time the dissolution of the kingdom of Vijayanagara had reached its completion. This work was written after Piṅgali Sûrana wrote his *Râghavapâṇḍavîya*, dedicated to Srî Râma, towards the end of the sixteenth century. We may, therefore, safely say that Râmarâjabhûshaṇa wrote his works from 1550 to 1590 A. D.

In his preface to the *Harischandra-Nalôpâkhyâna*, Poondla Ramakrishniah says that the fact that the colophons of the *Vasucharitra* and *Harischandra-Nalôpâkhyâna*, the first and third of the works, agree, and that mention is made of a totally different personage in the second of the works, *Narasabhûpâlîya*, shews that the writer of the first and third of these works must have been one and the same person. Had the second work been written by this person there would have been no possibility of so many inconsistencies in prosody as are to be found in it, for they are wholly absent in the *Vasucharitra*.

In the preface to his commentary on the *Vasucharitra*, the commentator **Sômanâtha** (who also wrote the *Chaturbhujâbhishêka*, *Yâvanacharitra* and *Gaṁgâgaurîsaṁvâda*) says that the *Vasucharitra* was written by Mûrti or Baṭṭumûrti. We know that this commentator flourished towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, a few years after Appakavi and Ahôbalapati. What have the modern critics to say to this?

Telugu poets are in the habit of introducing into their later works certain stanzas from their earlier ones, with slight rectifications and modifications. Take for instance Tikkana's *Nirvchanôttararâmâyaṇa* and his *Mahâbhârata*. This habit is also visible in the *Vasucharitra* and *Narasabhûpâlîya*. An inexplicable fact unless we admit that the two works are the compositions of one and the same poet.

The evidence therefore comes to this that **the so-called Ashṭa-diggajas did not all flourish at the time of Kṛishṇadêvarâya,** and there can be no gainsaying the fact that **the golden age of Telugu art and literature began sometime previous to Kṛishṇarâya,** whose nearer ancestors had discovered and nursed the genius of the Telugu people, while he, after his military achievements, gave them a home. His wars with the Muhammadans had established his supremacy over the vast extent of Telugu country. Vijayanagara had become an imperial State, and the Telugus, bound to her not merely by legal bonds, but by indissoluble ties of interest and affection, brought to her their civilization. Their arts and philosophy were easily carried to the new seat of learning, where Kṛishṇarâya was ready to receive them with due honor. Not content with patronizing literature, he built many *maṇḍapas* and temples, nor, while hospitable to the authors of the city's civilization, was he unmindful of her material prosperity, and the trees he planted in the town extended their cool, umbrageous branches over many a weary way-farer. Later on, though her political power waned and disappeared; though kingdoms rose and fell and the centuries rolled away, they did but bring fresh triumphs to the city of the poet and the sage. Revolution after revolution has since passed over the face of India, but time has only half succeeded in its theft. Vijayanagara has been removed and ruined, but its power through its writers to delight the Telugus is still left.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CORNAC.

HERE is the latest quotation I can find of this curious Europeo-Indianism, as an addition to those in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* It means an elephant-driver.

1895. — " Si deux elephants sont capturés, l' un reviendra au maitre de la monture: le chasseur et le cornac se partageront le prix de l'autre." — Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I. p. 64.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BAZARUCCO AND BEZOAR.

HERE is a further contribution towards the history of these words, *vide* Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. vv.*, Budgrook and Bezoar.

1639.—"Here (Borneo) is also Gold and Bezoar. This Stone breeds in the Maw of a Sheep or Goat, about a knot of Grass that stays in the Maw, and is often found within the Stone. The Persians call these Beasts *Bazans*, and the Stone Bazar, which is, a Market, as by excellence proper for a Market or Fair: and from the same word comes the Bazarueques, he east money that is sent to the Market. The Stone is smooth and greenish, and the more substantial and weighty it is, the better it is and of the greater vertue. In the Country of Pan, near Malacca, they find a Stone in the Gall of a certain Swine, more highly esteemed than the Bazar. It is of a reddish colour, as smooth and slippery in the feeling as Soap, and exceeding bitter; so that when it is to be used, they only steep it in cold water, and the water is a most soveraign Antidote against all poyson, and an effectual cordial against all infectious Diseases."—Mandelslö, *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, E. T., 1669, p. 124.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A TELUGU SUPERSTITION.

WHEN troubled by fleas or mange dogs bring their hinder parts (or posteriors) in contact with the ground and move on for some distance in that repulsive attitude and in this manner some of the parts of their bodies which are not accessible to the tail or the teeth are scratched or scrubbed, and when a Telugu observes in a house this canine action for which Nature is responsible, he at once attaches to it a superstition to the effect that the house is ruined, but as the house is usually not ruined in consequence it may be inferred what truth there is in the superstition!

M. N. VENKETSWAMY.

INDIGO AS A TABUED PLANT.

I HAVE seen it stated that Musalmâns object to red in the Muharram. Is this objection general? and what is its foundation?

It would perhaps explain the fact that in the east of the Panjâb red is distinctly the Hindû, and indigo (which good Hindûs will not grow) the Musalmân colour.

But why will not Hindûs grow indigo? There must surely be some older reason than its adoption by Musalmâns as a favourite colour in their clothes.

DENZIL IBBETSON, in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A WANDERING GHOST AT THE NICOBARS.

THE following extract is from the diary of the Agent at Mûs in Car Nicobar:—

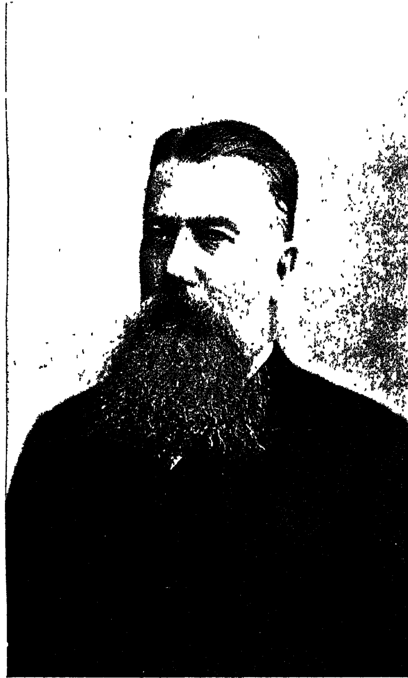
"*8th May* 1896. — The chief Offandi, Friend of England, and a few other notables of Mûs came and asked my permission to expel from the Beacon the ghost of the boy who had died the other day. I told them that the Beacon was a standard erected in honor of Her Majesty the Queen Empress, and that no ghost could go into it. I also told them that, if they defiled the Beacon, they must not expect the usual presents from the Queen (*i. e.*, the Indian Government). They then went into the nearest jungle, and caught the ghost in a thick bush and threw it into the sea.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MURDER IN ORDER TO PROCURE A SON.

IN December, 1885, a low class Musalmân woman 35 years of age, from the Jâlandhar District, Pañjâb, arrived in Port Blair, sentenced to transportation for life for murder in the following circumstances. She had had several male children who had died in infancy, and had been told by a *faqîr* that, if she killed the eldest son or daughter of some one, and bathed herself over the dead body, she would have another son, who would live. She had daughters, one of them a little child, with whom the eldest daughter of a neighbour, aged three, used to play. With the assistance of her elder daughter, a grown girl, she took the little girl into her home and cut her throat. Next day she and the elder daughter took the body into a barley field, where the woman bathed herself over it.

R. C. TEMPLE.



GEORG BÜHLER, 1837-1898.

J. Löwy, Photo., k.u.k. Hof-Photograph, Weihburg-gasse 31, Vienna.

W. Griggs, repro.

GEORG BÜHLER.

IN MEMORIAM.

BY M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

ON the 16th of April, 1898, the terrible news reached Vienna that **Hofrath Dr. J. G. Bühler, C. I. E.,** Professor of Sanskṛit and Indian Antiquities in the University of Vienna, had met his death by drowning in Lake Constance. He had left Vienna on the 5th of April to spend the Easter vacation with his wife and son, who were staying with relations at Zürich. Tempted by the unusually fine weather, he broke his journey at Lindau on Lake Constance, to enjoy two days' rowing before proceeding to Zürich. On the 7th of April he hired a small boat, and returned to the Hotel towards evening. **On Good Friday the 8th April** he hired the same boat again — a small rowing boat, ominously called 'nut-shell' by the natives — to take another trip across the lake. He was last seen about seven o'clock in the evening. Those acquainted with the locality believe that he must have lost an oar and, in attempting to recover it, over-balanced the boat, and so was drowned. Next day the boat was found floating on the lake bottom upwards, but no one knew who 'the old gentleman' was that had been seen in the boat the night before. While his servants in Vienna believed him to be in Zürich with his family, his wife thought that he had been unexpectedly detained in Vienna, though she was not a little distressed at receiving no reply to her letters. A few days passed before the proprietor of the Hotel, in which the Professor had been staying, communicated with the police. Enquiries were set on foot, and at last, on the 15th of April, it was ascertained that the occupant of the boat was Hofrath Bühler of Vienna. The body has never been recovered.

Readers of this *Journal,* in which so many of Dr. Bühler's discoveries have been published, need not be told what an irreparable loss Sanskṛit scholarship and Indology have suffered by the death of the great scholar who seemed to be quite indispensable as a guide and worker in the field of Indo-Aryan research. Many of the readers of this *Journal,* too, were friends and pupils of the deceased; need they be told of his untiring readiness to help, of the noble unselfishness with which he sacrificed any amount of time to those whom he had enlisted as co-workers in any branch of the science which was all in all to him, or of his wonderful enthusiasm as a teacher? Yet a short sketch of the life-work of the eminent scholar and master whom we have lost, may not be unwelcome to readers of this *Journal,* which owes so much to him.

Johann Georg Bühler was born at Borstel near Nienburg in Hanover on the 19th July, 1837. He was a student at the University of Göttingen where he took his doctor's degree in 1858. His master was the famous linguist and folklorist Theodor Benfey, and Benfey was always very proud of his pupil, while the latter was attached to him as long as he lived, in the sense that a Hindu pupil is attached to his *Guru.* I remember (it was about a year after Benfey's death) Bühler saying that he did not agree with Benfey's theory, according to which the Buddhist fairy tales were the oldest source from which all Indian fairy tales were derived, but that he did not care to write anything in opposition to his old teacher.

The first articles published by Bühler were concerned with questions of **Comparative Philology** and **Vedic Mythology.** They were published in *Orient und Occident* (1862 and 1864), edited by Benfey :—an essay on the god Parjanya, an article on the etymology of θεός, etc. A paper 'On the origin of the Sanskṛit Linguals' appeared, in 1864, in the *Madras Literary Journal.* But before long his enthusiasm turned more and more to the study of Sanskṛit as an independent branch of knowledge, and no longer a mere handmaid to Comparative Philology. It was this enthusiasm which awakened in him a strong desire to go out to India, and in order to form connections for achieving this purpose, he went to England in 1859. Here he continued his studies in the libraries of Oxford and London, entered into relations with Prof. Max Müller, and held for a short time the post of Assistant Librarian at the Royal Library in Windsor. After three years he returned to Göttingen, to take up an appointment at the University Library.

But he had not been there very long when at last an opportunity seemed to offer itself for the fulfilment of his greatest desire. At that time he was determined to go to India at any cost, and (as he often told his pupils, when he wished to encourage them to go out to India) would have gone out as a merchant's agent, had no better chance offered itself. Thus, when he was told that there was an opening in the Education Department in India, he did not stop to consider the circumstances connected with the appointment in question, but started at once for India, and when he arrived in Bombay, he found that the post which was promised him was not vacant! Happily, however, in those days European scholars were constantly wanted in the Educational Department. He became acquainted with Sir Alexander Grant, then Principal of the Elphinstone College in Bombay. Sir Alexander had already done much for education in India, and was particularly anxious to raise the standard of Sanskṛit studies in the College. It was through his exertions that in December, 1862, Raghoonath Shastry was sent from the Poona College to Bombay, to teach Sanskṛit, and he soon succeeded in obtaining for Bühler an appointment as Professor of Oriental Languages at the Elphinstone College.

In his *Report* to the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1862-63, Sir Alexander Grant refers to Bühler's appointment and adds: 'Dr. Bühler seems in every way well qualified for the duties of his chair. He reports that as Sanskṛit studies have been only just started in the college, the standard is as yet low. This will be doubtless remedied by his exertions in the course of time, and we are now in a position to assert that every student in college will be regularly grounded in either Sanskṛit or Latin. I need not point out to you the importance of this step from an educational point of view.' In his next *Report* (1863-64) Sir Alexander, after referring to the services of the Professors in general, adds: 'Dr. Bühler especially seems to me to deserve mention for the cordial way in which he has thrown himself into the work of the College. Not only as a man of learning, but also as a practical educationist, he has been a great acquisition to our staff.' He not only taught Sanskṛit, but also Comparative Philology and Latin, occasionally also Ancient History. He paid great attention to the College Library, to which many standard Sanskṛit works were afterwards added through his exertions. In every way he worked hard to make the Natives acquainted with European methods of research and with the results of Oriental studies in Europe, but at the same time he was aware of the great value, which the traditional learning of Native Paṇḍits may have for the progress of Sanskṛit studies, both in Europe and in India. In one of his first *Reports* on his college work he recommends to Government the appointment of 'one of the thorough-bred Shâstrîs of the old school,' both as a help to the advanced students and as an assistance to the Professor. 'The Shâstrîs,' he says, 'are the representatives of the traditional knowledge of Sanskṛit, and in the present state of Sanskṛit studies their services are by no means to be underrated.' It was his constant effort to combine the advantages of classical European education with those of the traditional Hindu methods of teaching. That India has produced such scholars as Bhâṇḍârkar, Shankar Paṇḍit, Telang, Apte, and others, and that these men, who have acquired and made so excellent a use of European methods of criticism, have been educated in the Bombay Presidency, is to a very great extent due to the beneficial influence of Bühler and it must be said later on also of Kielhorn.

In the *Report* of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1865-66, reference is made for the first time to the plan of publishing 'A Collection of Sanskṛit Classics for the Use of Indian High Schools and Colleges' under the title **Bombay Sanskṛit Series,** to be edited under the superintendence of Profs. Bühler and Kielhorn. Although, in the first instance, intended for the use of schools in India, the excellent editions of standard Sanskṛit works published in the *Bombay Sanskṛit Series* have become of the greatest importance for the progress of Sanskṛit studies in Europe. We need only compare the beautiful editions of Sanskṛit texts, published in this Series, with the carelessly printed and (excepting a few laudable exceptions) utterly uncritical editions published in the Calcutta *Bibliotheca Indica,* to see how beneficial the influence of men like Bühler and Kielhorn has proved also in this

respect. Bühler himself took his share as an editor in this Series by publishing excellent editions of some books of the *Pañchatantra*, of the first part of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumâracharita*, and other important texts.

From 1870 Bühler acted as **Education Inspector** in the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency. If we read his *Annual Reports* on his work in this capacity, as they are printed in the *Reports of the Department of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency* (1870-1880), we can get an idea of the zeal and enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to his official duties, ever anxious to raise the standard of education in the district entrusted to his administration. Bühler's services were fully appreciated by the Education Department, and when, in 1880, he retired from the service, the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency, in his *Report* for the year 1879-80, referred to Bühler's work in India in the following words: 'His Excellency in Council will take this opportunity of expressing his great regret at the loss which the Department has sustained by the retirement from the service of Dr. Bühler, whose zealous labours have done so much to lay the foundation of a sound popular education in Gujarât, while he has no less distinguished himself by his successful exertions in the collection of some thousands of manuscripts in Central India, Râjputâna, the Panjaub, Kashmir, etc., as well as in this Presidency; in the preparation of standard works on Hindu Law and literature, and in adding to the stock of philological and archæological lore. By his influence as a Teacher in Government Colleges and Examiner in the University of Bombay. he has not only kept alive an interest in Sanskṛit, but has extended the study of that language, and raised the standard of Oriental Scholarship throughout the west of India."

Bühler's great and important travels for the **Search for Sanskṛit Manuscripts** began in 1866, and the *Report of the Department of Public Instruction of the Bombay Presidency* for the year 1866-67 contains an highly valuable report by Bühler on discoveries made on his tour to the Southern Maratha Country in search of Sanskṛit Manuscripts. The Director of Public Instruction, referring to Bühler's labours during this tour, says: 'By conversing fluently in the Sanskṛit Language with Brahman Shastris at the various places which he visited, he succeeded to a great extent in inspiring confidence and in allaying the prejudices of persons who were at first unwilling to show their sacred volumes to an European.'

This search for Sanskṛit MSS., for which, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Whitley Stokes Government had made an annual grant of 25,000 Rupees, now occupied Bühler for many years With untiring zeal and energy he searched the libraries in many parts of India, and discovered most valuable and unexpected treasures. And his investigations, carried on with no less enthusiasm than knowledge of his subject, led to discoveries in all branches of Indian literature. Indeed, some entire branches of literature were brought to light by him for the first time.

Thus, before the days of Bühler, our knowledge of the highly important **literature of the Jainas** was very scanty indeed, although the members of this sect had for centuries displayed an extraordinary literary activity, and the most valuable collections of Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit MSS. were hidden away in the old and rich libraries of the Jaina monasteries. Bühler was the first to start a systematic investigation of these 'treasuries of Sarasvatî' as the Jainas call their libraries. The Library of Jesalmer, searched by Bühler in 1874, was the first Jaina library, which a European was allowed to search. It was no easy matter to be admitted to these jealously guarded treasures. The monks and ministers in Jesalmer tried, by every possible means, to prevent the inspection of their library, and it required not a little patience and tact and diplomacy on Bühler's part to enable him to examine all the MSS. in it. But his labour was amply rewarded. For not only was this library rich in valuable MSS. both of the religious literature of the Jainas and of profane Brahmanical literature, but these MSS. also proved to be of high antiquity. Before the year 1873 no MSS. were known in India to be older than the 15th century. In 1873 Bühler had discovered MSS. dated as early as A. D. 1258, and here in Jesalmer he was delighted to find MSS. of a still earlier date, some going back to

A. D. 1100. It is of course well known now that since then much older Sanskṛit MSS. have been discovered in Nepal, Japan, and Kashgar.

Throughout his travels in search for Sanskṛit MSS. Bühler paid special attention to the Jaina MSS., and it is through his exertions that numerous specimens have become accessible to European scholars in the libraries of London and Berlin, as well as in Indian libraries. Thus it is, that we are now comparatively well informed about the history and the religious system of a sect, of which hardly anything was known thirty years ago, is chiefly due to Bühler's efforts. For his discoveries and collections of MSS. led to the excellent works of Profs. Albrecht Weber, Hermann Jacobi, and Ernst Leumann, in the department of Jaina religion and literature. It is no small comfort to know that Bühler's labour will not be lost, and that in this branch of Hindu literature these scholars will continue the work, which he had inaugurated with so great success.

The general results of Bühler's indefatigable labours in the search for MSS. are found in numerous Government *Reports* and *Catalogues*;—*e. g.*, in his *Catalogue of Sanskṛit MSS. contained in the Private Libraries of Gujarât, Kâṭhiâvâd, Kachchh, Sind and Khândeś*, published 1871-73, in the annual reports for the years 1870-80 of the Royal Asiatic Society on the progress of Oriental learning (generally reprinted in the *Indian Antiquary*), in many of the volumes of the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, and in the easter volumes of Weber's *Indische Studien*, we constantly come across references to new discoveries made by Bühler, — discoveries of works pertaining to all branches of Indian Literature, which were either altogether unknown before, or of the re-discovery of which scholars had long given up all hope. These labours reached their climax in the famous *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskṛit Manuscripts in Kaśmir, Râjputâna and Central India* (Bombay, 1877), a very mine of information about almost every point of Sanskṛit Literature. Details were given here about numerous works which had hitherto been entirely unknown, and about authors whose very names had never been heard before.

To mention only one instance, it is in this *Detailed Report* that we first hear of Kshemendra, the Kaśmir poet and polyhistor whose numerous works, though of small value as works of art, are of the greatest importance for the history of the contemporaneous literature and especially also for the history of the Hindu epic literature. It is impossible to write a history of Indian literature now-a-days, without constantly referring to Bühler's *Detailed Report*, which contains not only names and titles, and brief notices of numerous works and authors, but also most valuable discussions on the literary and historical importance of the discovered MSS.

For Bühler was not only a successful discoverer and zealous collector of MSS., but he was also most eager to use his discoveries for literary and historical investigations. Though he never grudged the treasures, which he had discovered, to other scholars, and though he was ever ready to place any MSS. he had found at the disposal of scholars in Europe or India, who were anxious to edit texts or to avail themselves of the new MSS. for literary purposes, — he also took his share in the laborious task of editing texts, and above all he never lost sight of the one great aim he had in view, to bring light into the dark ages of the ancient history of India, and to disentangle the chaos of the history of ancient Hindu Literature.

How often have we heard complaints about the unsatisfactory state of history in India! We are told that, as regards the history of ancient India, we have nothing but fables and legends, no real historical facts at all; that, with an enormous mass of literary compositions, we have no chronology in these works that could be depended on. Well known are the words of the great American scholar, W. D. Whitney, that 'respecting the chronology of this development, or the date of any class of writings, still more of any individual work, the less that is said the better,' — that 'all dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again.' All these complaints, which twenty years ago were still fully justified, are

now-a-days greatly exaggerated. That this is the case, that Sanskṛit Literature is no longer the chaos it was, that one or two 'pins,' at any rate, stand so firmly rooted that they cannot be 'bowled down' again, that the hope at least is justified that, instead of the chaos of Indian history and literature, we shall some day have a cosmos, — is in no small measure due to the efforts of Bühler himself and of a considerable number of pupils and fellow-workers who had gathered around him.

Bühler never felt satisfied with what is called '**inner chronology**,' which is based on a comparison of the contents of the different literary compositions and in this way tries to establish a kind of chronological sequence of the works, — a proceeding in which too much scope is left to individual opinion. One safe historical date which could be depended on was worth more to Bühler than a volume full of more or less convincing arguments as to might-bes. But how were such firmly established historical dates to be obtained? If not from works of literature yet from monuments of stone and metal. Bühler was fully aware of this, and with his characteristic enthusiasm he devoted himself to the task of searching for, deciphering, and interpreting **inscriptions**, and no one was more eager than he was in turning these inscriptions to account for historical, geographical, and literary purposes. The results of these investigations are recorded in numerous papers in the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Epigraphia Indica*, and other Oriental *Journals*, and we owe to them many **important chronological data**, not only about the political history of India, but also concerning many Hindu authors and works of literature, and light is thrown by them on the history of entire branches of literature, as well as on the history of certain religious systems. In a most important paper on Indian inscriptions and the age of the **Kâvya Literature** (*Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie*, Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1890) Bühler has shown, in one particular instance, how much valuable information concerning the history of the classical Sanskṛit literature may be gathered from the inscriptions. The fact thar from **the literary works** themselves the so-called Kâvya Literature cannot be traced back further than the 6th century A. D., led to Prof. Max Müller's famous theory of a 'literary interregnum' in India, and a 'Renaissance of Sanskṛit literature,' beginning about 400 A. D. and reaching its highest development in the 6th century, but Bühler showed in this paper that the irrefutable testimony of **inscriptions** proves a much higher antiquity of the Kâvya Literature, that it was developed not after but before the beginning of our era, and that a 'literary interregnum' probably never existed in India. In the new edition of his work *India, what can it teach us?* (published in 1892), Prof. Max Müller readily acknowledged that, in view of the arguments of his friend Bühler, the theory of the 'Renaissance promulgated by him could not be upheld any longer without considerable modification.

But it is not only with regard to the history of classical Sanskṛit literature that Bühler's epigraphic discoveries and researches have led to new and important results, they have also thrown a flood of light on many dark points in **the history of religious movements in India** The sect of the Jainas, whose literature (as already mentioned) has only become properly known by Bühler's discoveries, has, also by the investigations of the same scholar, received its due position in the history of religious systems in India. Not so very long ago, Jainism used to be looked upon as a mere offshoot of Buddhism, but Bühler succeeded in proving, by the indisputable testimony of inscriptions, that the Jainas were in early times (as they are now) an important sect, independent of and contemporaneous with that of the Buddhists; that both Jainism and Buddhism arose about the same time in the same part of India — a fact which is of the greatest importance, not only for the history of Buddhism, but also for the history of religious movements in the east of India during the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. The results of Bühler's investigations, which are laid down in a series of articles on the authenticity of the Jaina tradition (in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1887-90) have been fully borne out by further researches of Profs. Jacobi and Leumann. Bühler himself has given a clear and popular account of the Jaina religion and of the historical importance of the Jaina sect, in a paper

read before the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna, entitled 'Ueber die indische Sekte der Jaina' (1887).

It is well known that the writings of the Jainas, apart from their intrinsic value as religious writings and their bearing on the history of religion, are of the greatest importance for the history of Indian literature and civilisation in general. For the Jaina monks, much like the monks of the Middle Ages in Europe, did not content themselves with the study of their own sacred literature, but devoted themselves as eagerly to the study of various branches of learning, and we owe to them many excellent works on grammar and astronomy, besides both original compositions and commentaries on works of poetry. In his important paper, 'Ueber das Leben des Jaina-Mönchs Hemachandra' (*Denkschriften der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, 1889), Bühler has given us an account of the life and works of a famous Jaina monk, who distinguished himself in the profane sciences, especially as a grammarian and lexicographer.

By his labours in connection with Jaina literature, Bühler was led to the study of Prâkṛit and we owe to him many valuable contributions to **Prâkṛit grammar and lexicography.**

But all this pioneer work, to which Bühler was led by his epigraphic researches, and which would have been enough to make the reputation of any scholar, was with him only a small part of his work. His chief aim, which he never lost sight of, was always the elucidation of **the political history of ancient India.** I need only refer to his epigraphic and historical investigations reported in numerous articles and papers found in the *Indian Antiquary*, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, in the *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna*, and in some volumes of the *Archæological Survey of India*. Especially to the famous **Edicts of King Aśoka** he devoted no end of time and patient labour, and how much he has done for the decipherment and correct interpretation of these important inscriptions is well known to all who take an interest in the history of ancient India.

But no less important than the inscriptions seemed to him the few, but all the more valuable, **historical works of the Hindus** — the historical romances and chronicles — as well as the accounts of Chinese and Arabian travellers on India. In 1874, when searching the library of Jesalmir, he discovered an old palm-leaf MS. which (to his great delight) contained the *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, a chronicle composed by the Jaina Bilhaṇa. He started at once to copy the whole MS. He had not much time to spare, but together with his friend Prof. Jacobi (who was his companion during this tour) the whole work was copied within seven days. An edition of this work, with a valuable historical introduction, was published by Bühler soon after in the *Bombay Sanskṛit Series*. Another historical work, the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* or the Chronicles of the Kings of Kaśmir, also attracted his special attention. In his famous *Detailed Report* he devoted to this work a long discussion, in which he dwelt on its importance for the history of India, and pointed out the oldest MSS. which, later on, formed the basis for Dr. Stein's excellent edition of this work. Professor Sachau's edition and translation of *Alberûnî's* famous account of India excited Bühler's liveliest interest, and when the translation was published, he devoted to it a review of 30 pages in the *Indian Antiquary* (1890), pointing out the eminent importance of this work for the History of India.

All this was only intended as a kind of preliminary work for the great scheme which he had in his mind for years — to write a connected history of ancient India. That this scheme was not to be carried out, is probably the most deplorable loss, which Indian studies have suffered by the untimely death of the eminent scholar, who — with his wonderful historical instinct, his critical tact, his accuracy, and his ever unbiased judgment — was the very man to write a history of India. And it is a fact only too well known that a history of ancient India, based on secure epigraphic and literary dates, is one of the greatest desiderata of Indology.

His intimate acquaintance with manuscripts and inscriptions naturally made Bühler a first rate authority on all questions of **palæography.** When Prof. Max Müller published the famous specimens of ancient Indian writing found in Japan, he requested Bühler to discuss the palæographical importance of the new finds, and his palæographical remarks form a most valuable appendix to the texts edited by Prof. Max Müller (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, 1, 3). Only three years ago Bühler published a most valuable contribution to the history of Indian writing in his essay 'On the Origin of the Indian Brâhma Alphabet' (*Indian Studiese* No. III., *Sitzungsberichte* der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, 1895), — a second revised edition of which, together with two Appendices on the Origin of the Kharoshṭhî Alphabet and of the so-called Letter-Numerals of the Brâhmî (with three plates), appeared almost simultaneously with the distressing news of the author's death. And two years ago he published, as part of his *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*, a most exhaustive treatise on Indian palæography (*Indische Palæographie*, with seventeen tables and map) of which an English translation, happily still written by Bühler himself, is now in the press and will be published before long.

But there is hardly any branch of **Indian Philology and Archæology,** in which Bühler has not done pioneer work, on which his extensive knowledge has not thrown new and unexpected light. It is true that his writings are more concerned with classical Sanskṛit literature than with the Veda, yet we owe to him most important discoveries of MSS. belonging to the *Atharva-veda* and to the *Yajur-veda*, and he took the greatest interest in all questions of Vedic philology. He sympathised with those Vedic scholars who (like Prof. Ludwig or Prof. Pischel) see in the *Veda*, first of all, a product of the Indian mind which can only be rightly understood in connection with the rest of the Indian literature. But above all he was interested (and here we see again the historian) in the history of the Vedic schools, and he never ceased to hope that with the help of inscriptions it would be possible to gain information about the development of the different Vedic schools, their spread over various parts of India, and their age, — and in time also about the vexed question as to the age of the *Veda* itself, *i. e.*, of individual Vedic works.

These questions as to the age and geographical distribution of the Vedic schools were discussed by Bühler on several occasions in connection with his investigations into **the history of the Indian Law-books,** — a branch of Sanskṛit literature in which, again, we owe to Bühler real pioneer work. Beyond the law books of Manu and Yâjñavalkya and some modern Commentaries and Digests, little was known, before Bühler, about the oldest legal literature in India, To Bühler (whose labours in this direction have been most successfully continued by Prof. Jolly) we owe our acquaintance with the most ancient Hindu law books, the *Dharmasûtras*. As early as 1867 he wrote his important introduction, *Sources of the Hindu Law*, to Sir Raymond West's *Digest of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, Partition, and Adoption*, of which a third edition appeared in 1884. In this introduction he gave, for the first time, a concise but complete survey of the Hindu law literature. In 1868 and 1871 he published an edition of one of the oldest Hindu law books, the *Aphorisms on the Sacred Laws of the Hindus, by Âpastamba*, — the first critical edition of a work of that kind. A second edition of this work appeared a few years ago (1892-94) in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*. For Prof. Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East* he translated the oldest and most important Hindu law books in two volumes *The Sacred Laws of the Âryas* (Vols. II. and XIV. of the series ; a second edition of Vol. II appeared last year). These translations were chiefly made from MSS. discovered by Bühler himself. Editions of the texts have since been published by various scholars. The introductions to these two volumes contain highly important investigations concerning the age of the works translated, and their relation to one another. In 1886 Bühler translated the law book of Manu, the most popular of all Hindu law books, for the same series (*The Laws of Manu*, Vol. XXV. of the *Sacred Books of the East*). This volume contains not only an excellent translation of the work, but also extensive extracts from the numerous commentaries, and

Appendices illustrating the relation of the *Manusmṛiti* to other Hindu lawbooks. And it also contains a most valuable introduction of 133 pages, in which he not only continues his investigations into the history of the Hindu law books, but also enters into discussions on some of the most important chronological and historical questions touching almost every department of ancient Hindu literature.

Amongst other things he discusses in this introduction the relation of Manu's law book to **the Epic literature of the Hindus**, and for the first time grapples with what is perhaps the most difficult problem in the history of the Indian literature, — the chronological and literary problem of the gigantic Hindu epic, the *Mahâbhârata*. In dealing with this question he again evinces his eminently historical instinct. Here, too, he was utterly dissatisfied with the 'inner' criticism and the vague hypotheses defended by Prof. Holtzmann and other scholars. Eagerly he sought for epigraphic and literary documents from which any secure dates as to the history of the Hindu epic could be obtained. In his *Contributions to the History of the Mahâbhârata* (published together with Prof. Kirste's paper on Kshemendra's *Bhâratamañjarî* in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, 1892) he has shown how, by the patient study of inscriptions and by a comparison of other branches of literature, the dates of which are more or less approximately known, it is possible to bring light even into this darkest of all problems in the history of ancient Hindu literature. He was most anxious to interest his pupils in this much neglected branch of Sanskṛit literature. It was on his suggestion that my articles on the South-Indian recension of the *Mahâbhârata* were printed in the *Indian Antiquary*, and the last letters of the deceased which I received from him during the last months preceding his death, are an eloquent and melancholy proof to me of the great and lively interest he took in all questions of *Mahâbhârata* criticism. In this department of Indology his loss will be felt by no one more painfully and more acutely than by the present writer, whose first thought in all his Indological studies has hitherto always been, 'what will Bühler say?'

We are often told that to make discoveries is merely a matter of luck, and some people might think it was just Bühler's good luck which enabled him to make so many important discoveries, which in their turn led to his fruitful labours in all departments of Indian research. Now it may be called 'luck' that at the time when he was in India there were still so many unknown treasures hidden in Indian libraries. But surely no one was better qualified that Bühler to unearth these treasures.

First of all, he was stimulated by an enthusiasm for his particular line of research, of which only he can have some idea who has ever seen him, standing with sparkling eyes and almost childlike delight before some impression of a difficult inscription from which he had succeeded, after patient and often renewed attempts, in reading the correct Sanskṛit words This enthusiasm was the main spring of the zeal and energy with which he pursued his researches. Moreover, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the languages, in which he could freely converse with native scholars, on whose assistance he had greatly to depend in his travels of research. But above all it was **his hearty sympathy and tact** which won him **the love and affection of the Natives** and, whenever wanted, their ready help and co-operation. He counted among his friends members of all classes of the native population, among learned Brâhmans, as well as among the Jaina monks. He tells us (in a German paper read at the Vienna Oriental Museum in 1883,[1] describing his 'Journey through the Indian desert') how much of his success in searching Jaina libraries he owed to his intimate friendship with the **Srîpûj Jinamuktisûri**, the head of a portion of the Kharatara-Gachchha. He was never tired of mentioning, in words of grateful recognition, any services rendered to him by Paṇḍits. I need only refer to the kind and hearty words of friendship which, in the very first pages of his *Detailed Report*, he devotes to **Paṇḍit Râdhâkishn**, who had brought him the first MSS. of his Kaśmir collection, and how carefully he mentions every one of the Native scholars, whose assistance had been of any use to him during his search for MSS. in Kaśmir.

[1] Printed in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, 1883, pp. 517-535.

Readers of this *Journal* will remember the beautiful obituary which (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII., 1888) he devoted to his lamented friend **Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî**, — a scholar whose excellent contributions to Indian epigraphy and archæology would probably have been lost to the European world of learning, if it had not been for Bühler, who translated into English the papers written in Gujarati by his friend. With a kindly and sympathetic interest, and at the same time with that strict accuracy and conscientiousness which characterizes everything written by Bühler, he gives in this obituary a full account of all that Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl has done for Indian history, epigraphy, and archæology. In stirring words he refers to the noble character of this scholar, and then proceeds to describe his own relations to him, — how they sat together for hours, working and conversing about problems of Indian history and archæology, but frequently also about the social, political, and religious conditions of modern India. 'His amiable, frank character,' (he concludes) 'his keen intelligence, and his extensive learning, made him very dear to me. I shall never forget the pleasant days, when I used eagerly to look forward to the announcement that the Paṇḍitjî had come; and I sadly acknowledge now, as I have done already on special occasions, that I have learnt a great deal from him.'

Never have I heard from Bühler any of those slighting and disparaging remarks about the character of the Natives, which one hears so frequently from people who have spent a few months, or may be years, in India without ever making the least attempt to become really acquainted with any class of Natives. When he spoke of the people among whom he spent so many years of his life, it was always with words of **just appreciation of the good he had found in the Native character**, and words of kindly and grateful remembrance of the services they had rendered him in his scientific pursuits. An incident, which occurred during his stay near Jesalmir, and which he relates in the above-mentioned paper on his *Journey through the Indian Desert*, may show how he surmounted even serious difficulties by the tact and shrewd common-sense, with which he respected and even adopted the religious prejudices of the Natives. One day it happened that a cow was found in the neighbourhood of his camp, ransacking the fodder stores of the camels, and one of the camel-drivers thew a stone to frighten the cow away. Unfortunately he hit her leg. Now, since cows are sacred in Râjputâna, this offence created a great stir. The owner of the cow appeared greatly excited, and stoutly refused to accept any recompense offered him for the damage done. The cows, he said, he loved like his family, and nothing short of corporal punishment inflicted on the offender would satisfy him. The minister of the Rawal, who had hurried to the spot, also insisted on the same demand. The camel-driver was to receive a hundred strokes. Bühler refused to endorse such a sentence, and a whole day passed in futile negotiations with the local officials. At last Bühler hit on a new plan. When the minister of the Rawal came again, Bühler offered to inflict on the camel-driver a heavy fine, and to use the sum for a pious work. To this the people agreed. If a certain amount of fodder were bought, and spread out on the spot of the accident to give the cows of Jesalmer a solemn feast, the atonement would be considered sufficient. Bühler at once promised to do this, and imposed on the offender a fine of twenty rupees, with which he bought five camel loads of hay. These were spread out outside the camp, and for three days all the cows of Jesalmer assembled for a solemn pasture. The wounded cow soon recovered, and the incident, which otherwise might have led to serious disturbances, had no further consequences. It even proved useful, inasmuch as it raised Bühler's authority in the eyes of the people, who were impressed with his sense of justice, since he had offered such a suitable *prâyaśchitta* for the horrible offence committed. The Śrîpûj, too, heartily approved of Bühler's action saying, 'You have acted rightly, now the people know that you respect their prejudices.'

Personal contact and frequent exchange of ideas with native Paṇḍits, were considered by Bühler as indispensable for the progress of research. It was on this account that most of his contributions to Indology were written in English, that he wished his pupils to do the same,

that he insisted on articles relating to India being written in English for the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, and that he persuaded even the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna to print in its *Proceedings* papers in the English language, — as he once said to one of his English friends, 'not to save you trouble, but for the good of those in India.' His friendly relations with the Natives of India enabled him to find many things which no other European could have found; they also enabled him to gain an insight into the inner life and thought of the Indian people, such as only few Europeans, though they may have spent years in India, have been able to obtain. And it was this intimate acquaintance with Hindu modes of thought and with the inner life of the Hindus, which made intercourse with Bühler, and above all his academical teaching, so very inspiring and so extremely instructive.

In fact, what was said of Benfey, that 'his inspirations were more wonderful than his science,' applies even in a greater measure to Bühler, Benfey's great pupil. It was impossible for any one, whatever special department of Indian research he might be interested in, to converse with Bühler even for half an hour only, without gaining from him new points of view and many new inspirations. How much more must this apply to those who (like the present writer) have actually had the good fortune of sitting as pupils at Bühler's feet? When in 1880 the Indian climate affected his health and he had to leave India, he was speedily appointed to **the chair of Sanskṛit and Indology in the University of Vienna**, and with unabated energy he devoted himself to the duties of his chair. Even when teaching the elements of Sanskṛit, he was inspired by the same enthusiasm as that with which he pursued his important archæological and epigraphic researches and worked out the most difficult problems of Indian history. It was a real pleasure to attend his 'Elementary Course of Sanskṛit.' The same practical method of teaching the elements of Sanskṛit, which he and Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar had, with such great success, used in Indian Colleges, was introduced by him in the University of Vienna. For this purpose he published, in 1883, a practical handbook for the study of Sanskṛit, — his *Leitfaden für den Elementarkursus des Sañskṛit*. When I began the study of Sanskṛit in 1881, he was just printing this *Leitfaden* for use at his own lectures; and how we rejoiced at every new sheet that came from the press! An English translation of this *Handbook*, under the title *Sanskrit Primer*, was published in America by Prof. Perry (Boston, 1886). His 'Elementary Course of Sañskṛit' was followed by the reading of easy texts, and never shall I forget the happy hours when I read with Bühler the immortal *Nalopâkhyâna*. When we had surmounted the initial difficulties of the study of Sanskṛit, he began to initiate us into the different branches of Sanskṛit literature by reading with us specimens of the ornate style of classical Sanskṛit poetry and poetical prose, *e. g.*, Bâṇa's *Kâdambarî*; we were introduced to Pâṇini by the reading of the *Siddhântakaumudî*, to the *Alaṅkâraśâstra*, by Vâmana's treatise, to Hindu philosophy by the *Vedântasâra* and the *Tarkasaṁgraha*, to the drama by Kâlidâsa's *Mâlavikâgnimitra* to the *Veda* by reading a selection of hymns with Sâyaṇa's commentary, to the *Dharmaśâstra* by the interpretation of the *Mitâksharâ*, and at the same time he lectured to us on Sanskṛit Syntax, on Indian History, on Epigraphy, on the history of the Hindu law books, etc.; and both within and without the lecture room he took the greatest personal interest in every one of his pupils: like a true Indian *Guru*, he was as a father to his disciples, who will cherish his memory with unceasing gratitude.

As Professor in the University Bühler was also anxious to make Vienna a centre of Oriental studies. With this end in view he became one of the Editors of a literary and critical supplement to the *Monatsschrift für den Orient*, edited by the Vienna Oriental Museum, in which he published several important reviews (1884-86). Shortly before the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1886, he founded, together with the other Professors of Oriental languages at the University and with the assistance of Baron von Gautsch who was then Minister of Public Instruction, **the Oriental Institute of Vienna University.** I still remember the the proud satisfaction and delight, with which he walked through the two rooms of the University devoted to this Institute, and how pleased he was to see his pupils working in it.

It was in the same Oriental Institute, where soon after the newly founded **Vienna Oriental Journal** was edited, in which (from 1887) he published many valuable contributions to Indian history, epigraphy, archæology, lexicography and other branches of Indology.

As a **Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna** he not only added many valuable papers to the *Proceedings* of the Academy, but he also took every opportunity of urging the Academy to support Sanskṛit studies by grants of money for scientific purposes: — *e. g.*, only a few years ago, for the edition of a series of highly important texts, the *Sources of Sanskṛit Lexicography.*

Nevertheless, friendly relations to India and England suffered no interruption. We meet his name in every volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and he often sent communications to Mr. Cotton's *Academy*, and to the *Athenæum*. And readers of this *Journal* know only too well what his loss means to the *Indian Antiquary.*

As a representative of Vienna University, he regularly attended **the International Congresses of Orientalists**, and in the meetings of the Indian Section he always took a prominent part, in fact the part of a leader, — a part in which he will be sadly missed at the next Congress to be held at Rome. It is in no small degree owing to his initiative and his great influence that the various resolutions proceeding from the Indian Section of the Congresses, and addressed to the Governments of India, have led to substantial results, and helped on the progress of archæological and epigraphic research in India. At these Congreses it became clear that Bühler held the position of a **recognised leader among the Sanskṛit scholars of Europe**, a position which he did not assume from any ambition on his part, but which was tacitly granted him as a matter of course. That this was the case is due as much to his personality as to his great scholarship. For it is characteristic of Bühler that while he won the love and respect of the Natives to so great an extent, he enjoyed at the same time the friendship and regard of Englishmen in India, both of scholars and of high officials. In Europe, too, he had, by his tact and shrewd knowledge of the world, made many friends and won influence, not only in the learned world, but also in high and influential circles. In this respect also Bühler's loss to Indian studies is irreparable. For he never used his influence but in the interest of Science.

And it lies in the nature of our studies, that for their advancement the quiet labour of the student alone is not sufficient. We want, not only pioneers willing to work in the field of archæological and epigraphic research, but also large sums of money to enable them to undertake long journeys, to make excavations, and so on, and to make their discoveries generally accessible by costly publications; we want not only patient scholars willing to edit voluminous texts, but also large sums of money, again, to make the publication of such texts possible. All this can only be done with the help of Governments, Academies, and learned Societies. Bühler was the very man to work in this direction in the interest of Science. He had connections in influential circles both in India and in England, in Austria and Germany, and he knew how to interest persons in his cause, who are otherwise difficult to approach in anything relating to a branch of knowledge, which is still anything but popular. But by his energy and his wonderful knowledge of men he succeeded in carrying his point, where many another would have failed. Though he was a German scholar in the true sense of the word — industrious, patient, and accurate, — there was yet something of the practical Englishman in him. He was a true scholar, yet his world was never limited to his study. He was a man of the world in the interest and for the benefit of Science.

And while he possessed those qualities which enabled him to exercise influence, he was ever ready to help and to advise. No one, — whether he was a friend or pupil of his, whether a well known *savant*, or a young Sanskṛit scholar just writing his 'doctor's dissertation,' applied to him in vain for help and advice; and I know many who call themselves pupils of Bühler, who have never attended a single lecture of his. He who wanted to edit a text applied to

Bühler for MSS. He who wanted to do archæological or epigraphic work, turned to Bühler for inscriptions and, it may be, for ways and means to go out to India. He who wanted information about any difficult point in Indian research, turned (it seemed the most natural thing) to Bühler for advice. Thus he will be missed by every Sanskṛit scholar and Indologist ; but his nearer friends and pupils feel without him as if cast adrift.

Bühler's leadership among Indologists, though it had long been an understood fact, was to find its outward expression in the great work, which occupied him during the last years of his life, and which was to be the crown of his life-long labours in the field of Indian research, — in his **Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research.** Upwards of thirty scholars of various nationalities — from Austria, England, Germany, India, the Netherlands, and the United States — had joined Bühler, in order to give, according to an elaborate scheme which he himself had worked out, systematic treatises on all the different branches of Indology, and thus for the first time to render a complete account of the present state of our knowledge of India in a concise survey of Indian philology, literature, history, antiquities, religion, sciences, and art. Bühler had not only planned the whole work, enlisted his collaborators, and undertaken the general editorship, but he had also reserved for himself the treatment of some of the most difficult subjects. He had the satisfaction of seeing the great undertaking started by the publication of several excellent contributions.[2] But only one of his own contributions was he allowed to see completed, — that on Indian palæography which has already been mentioned. He had also promised to treat, together with Prof. Jolly and Sir Raymond West, on sociology, clans, castes, etc., and on economics, tenures, commerce, etc. ; and how he would have brought his extensive knowledge of modern Indian life to bear on these subjects ! Together with Dr. Stein, he had intended to treat the subject of geography, with which he was so familiar, both by his journeys extending over so many parts of India and by his epigraphic researches. But above all, his plan, which he had carried about for so many years, of writing a Connected History of India, was to be accomplished in this work. He had promised to treat on the literary and epigraphic Sources of Indian History, and on the 'Political History from the earliest times to the Mahommedan Conquest, with a chapter on Chronology.' That he has not been spared to accomplish this task, is undoubtedly the greatest misfortune that could have befallen Indian studies. It is one comfort to know that the *Encyclopedia* which has been started so auspiciously is to be continued, Prof. Kielhorn having undertaken the editorship of the work in succession to Bühler. And there can be no doubt that men like Prof. Kielhorn, Dr. Hultzsch, and Dr. Fleet will be able to take up the work on Indian history, which Bühler left undone, that Prof. Jolly, Sir Raymond West and Dr. Stein will be able to accomplish the task in which Bühler was to assist them, and that they will do so in the spirit of their departed friend ; but surely these scholars, and in fact all those who are still engaged in any work in connection with the *Encyclopedia*, will feel the loss of Bühler most deeply, and miss him most frequently and most painfully.

What enabled Bühler to so eminently become the leading spirit of such an undertaking as the *Encyclopedia*, was the fact that **he was one of the few universal Indologists** (a term recently applied by Bühler to the veteran Sanskṛit scholar Prof. Weber) who are still living. With the advance of Indian studies it has become well nigh impossible for any one scholar to

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[2] The following Parts have been published up to the present date, *i. e.*, under Bühler's editorship :—

Vol.	I., 3, *b*.	The Indian Systems of Lexicography (Koshas) by Th. Zachariæ (in German).
,,	I., 6.	Vedic and Sanskrit Syntax by J. S. Speyer (in German).
,,	I., 11.	Indian Palæography (with 17 plates) by Bühler (in German).
,,	II., 3, *b*.	Coins (with plates) by E. J. Rapson (in English).
,,	II., 8.	Law and Custom by J. Jolly (in German).
,,	III., 1, *a*.	Vedic Mythology by A. Macdonell (in English).
,,	III., 2.	Ritual Literature, Vedic Sacrifices and Charms by A. Hillebrandt (in German).
,,	III., 4.	Sâṁkhya and Yoga by R. Garbe (in German).
,,	III., 8.	Buddhism by H. Kern (in English).

master all the different branches of Indology, and the period of specialisation (which by a sad necessity must come in every branch of knowledge) has set in. Bühler fully recognised the necessity of specialising, but he also saw the danger of carrying specialisation too far, and he often warned his pupils against limiting themselves too much to one special branch of research. He himself never forgot and often took occasion to point out, how the various branches of Indology, and the different periods in the history of Indian civilization are most intimately connected.

Nor did he ever lose sight of the relations existing between the various nations of the East and the different branches of Oriental studies in general. Although he limited himself, in his writings, as much as possible to those departments of knowledge which were his particular domain, yet his view reached far beyond the limits of India, and the history of Indian civilisation was to him but an act in the great drama of the History of Mankind.

Bühler's clear-sightedness in questions of detail, his far-sightedness in dealing with great historical problems will be missed for years to come. We shall miss again and again his noble character, his great and influential personality, his inspiration, his advice and his help. And all that he might still have produced, is lost, — irretrievably lost! He who has been a leader of men, a trusty guide, has been taken from us! He is gone, and it merely remains for us to cherish his memory by continuing the work which he had so much at heart, to the best of our power and by building on the solid foundations which he has laid; for, though he is no longer with us, his life-work will remain for ever, — *na hi karma kshîyate.*

GEORG BÜHLER, 1837-98.

BY THE RIGHT HON. F. MAX MÜLLER.[1]

IT is not often that the death of a scholar startles and grieves his fellow-workers as the death of my old friend, Dr. Bühler, has startled and grieved us all, whether in Germany, England, France, or India. Saṅskṛit scholarship has indeed been unfortunate: we have often lost young and most promising scholars in the very midst of their career; and though, Dr. Bühler was sixty-one years of age when he died, he was still so young and vigorous in body and mind that he made us forget his age, holding his place valliantly among the πρόμαχοι of the small army of genuine Indian students, and confidently looking forward to many victories and conquests that were still in store for him. By many of us he was considered almost indispensable for the successful progress of Saṅskṛit scholarship — but who is indispensable in this world? — and great hopes were centred on him as likely to spread new light on some of the darkest corners in the history of Saṅskṛit literature.

On the 8th of April last, while enjoying alone in a small boat a beautiful evening on the Lake of Constance, he seems to have lost an oar, and in trying to recover it, to have over-balanced himself. As we think of the cold waves closing over our dear friend, we feel stunned and speechless before so great and cruel a calamity. It seems to disturb the regular and harmonious working of the world in which we live, and which each man arranges for himself and interprets in his own way. It makes us feel the littleness and uncertainty of all our earthly plans, however important and safe they may seem in our own eyes. He who for so many years was the very life of Saṅskṛit scholarship, who helped us, guided us, corrected us, in our different researches, is gone; and yet we must go on as well as we can, and try to honour his memory in the best way in which it may be honoured — not by idle tears, but by honest work.

Non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit exsequi.

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[1] Reprinted from *J. R. A. S.*, 1898.

A scholar's life is best written in his own books; and though I have promised to write a biographical notice for the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, in which he took so warm and active an interest, I have to confess that of the personal circumstances of my old friend, Dr. Bühler, I have but little to say. What I know of him are his books and pamphlets as they came out in rapid succession, and were always sent to me by their author. Our long and never interrupted friendship was chiefly literary, and for many years had to be carried on by correspondence only. He was a man who, when once one knew him, was always the same. He had his heart in the right place, and there was no mistaking his words. He never spoke differently to different people, for, like a brave and honest man, he had the courage of his opinions. He thought what he said, he never thought what he ought to say. He belonged to no *clique*, he did not even try to found what is called a school. He had many pupils, followers, and admirers, but they knew but too well that though he praised them and helped them on whenever he could, he detested nothing more than to be praised by his pupils in return. It was another charming feature of his character that he never forgot any kindness, however small, which one had rendered him. He was *kṛitajña, memor facti*, in the real sense of the word. I had been able, at the very beginning of his career, to render him a small service by obtaining for him an appointment in India. He never forgot it, and whenever there was an opportunity he proved his sincere attachment to me by ever so many small, but not therefore less valuable, acts of kindness. We always exchanged our books and our views on every subject that occupied our interest in Sanskṛit scholarship, and though we sometimes differed, we always kept in touch. We agreed thoroughly on one point — that it did not matter *who* was right, but only *what* was right. Most of the work that had to be done by Sanskṛit scholars in the past, and will have to be done for some time to come, is necessarily pioneer work, and pioneers must hold together even though they are separated at times while reconnoitring in different directions. Bühler could hold his own with great pertinacity; but he never forgot that in the progress of knowledge the left foot is as essential as the right. No one, however, was more willing to confess a mistake than he was when he saw that he had been in the wrong. He was, in fact, one of the few scholars with whom it was a real pleasure to differ, because he was always straightforward, and because there was nothing astute, mean or selfish in him, whether he defended the Pûrva-paksha, the Uttara-paksha, or the Siddhânta.

Of the circumstances of his life, all I know is that he was the son of a clergyman, that he was born at Borstel, 19th July, 1837, near Nienburg, in the then kingdom of Hanover, that he frequented the public school at Hanover, and at 1855 went to the University of Göttingen. The professors who chiefly taught and influenced him there were Sauppe, E. Curtius, Ewald, and Benfey. For the last he felt a well-deserved and almost enthusiastic admiration. He was no doubt Benfey's greatest pupil, and we can best understand his own work if we remember in what school he was brought up. After taking his degree in 1858 he went to Paris, London, and Oxford, in order to copy and collate Sanskṛit and chiefly Vedic MSS. It was in London and Oxford that our acquaintance, and very soon our friendship, began. I quickly recognized in him the worthy pupil of Benfey. He had learnt how to distinguish between what was truly important in Sanskṛit literature and what was not, and from an early time had fixed his attention chiefly on its historical aspects. It was the fashion for a time to imagine that if one had learnt Sanskṛit grammar, and was able to construe a few texts that had been published and translated before, one was a Sanskṛit scholar. Bühler looked upon this kind of scholarship as good enough for the *vulgus profanum*, but no one was a real scholar in his eyes who could not stand on his own feet, and fight his own way through new texts and commentaries, who could not publish what had not been published before, who could not translate what had not been translated before. Mistakes were, of course, unavoidable in this kind of pioneering work, or what is called original research, but such mistakes are no disgrace to a scholar, but rather an honour. Where should we be but for the mistakes of Bopp and Burnouf, of Champollion and Talbot?

Though Bühler had learnt from Benfey the importance of Vedic studies as the true foundation of Sanskṛit scholarship, and had devoted much time to this branch of learning, he did not publish much of the results of his own Vedic researches. His paper on Parjanya, however, published in 1862 in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, Vol. I. p. 214, showed that he could not only decipher the old Vedic texts, but that he had thoroughly mastered the principles of **Comparative Mythology,** a new science which owed its very existence to the discovery of the Vedic Hymns, and was not very popular at the time with those who disliked the trouble of studying a new language. He wished to prove what Grimm had suspected, that Parjanya, Lit. Perkunas, Celt. Perkons, Slav. Perun, was one of the deities worshipped by the ancestors of the whole Aryan race, and in spite of the usual frays and bickerings, the main point of his argument has never been shaken. I saw much of him at that time, we often worked together and the Index to my *History of Ancient Sanskṛit Literature* was chiefly his work. The important lesson which he had learnt from Benfey showed itself in the quickness with which he always seized on whatever was really important in the history of the literature of India. He did not write simply in order to show what he could do, but always in order to forward our knowledge of ancient India. This explains why, like Benfey's books, Bühler's own publications, even his smallest essays, are as useful to-day as they were when first published. Benfey's edition of the Indian fables of the *Panchatantra* produced a real revolution at the time of its publication. It opened our eyes to a fact hardly suspected before, how important a part in Sanskṛit literature had been acted by Buddhist writers. We learnt in fact that the distinction between the works of Brahmanic and Buddhist authors had been far too sharply drawn, and that in their literary pursuits their relation had been for a long time that of friendly rivalry rather than of hostile opposition. Benfey showed that these Sanskṛit fables of India had come to us through Buddhist hands, and had travelled from India step by step, station by station, through Pehlevi, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, and the modern languages of Europe, till they supplied even Lafontaine, with some of his most charming Fabliaux. Benfey was in many respects the true successor of Lassen in calling the attention of Sanskṛit scholars to what are called in German the *Realia* of Sanskṛit scholarship. He was bold enough to publish the text and translation of the *Sâmaveda*, and the glossary appended to this edition marked the first determined advance into the dark regions of Vedic thought. Though some of his interpretations may now be antiquated he did as much as was possible at the time, and nothing is more painful than to see scholars of a later generation speak slightingly of a man who was a giant before they were born. Benfey's various Sanskṛit grammars, founded as they are on the great classical grammar of Pâṇini, hold their own to the present day, and are indispensable to every careful student of Pâṇini, while his *History of Sanskṛit Philology* is a real masterpiece, and remains still the only work in which that important chapter of modern scholarship can be safely studied.

Bühler was imbued with the same spirit that had guided Benfey, and every one of his early contributions to Benfey's *Orient und Occident* touched upon some really important question, even though he may not always have settled it. In his article on *θεός*, for instance (*O. u. O.*, Vol. I. p. 508), which was evidently written under the influence of Curtius' recent warning that *θεός* could not be equated with *deus* and Skt. *dêva* without admitting a phonetic anomaly, he suggested that *θεός* as well as the Old Norse *díar*, 'gods,' might be derived from a root *dhî*, 'to think, to be wise.' Often as we discussed that etymology together — and it was more than a mere etymology, because on it depended the question whether the oldest Aryan name of the gods in general was derived from the bright powers of Nature or from the more abstract idea of divine wisdom — he could never persuade me that these two branches of the Aryan race, the Greek and the Scandinavian, should have derived the general name for their gods from a root different from that which the other branches had used, *viz.*, *div*, 'to be brilliant,' and from which they had formed the most important cluster of mythological names, such as Zeus, Jovis, Diespiter, Dia, Diana, etc. I preferred to

admit a phonetic rather than a mythological anomaly. If I could not persuade him he could not persuade me, *et adhuc sub judice lis est!*

Several more etymologies from his pen followed in the same journal, all connected with some points of general interest, all ingenious, even if not always convincing. In all these discussions, he showed himself free from all prejudices, and much as he admired his teacher, Professor Benfey, he freely expressed his divergence from him when necessary, though always in that respectful tone which a Śishya would have observed in ancient India when differing from his Guru.

While he was in Oxford, he frequently expressed to me his great wish to get an appointment in India. I wrote at his desire to the late Mr. Howard, who was then Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, and to my great joy got the promise of an appointment for Bühler. But, unfortunately, when he arrived at Bombay, there was no vacancy, Mr. Howard was absent, and for a time Bühler's position was extremely painful. But he was not to be disheartened. He soon made the acquaintance of another friend of mine at Bombay, Sir Alexander Grant, and obtained through him the very position for which he had been longing. In 1865 he began his lectures at the Elphinstone College, and proved himself most successful as a lecturer and a teacher. His power of work was great, even in the enervating climate of India, and there always is work to do in India for people who are willing to do work. He soon made the acquaintance of influential men, and he was chosen by Mr. (now Sir) Raymond West to co-operate with him in producing their famous *Digest of Hindu Law.* He supplied the Sanskṛit, Sir Raymond West the legal materials, and the work, first published in 1867, is still considered the highest authority on the subjects of the Hindu Laws of Inheritance and Partition. But Bühler's interest went deeper. He agreed with me that the metrical **Law-books of Ancient India** were preceded by legal *Sûtras* belonging to what I called the Sûtra period. These *Sûtras* may really be ascribed to the end of the Vedic period, and in their earliest form may have been anterior to the Indo-Scythian conquest of the country, though the fixing of real dates at that period is well-nigh an impossibility. When at a much later time I conferred with him on the plan of publishing a series of translations of the Sacred Books of the East, he was ready and prepared to undertake the translation of these Sûtras, so far as they had been preserved in MSS. Some of these MSS., the importance of which I had pointed out as early as 1859 in my *History of Ancient Sanskṛit Literature,* I handed over to him; others he had collected himself while in India. The two volumes in which his translation of the legal *Sûtras* of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vasishṭha, and Baudhâyana are contained, have been amongst the most popular of the series, and I hope I shall soon be able to publish a new edition of them with notes prepared by him for that purpose. In 1886 followed his translation of the *Laws of Manu,* which, if he had followed the example of others, he might well have called his own, but which he gave as founded on that of Sir William Jones, carefully revised and corrected with the help of seven native commentaries. These were substantial works, sufficient to establish the reputation of any scholar, but with him they were by-work only, undertaken in order to oblige a friend and fellow-worker. These translations kept us in frequent correspondence, in which more than one important question came to be discussed. One of them was the question of what caused the gap between the Vedic period, of which these *Sûtras* may be considered as the latest outcome, and the period of that ornate metrical literature which, in my Lectures on India delivered at Cambridge in 1884, I had ventured to treat as the period of the Renaissance of Sanskṛit literature, subsequent to the invasion and occupation of India by Indo-Scythian or Turanian tribes.

It was absolutely necessary to prove this once for all, for there were scholars who went on claiming for the author of the *Laws of Manu,* nay, for Kâlidâsa and his contemporaries, a date before the beginning of our era. What I wanted to prove was, that nothing of what we actually possessed of that ornate (*alaṁkâra*) metrical literature, nor anything written in the continuous *śloka,* could possibly be assigned to a time previous to the Indo-Scythian invasion. The

chronological limits which I suggested for this interregnum were from 100 B. C. to 300 A. D. These limits may seem too narrow on either side to some scholars, but I believe I am not overstating my case if I say that at present it is generally admitted that what we call the *Laws of Manu* are subsequent to the *Sâmayâchârika* or *Dharma-sûtras*, and that Kâlidâsa's poetical activity belongs to the sixth, nay, if Professor Kielhorn is right, even to the end of the fifth century p. Ch., and that all other Sanskṛit poems *which we possess* are still later. **Bühler's brilliant discovery** consisted in proving, not that any of the literary works *which we possess* could be referred to a pre-Gupta date, but that **specimens of ornate poetry occurred again and again in pre-Gupta inscriptions,** and, what is even more important, that the peculiar character of those monumental poems presupposed on the part of their authors, provincial or otherwise an acquaintance, if not with the *Alaṁkâra Sûtras* which we possess, at all events with some of their prominent rules. In this way the absence or non-preservation of all greater literary compositions that could be claimed for the period from 100 B. C. to 300 A. D. became even more strongly accentuated by Bühler's discoveries. It might be said, of course, that India is a large country, and that literature might have been absent in one part of the Indian Peninsula and yet flourishing in another; just as even in the small peninsula of Greece, literary culture had its heyday at Athens while it was withering away in Lacedaemon. But these are mere possibilities, and outside the sphere of historical science. There may have been ever so many Kâlidâsas between 100 B. C. to 300 A. D., but *illacrimabile premuntum nocte.* The question is, why were literary works preserved, after the rise of the national Gupta dynasty, in the only ways in which at that time they could be preserved in India, either by memory or by the multiplication of copies, chiefly in Royal Libraries under the patronage of Râjahs, whether of Indian or alien origin — and why is there at present, as far as manuscripts are concerned, an almost complete literary blank from the end of the Vedic literature to the beginning of the fourth century A. D.?

The important fact which is admitted by Bühler, and was urged by myself, is this — that whatever literary compositions may have existed before 300 A. D., in poetry or even in prose, nothing remains of them at present, and that there must surely be a reason for it. Here it was Bühler who, in the *Transactions* of the Vienna Academy, 1890, came to my help, drawing my attention to the important fact that among certain recently published ancient inscriptions, eighteen of which are dateable, two only can with any probability be proved to be anterior of what I called the four blank centuries between 100 B. C. to 300 A. D. (See *India*, p. 353). There occur verses which prove quite clearly that the ornate style of Sanskṛit poetry was by no means unknown in earlier times. The as yet undeveloped germs of that ornate poetry may even go back much further, and may be traced in portions of the Brâhmaṇas and in some Buddhistic writings; but their full development at the time of these Sanskṛit inscriptions was clearly established for the first time by Bühler's valuable remarks. So far we were quite agreed, nor do I know of any arguments that have been advanced against Bühler's historical views. There may be difference of opinion as to the exact dates of the Sanskṛit Girnâr inscription of Rudradâman and the Prâkṛit Nasik inscription of Pulumâyi, but they contain at all events sufficient indications that an ornate, though perhaps less elaborate style of poetry, not far removed from the epic style, prevailed in India during the second century A. D. All the evidence accessible on that point has been carefully collected by my friend, and reflects the greatest credit on his familiarity with Sanskṛit *Alaṁkâra* poetry. But the fact remains all the same that nothing was preserved of that poetry before 300 A. D.; and that of what we actually possess of Sanskṛit Kâvya literature, nothing can for the present be traced back much beyond 500 A. D. We must hope that the time may soon come when the original component parts of the ancient epic poetry, nay, even the philosophical Darśanas, may be traced back with certainty to times before the Indo-Scythian Invasion. It is well known that the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas* are mentioned by name during the *Sûtra* period, and we cannot be far wrong in supposing that something like what we possess now of these works must have existed then.

Bühler was full of hope that it might be possible to fix some of the dates of those popular works at a much earlier time than is assigned to them by most scholars. I was delighted to see him boldly claim for the Veda also a greater antiquity than I had as yet ventured to suggest for it, and it seemed to me that our two theories could stand so well side by side that it was my hope that I should be able to bring out, with his co-operation, a new and much improved edition of my chapter on the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature. I doubt whether I shall be able to do this now without his help. The solution of many of the historical and chronological questions also, which remain still unanswered, will no doubt be delayed by the sudden death of the scholar who took them most to heart, but it is not likely to be forgotten again among the problems which our younger Sanskrit scholars have to deal with, if they wish truly to honour the memory and follow in the footsteps of one of the greatest and most useful Sanskrit scholars of our days.

These chronological questions were, of course, intimately connected with the question of the date of the Sanskrit alphabets and the introduction of writing into India, which produced a written in place of the ancient mnemonic literature of the country. There, too, we had a common interest, and I gladly handed over to him, and for his own purpose, a MS. sent to me from Japan that turned out to be the oldest Sanskrit MS. then known to exist, that of the *Prajñâpâramitâ hṛidaya-sûtra*. It had been preserved on two palm-leaves in the Monastery of Horiuzi, in Japan, since 609 A. D., and, of course, went back to a much earlier time, as the leaves seem to have travelled from India through China, before they reached Japan. Bühler sent me a long paper of palæographical remarks on this Horiuzi palm-leaf MS., which forms a most valuable Appendix to my edition of it.[2] Thus we remained always united by our work, and I had the great satisfaction of being able to send him the copy of Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*, which my Japanese pupils had made for me at Paris, and which, whether Aśvaghosha's date is referred to the first or the fifth century A. D., when it was first translated into Chinese, represents as yet the only complete specimen of that ornate scholastic style which, as he had proved from numerous inscriptions, must have existed previous to the Renaissance.[3] Thus our common work went on, if not always on the same plan, at all events on the same ground. We never lost touch with each other, and were never brought nearer together than when for a time we differed on certain moot points.

I have here dwelt on the most important works only which are characteristic of the man and which will for ever mark the place of Bühler in the history of Sanskrit scholarship. Bu there are many other important services which he rendered to us while in India. Not only was he always ready to help us in getting MSS. from India, but our knowledge of a large number of Sanskrit works, as yet unknown, was due to his *Reports* on expeditions undertaken by him for the Indian Government in search for MSS. This idea of cataloguing the literary treasures of India, first started by Mr. Whitley Stokes, has proved a great success, and no one was more successful in these researches than Bühler. And while he looked out everywhere for important MSS. his eyes were always open for ancient inscriptions also. Many of them he published and translated for the first time, and our oldest inscriptions, those of Aśoka, in the third century B. C., owe to him and M. Senart their first scholarlike treatment. This is not meant to detract in any way from the credit due to the first brilliant decipherers of these texts, such as Prinsep, Lassen, Burnouf, and others. Bühler was most anxious to trace the alphabets used in these inscriptions back to a higher antiquity than is generally assigned to them, but for the present, at least, we cannot well go beyond the fact that no dateable inscription has been found in India before the time of Aśoka. It is quite true that such an innovation as the introduction of alphabetic writing does not take place on a sudden, and tentative

[2] *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1884.

[3] Th text of t'ie *Buddhacharita* was published by Cowell in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, the translation in my *Sacred Books of the East*.

specimens of it from an earlier time may well be discovered yet, if these researches are carried on as he wished them to be carried on, in a truly systematic manner. In this field of research Bühler will be most missed, for though absent from India he had many friends there, particularly in the Government, who would gladly have listened to his suggestions. One may regret his departure from a country where his services were so valuable and so much appreciated. I have not dwelt at all in this place on the valuable services which he rendered as inspector of schools and examiner, but I may state that I received several times the thanks of the Governor of the Bombay Presidency, the late Sir Bartle Frere, for having sent out such excellent scholars as Bühler and others. Unfortunately his health made it imperative for him to return to his own country, but he was soon so much restored under a German sky that he seemed to begin a new life as Professor at Vienna. If he could not discover new MSS. there, he could digest the materials which he had collected, and he did so with unflagging industry. Nay, in addition to all his own work, he undertook to superintend and edit an **Encyclopœdia of Indo-Aryan Philology** which was to be a résumé up to date of all that was known of the languages, dialects, grammars, dictionaries, and the ancient alphabets of India; which was to give an account of Indian literature, history, geography, ethnography, jurisprudence; and finally, to present a picture of Indian religion, mythology, philosophy, astromomy, mathematics, and music, so far as they are known at present. No one knows what an amount of clerical work and what a loss of time such a superintendence involves for a scholar who has his hands full of his own work, how much reading of manuscripts, how much letter-writing, how much protracted and often disagreeable discussion it entails. But Bühler, with rare self-denial, did not shrink from this drudgery, and his work will certainly prove extremely useful to all future Indo-Aryan students One thing only one may regret — that the limits of each contribution are so narrow, and that several of the contributors had no time to give us much more of their own original work. But this is a defect inherent in all encyclopædias or manuals, unless they are to grow into a forest of volumes like the *Allgemeine Encyclopædie der Wissenschaften und Künste* by Ersch, begun in 1831 and as yet far from being finished. Under Bühler's guidance we might have expected the completion of his *Encyclopædia* within a reasonable time, and I am glad to hear that his arrangements were so far advanced that other hands will now be easily able to finish it, and that it may remain, like Lassen's *Alterthumskunde*, 1847-1861, a lasting monument of the lifelong labours of one of the most learned, the most high-minded and large-hearted among the Oriental scholars whom it has been my good fortune to know in the course of my long life.

ON PROFESSOR BÜHLER.

BY C. H. TAWNEY, C.I.E.[1]

THE death of Professor J. G. Bühler, came as a terrible shock to his numerous friends in England. It appears that he left Vienna on the 5th of April, 1898, to pay a visit to his wife and son, aged sixteen years, who were staying with relations at Zürich. He broke his journey at Lindau on the lake of Constance. Being an expert oarsman, he was tempted by the fine weather on Good Friday, the 8th April, to take a trip alone in a small rowing boat down the lake. He was last seen about 7 p. m. on that day. It is surmised that he lost an oar and in attempting to recover it, overbalanced the boat, which was apparently very crank, and so was drowned. The boat was found floating bottom upwards, but no one had any idea who had been in it. As Professor Bühler had evidently intended to surprise his family in Zürich with his visit, and had therefore given no hint of his movements, they continued to correspond with him at his address in Vienna and were much distressed at receiving no answer. Meanwhile the proprietor of the Hotel in which he was staying, finding that he did not return, communicated with the police, and enquiries were at once set on foot. It was not ascertained that the occupant of the boat was Professor Bühler of Vienna, until the 15th April, when the melancholy tidings reached his wife in Zürich. The body has never been recovered.

1 Reprinted from Luzac's *Oriental List*.

Professor Bühler was born at Berstel near Nienburg in Hannover. He was educated at the University of Göttingen and studied Sañskṛit under Professor Benfey, for whose scholarship he always retained an enthusiastic admiration, and took his Doctor's degree in the year 1858. He passed many years in the Bombay educational service (1863-1880), and thus came to acquire great familiarity with Gujarâti and Marâṭhî and also the power of speaking Sañskṛit fluently, an accomplishment which impressed considerably the *paṇḍits* of lower Bengal. The famous Sañskṛit scholar Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Mahesa Chandra Nyâyaratna carried on an animated conversation with him in Sañskṛit in the hearing of the writer of the present notice.

Professor Bühler possessed a sympathy with Indian thought and feeling, and a knowledge of native customs and the obvious everyday facts of native life, which removed him from the list of dryasdust Sañskṛit Scholars, and entitled him to be styled rather an **Indianist of a very wide range of acquirements.** While in Bombay, he paid great attention to the study of Indian Law. Of this the book, which he brought out in connection with Sir Raymond West in 1867 and 1869 on the Hindu Law of Inheritance and Partition, is an abiding monument. He subsequently returned to this study and produced the Sacred Law of the Âryas as taught in the schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vasishṭha, and Baudhâyana, in the Sacred Books of the East Series (Oxford, 1879, 1882). In 1886 he translated the Laws of Manu for the same series.

Professor Bühler was well read in Sañskṛit Philosophy, though we cannot call to mind any work that he wrote in connection with the orthodox systems. In Belles Lettres (*Kâvya*) he was thoroughly at home. It was a pleasure to hear him unravel the intricacies of a difficult stanza, constructed, as too many Sañskṛit stanzas are, for the express purpose of displaying the recondite learning of the author. In this field he edited four books of the *Panchatantra* in the Bombay Sañskṛit Series, which was originally brought out under the superintendence of himself and Professor Kielhorn. Of these books many editions have appeared. He edited for the same series the first part of the *Daśakumâracharita* of Daṇḍin. The second part was edited by Professor Peterson. Professor Bühler considered the style of this author in the admittedly genuine portions, as the highest flight of Sañskṛit prose.

In 1875 he edited the *Vikramâṅkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa, a historical work written in ornate Sañskṛit, from a single MS. copied by himself and Professor Jacobi in seven days. This brings us to the distinguishing feature of Professor Bühler's Sañskṛit scholarship. No one has done more for the elucidation of **the Hindu period of Indian History.** By means of his papers on Indian inscriptions in the *Indian Antiquary* and elswhere he has established the history and chronology of that period on a secure basis. Of the knowledge thus acquired he made a memorable use in his article on the "Indische Kunstpoesie" which appeared in 1890. In this paper he shews from an examination of dated inscriptions and other sources, that the ornate style of classical Sañskṛit poetry and poetical prose was in full bloom in the second century of the Christian era. The wide-reaching consequences of this demonstration are at once apparent. In fact this short paper revolutionised the views of Sañskṛit scholars with regard to the date of important branches of Indian literature. Other historical writings of Professor Bühler are his pamphlets on the *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana* of Arisiṁha, on the Jaina monk Hemachandra and the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, the latter brought out in co-operation with Professor Zachariae.

His knowledge of **Jaiṇa literature** and of living Jaina teachers was extensive. It may be assured that his love of history gave him a particular sympathy with Jainas, as some of the best mediæval chronicles of India appear to have belonged to that "Darśana." His short treatise "Ueber die Indische Secte der Jaina," which appeared in 1887, is perhaps the best account of that somewhat neglected sect. It is much to be regretted that it has never been translated into English.

The ripest fruit of his epigraphic studies is to be found in his English pamphlet on the origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet, in which he derived those characters from the most

ancient North Semitic letters, and his contribution on Indian Palæography (with nine tables) to the *Indo-Aryrn Encyclopædia.* The latter treatise is so complete that it is difficult to imagine that it can be ever superseded or supplemented. His loss as editor of this *Encyclopædia* will be widely felt. He was most active as a decipherer of Indian inscriptions to the last, and took a lively interest in the archæological investigations of Doctors Hultzsch, Führer, Waddell and others.

Professor Bühler was a most painstaking teacher. He taught the Sanskṛit language in Vienna even from the Alphabet, the letters of which he drew on a black board for his less advanced class. He was always ready to help any serious student, and averse sometimes to having his assistance acknowledged. In fact, his distinguishing moral quality was unselfishness. He was perhaps hardly conscious himself to what an extent he carried this virtue. His manners were genial and unassuming. He was always in his element in the society of cultivated Englishmen. Before devoting himself to the classical language of India, he had been thoroughly disciplined in Greek and Latin. He was well acquainted with the modern languages of Europe and particularly with English. He could read with ease the most difficult English authors, and composed fluently in that language. It was these qualities that enabled him to give such a powerful impulse to Sanskṛit scholarship both in India and Europe. Nor was his influence confined to the old world. He certainly counted among his pupils one native, at least, of the United States. His work will long survive not only in the books that he has written, but in the interests and capacities that he has created and trained.

PROFESSOR BÜHLER.

BY CECIL BENDALL.[1]

EVERY practical student of Indian learning must have heard with consternation of the death, by a boating accident in the Lake of Constance shortly before Easter, of Hofrath Johann Georg Bühler, Professor of Sanskṛit at Vienna, and for many years a prominent member of the Bombay Educational Service.

Born in 1837 at Berstel in Hanover, he studied Sanskṛit under the leading Sanskṛitist of the last generation, Theodor Benfey. Bühler was Benfey's joy and pride. I remember Bühler once describing to me his embarrassment because old Benfey insisted on kissing him on a public occasion. Bühler made early acquaintance with England, visiting this country for the study of Indian MSS., working for a time in the library of Windsor Castle, and also assisting Prof. Max Müller in the index to his *Ancient Sanskṛit Literature.* In 1863, mainly through the influence of the last-named scholar, he joined the Bombay Educational Service, holding successively the Professorship of Sanskṛit at Elphinstone College, Bombay, and an Inspectorship of Schools in Gujarât. He did excellent work in both capacities.

It is due to the critical scholarship and personal influence of men like Bühler and Kielhorn that the best native scholarship of the "Bombay side" is at least half a century ahead of the rest of India. And yet the rulers of India have decreed that native instruction in Sanskṛit is strong enough to run alone, and the race of such European teachers is to become extinct! One wishes there were a few men on Indian Councils capable of feeling the force of remarks like those of Böhtlingk (the greatest living lexicographer) on the last Sanskṛit dictionary by Bengali scholars. But to return to Bühler. In his educational tours he collected and published statistics of private libraries of MSS. These researches culminated in his great tour in Kaśmîr in 1875, where he made discoveries of unprecedented importance in the literary history of India. Returning to Europe in 1880, he was at once appointed to the Chair of Sanskṛit at Vienna, which he occupied till his death.

[1] From the *Athenæum*, No. 3678, April 23, 1898.

His chief works were the *Digest of Hindu Law* (1867-76), written in conjunction with Sir Raymond West; *Manu,* translated with a masterly introduction (Oxford, 1886); and texts and translations of Apastamba and other minor jurists. He also edited several important texts in lexicography and historical romance, besides useful works for educational purposes. Of his contributions to periodicals a few only can be mentioned. The chief are to be found in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (mainly founded, and largely edited, by him) and in the *Indian Antiquary*. He frequently wrote in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was and honorary member and also an active supporter. Amongst his other articles I may note: Die Asoka- Inschriften;' 'Ueber das Leben des Hemachandra' (1889); 'Ueber die Secte der Jaina' (1887); 'Die indische Inschriften und das Alter der Kunstpoesie' (1890); and his 'Indian Studies,' written in English, though published in Austria, "not to save you trouble," as he once told me, but for the good of those in India. The crowning work of his life was to have been the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research,* designed and edited by him, of which some account has already been given in the *Athenæum,* No. 3593. Of his great published contribution to this, 'Indische Paläographie,' it is impossible for me to speak without gratefully recording the generous acknowldegment (as charming as it was characteristic) of the work done by others who had preceded or aided him in any line of research. During his visit to London in 1897, and also up to his death, I believe, he was mainly engaged on the ancient geography of India. I fear however, from what he told me, that he had made but little progress with what might have been his greatest work, the pre-Muhammadan history of India. He would have gathered together in this his numerous and brilliant contributions to the *Epigraphia Indica.*

Bühler had the true nature of a scholar — accurate, incisive, critical in his own work, helpful, kindly, stimulating to others. His tact and *savoir-faire* made him a natural leader of men on occasions like congresses of Orientalists, where, indeed, his familiar figure will be very greatly missed. His genial, hearty manner made him equally popular and influential with scholars and with men of the world. In all senses he made the best of both worlds.

GEORG BUHLER.

IN MEMORIAM.

BY A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., PH.D.

I FEEL that the various able and full obituary notices of Prof. Bühler which have appeared, leave hardly anything for me to say. But I am glad to have an opportunity of saying that little as a small tribute to the memory of one whose abilities and achievements I have admired ever since I began the study of Sanskṛit, now nearly twenty-four years ago, under his old teacher, Theodor Benfey. Never since then has the death of any scholar produced on me the impression of an irreparable calamity, till the papers last Easter announced the news that Bühler, a solitary sculler on a Swiss lake, had mysteriously disappeared beneath the waves in the evening twilight of Good Friday. All the eminent Sanskṛitists, Benfey, Stenzler, Whitney, Roth, who have died within this period, were all old men, ranging in age from about seventy to eighty years, and had accomplished their life's work. Bühler, on the other hand, was only sixty and, though he had already achieved so much, was really but entering upon what would have been the most important epoch of his career. Quite a short time before his death he expressed the opinion that he would require ten years to finish his chief work, for which his past life had only been a preparation. It was at least fortunate that he lived long enough not only to plan, but to see carried out to a considerable extent, the greatest enterprise yet undertaken in the field of Sanskṛit scholarship, his *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research.* His organising ability, his practical talent, his intimate knowledge of modern India, and his keen interest in all departments of Sanskṛit learning, singled him out

as the man best fitted for the accomplishment of this task. Having had the good fortune to spend seventeen of the best years of his life in India, he owed much to native learning; but he richly repaid the debt by doing more than any other scholar to reveal to the Indians of to-day the history of their past.

Years before I made his personal acquaintance I had heard much about Bühler from Benfey, who often spoke with pride of the achievements of his distinguished pupil. I can still remember some of the very words Benfey used in describing the circumstances of Bühler's appointment at Bombay. It was not till 1883, some three years after his return to Europe, that I first met him. Since then I had every two or three years opportunities of frequent personal intercourse with him at successive Oriental Congresses, especially at Stockholm, London, and Geneva, as well as on the occasion of his visits to England. In August 1887 I came across him by accident in the street at Lucerne. It was then I learnt that, as his wife was a Swiss lady, he was in the habit of spending a considerable part of his vacations in Switzerland, and of taking hard rowing exercise on the Swiss lakes after his exhausting labours at Vienna. His fondness for this form of exercise, which he indulged in for the sake of his health, was destined to bring about his untimely death. Since 1893, when he asked me to contribute to his *Encyclopœdia* the part on 'Vedic Mythology,' I also had occasion to correspond with him a good deal in connexion with that work. These opportunities furnished sufficient data, I think, for forming a fairly correct estimate of his character. He struck me as having a peculiarly scientific cast of mind. But with this was combined an intellectual enthusiasm which caused him to be perpetually on the watch for whatever was calculated to promote Indian studies in every direction. Though of a thoroughly matter-of-fact temperament, he was not altogether lacking in sentiment. This betrayed itself in the emotion with which he used to speak of what he owed to the teaching and inspiration of Benfey. The special interest he seemed to take in the pupils of his old *guru* doubtless sprang from the same source. His high-mindedness always deterred him from doing or saying anything against those to whom he felt he owed a debt of gratitude. Nor did he stoop to personal controversy. But had he ever been unjustifiably attacked, his aggressor would probably have had cause to repent his temerity. For Bühler, as he told me himself, kept a record of the blunders which he found in the work of other scholars, and which he might have felt compelled to refer to in self-defence.

One quality which especially distinguished Bühler was that power of concentration which enables a man to devote weeks or even months of intense application to the decipherment of an inscription without the certainty of any tangible result. Such labour, though sometimes apparently fruitless, serves to sharpen and strengthen the mental powers, and it is only those who are capable of it who can hope to become really great scholars. This quality was possessed in an eminent degree by Benfey, and was undoubtedly fostered by Bühler, in his turn among pupils such as Dr. M. A. Stein, who has done such valuable archæological work in Kashmir. The *paramparâ* of teachers becomes really fruitful by the cultivation of such qualities and the propagation of scientific method and accuracy, rather than by the formation of schools, which by their very nature must suffer from one-sidedness. Thus Bühler's death is to be deplored not only as a direct loss to learning, but also because of the indirect disadvantage resulting from the premature removal of a great trainer of scholars. Altogether Bühler came near to the ideal of what a Sanskritist of the present day should be. Like Colebrooke, the great founder of Sanskrit scholarship, he combined with universal learning and untiring industry, distinguished practical ability. This enabled him to acquire a vast knowledge of the concrete data of modern Indian life, a knowledge particularly valuable to scholarship in a country which has experienced for three thousand years a continuity in literature and civilization which is unparalleled in any other branch of the Âryan race. Bühler thus became capable of understanding and illuminating the intellectual and social history of India as a whole to an extent which will hardly ever be equalled.

PROFESSOR J. GEORG BÜHLER.

BY PROFESSOR A. KAEGI, ZÜRICH.[1]

ALL the newspapers have reported the tragic end of the famous Indologist Hofrath Dr. J. Georg Bühler, Professor in the University of Vienna. No one can help feeling the deepest sympathy with his relatives, whose sad bereavement has been rendered all the more painful by the melancholy circumstances attending his death. But not only the relatives and numerous friends of the departed, but also Sanskrit scholarship itself has suffered the heaviest and most unexpected loss — a loss that is simply irreparable. For **Georg Bühler** was more than 'an eminent Sanskrit scholar'; he held and has held for years the undisputed position of a **leader of Indian philology**; he was the scholar who at the present time was the leading spirit of all researches relating to ancient India. May I then, as a grateful admirer of the wonderful man, be permitted to devote a few lines to his memory?

Bühler was born in the parsonage of Borstel near Nienburg on the Weser, and educated at the grammar school of Hannover, where H. L. Ahrens and Raphael Kühner were amongst his teachers. At Easter, 1855, he proceeded to the University of Göttingen to study Classical and Oriental antiquities, and found there such eminent teachers as Hermann Sauppe, Ernst Curtius, Theodor Benfey, and Heinrich Ewald. After having taken his doctor's degree he went, in the autumn of 1858, to France and England, where he devoted three years to the thorough study of Vedic MSS. in the great libraries of Paris, London, and Oxford. In England he became acquainted with Professors Max Müller and Theodor Goldstücker who assisted him in many ways, and for a time he held the post of assistant librarian in Her Majesty's library at Windsor Castle.

In October, 1862, he returned to Göttingen with the intention of qualifying himself as a University lecturer. But in November he was offered a professorship at the Sanskrit College in Benares, the principal seat for the study of Brahmanical philosophy, and while the negotiations about this appointment were being carried on, he was invited to take the newly created chair of Oriental languages at the Elphinstone College in Bombay. Bühler gladly accepted the offer, and began his work at Bombay in the spring of 1863. His very first lectures on Sanskrit, Prakrit and Comparative Philology, and still more the zeal and energy with which he threw himself into the educational work at the college, making new practical arrangements for instruction in the philological department and procuring a library of books and manuscripts to be used by students and teachers, could not fail to attract the attention of the authorities, who very soon began to employ the young scholar in the Educational Department in other ways also.

As early as 1864 Bühler, together with Sir Raymond West, then judge at the Bombay High Court, was appointed by the Governor of Bombay Presidency, to compile a **Digest of Hindu Law**, which was to take the place of the Śâstrîs (native scholars versed in the customary law), who until then had acted as legal advisers at the lower courts.

During the summer of 1866 he was employed at Poona as superintendent of Sanskrit studies, and in the winter of 1866-67 he travelled, by order of the Government, through the Marâṭha and Kânara countries, in order to **search** the Brahmanic libraries **for important manuscripts.** As the result of this very first journey Bühler brought home more than 200 old manuscripts, among them many rare and until then quite unknown works, and he lost no opportunity in pointing out to the authorities the necessity of a systematic investigation of the old libraries.

Two years more of quiet teaching and study followed, till, early in 1869, Bühler was appointed Acting Educational Inspector for the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency (Gujarât and neighbourhood), being thereby charged with the administration and superintendence of all elementary and secondary schools of a territory extending over about 56,000 square miles, with five millions of inhabitants. For many years afterwards the administration of the lower and secondary Anglo-Indian schools in that province was Bühler's principal task, which he undertook at once with that

[1] Translated from an article published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.

incomparable energy so characteristic of him to the very end. First of all, he was anxious to develop and improve the colleges for a higher and more general education of native teachers, and then new school-books were procured and new regulations introduced ; wherever possible, new schools where founded, the existing schools carefully classified, systematic annual inspections of all colleges and schools were arranged, and finally, through Bühler's initiative, the salaries of teachers at secondary schools were considerably raised, and the masters at the lower schools were given opportunities of earning an annual increase of their salaries by especially good work. We may form an idea of Bühler's extensive activity in this administrative work from the fact that when he entered on his office in 1869 there were in the province 730 schools with 47,800 scholars, while at the end of his term of office in 1880 the number of schools had risen to 1,763 with 101,970 scholars.

However, while his time and energy were to such an extent placed at the service of the Administration, Bühler yet found it possible to render his official work, especially his inspections of schools and colleges (of which occasionally he used to give most interesting and vivid descriptions), at the same time fruitful in the highest degree for scholarly purposes. When he entered on his office as Educational Inspector he obtained from the Government, which had already become aware of the important results of his first journey in search of MSS., the order and authority to search all libraries within reach in the province for MSS. and to acquire for the Government any works of importance. Consequently, during his tours of inspection he communicated, in all the larger towns, with the learned Paṇḍits, and enlisted agents who had to hunt up the libraries, carry on negotiations with the owners, and to compile lists of MSS. He soon found out that the number of books and libraries was enormous, and that more especially the Jainas possessed exceedingly rich treasures of MSS. As these efforts of Bühler were crowned by such unexpected results — during his very first year of inspecting he had succeeded in purchasing upwards of 200 important old MSS. and in acquiring catalogues containing something like 14,000 titles of works of the Brahmanical literature alone — he was commissioned to undertake several tours to different parts of India as far as Kashmir and Nepal, and from all these tours he returned with valuable treasures of MSS. and inscriptions (on stone, copper-plates, coins, etc.). Especially famous became his tour to Kashmir, when he discovered and acquired not only a great number of hitherto unknown Brahmanical works, but also an almost complete collection of the sacred books of the Digambara Jainas. Besides the purchases for the Indian Government Bühler also bought, with the permission thereof, large and systematic collections of MSS. for European libraries. Upwards of 5,000 MSS. have since those years become generally accessible to scholars, apart from numerous corrected copies of Sanskrit works, which he privately procured for scholars of all countries.

That Bühler in spite of his extensive practical work should have found it possible still to devote himself to literary pursuits in such an eminent degree, has always been a matter of surprise. His very first greater work, the **Digest of Hindu Law,** published by order of the Governor of Bombay (1867 and 1869) became a standard. From numerous law-books, which at that time mostly existed in MS. only and had to be collated for the first time, and from information gathered from the mouths of Shâstrîs versed in the customary law, West and Bühler compiled a codex of the law of inheritance, partition, and adoption, which has since been repeatedly edited, translated into the vernaculars, and enjoys great authority throughout the whole of India.

Next Bühler, whose school-books for Indian colleges have already been mentioned, founded, together with Kielhorn (then Professor of Sanskrit in Poona, and now in Göttingen) the **Bombay Sanskrit Series** — an undertaking which was intended to give young native scholars an opportunity of learning European methods of criticism in editing texts, and to procure cheap and good editions of Sanskrit standard works for use in Indian schools and colleges. Bühler himself published in this collection the *Pañchatantra*, Daṇḍin's *Daśakumâracharita*, the historical romance *Vikramâṅkadeva-charita* of the 11th century which he himself had discovered, the ancient law-book of Âpastamba, and others. His catalogues of MSS. and his well-known *Reports* are of great scientific value, and his epigraphic researches in connection with thef amous edicts of King Piyadasi-Aśoka and other Indian inscriptions have marked a new epoch and led to new results of the highest importance.

His literary activity became still more extensive and fruitful, when, in 1881, after leaving the Indian Civil Service, he took the chair of Sanskrit in the University of Vienna. Partly through his instruction, by which he trained a number of younger scholars, still more by his numerous publications and his extensive connections both in the East and in the West he became more and more **the centre and the chief promoter of Indological studies in Europe** — a fact which came out clearly enough at the Congress of Orientalists held in Vienna in 1886. With untiring and never failing courtesy and with an unselfishness that was truly surprising, he placed the vast stores of his experiences and studies, as well as the rich treasures of his MSS. at the disposal of his fellow students, and by his numerous connections with the leading authorities in India he was able to procure for European and American scholars anything they might want for their work, if it could at all be had from India.

To mention even only the most important of **Bühler's larger works** or of his numerous articles in different journals both of Europe and India, would of course be impossible here. Of his books, I will only mention that he translated for Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East* five of the most important law-books, amongst them that of *Manu* — this alone a volume of 760 pages, including mportant introduction and notes. Of his smaller essays also I will mention only one. In his book *India, what can it teach us?* (London, 1883) Max Müller had expressed the startling view that the whole of the Indian literature, as far as it is not Vedic or Buddhistic, was written in the time *after* the Turanian (Indo-Scythian) invasion of India, *i. e.*, *after* the second century of the Christian era. The Veda, he declared, was evidently a wreck saved from a general shipwreck; everything else that has come down to us — epic literature, law-books, works on grammar, poetry — was merely a late reflorescence of a new life sprung up under more favourable circumstances: it was '*renaissance literature*.' This hypothesis, of course, created a great sensation and called forth lively discussions. Most scholars opposed or doubted this theory without however (considering the great uncertainties prevailing in all questions of Indian chronology) being able to refute it entirely, others were led away by Max Müller's fascinating argumentation, until Bühler took up the discussion with his splendid and methodical essay on the Indian inscriptions and the age of the Indian Kâvya literature (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, 1890, Vol. 122). Starting from some recently discovered inscriptions, eighteen of which bear perfectly certain dates which are fully discussed by Bühler, he refutes in this essay Max Müller's arguments one by one, and establishes besides a number of secure dates.

Again in the discussion which has lately been revived and has excited such great interest, as to the age of the Veda, Bühler has taken the most sober and moderate view of the question.

About six years ago Bühler conceived the plan of editing an **Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research** on a grand scale — a work which was, as it were, to crown his life-long efforts for the general development of Indology. Within a very short time he succeeded in securing the co-operation of about thirty scholars from different parts of the world — from America, India, England and the continent of Europe. With youthful zeal he set to work himself, and twice the Austrian Government granted him a year's leave of absence for the purpose of devoting himself entirely to his work in connection with the *Encyclopedia*. Besides the *Palæography*, published in 1896, he intended to treat of the Antiquities, Geography and History. Especially in the last mentioned part he hoped to be able to bring out new and unexpected results. Only a short time ago he explained to me with his cheerful enthusiasm, how he was going once for all to refute the general talk about **the Hindus** lacking the **historical sense** — and now all at once this terrible blow, this sudden and cruel destruction of all hopes and schemes! And what might we not have expected from a man so full of vigour and energy! His capacity, his love of work and his power of work seemed simply unlimited — and now! It is true, we may hope that at least the *Encyclopedia* (to say nothing of his other schemes) is so firmly established that it can safely be carried out to the end. But the parts which he was to work out himself will never be accomplished by any one, as he would have done it. "If there ever was a man," writes the Nestor of German Sanskritists, Professor Albrecht Weber in Berlin, "whose loss can be called irreparable, it is Georg Bühler." Of him it may be truly said: "He has lived for all ages"!

P.S. — While I was writing the above, a newspaper came to my hands, in which a Vienna correspondent reported rumours circulating in Vienna as to a voluntary or violent death of Hofrath Bühler. The correspondent added that indeed no tangible proofs of either the one or the other hypothesis are forthcoming, and that Bühler's nearest Vienna friends "deny most positively the very possibility of a suicide committed by Bühler from ethical or philosophical motives" — and surely they are right. Whoever has known Bühler ever so slightly, must certainly arrive at the same conclusion. I knew him for nearly twenty years, since August 1878, and from that time to the very last I have had frequent intercourse with him both personal and by letters, and I venture to assert most emphatically that with him "a tendency to the negation of the pleasures of existence" or any kind of Buddhist mysticism is entirely out of the question, and the hypothesis of a suicide is absolutely groundless. Nor is there any foundation for the hypothesis of a violent death, of a crime, it being entirely uncalled for in view of the facts which have come to light. Boating was Buhler's favourite sport, and he often liked to practise it, particularly after hard work. Already on the 7th of April he had made an excursion from Lindau, and after his return in the evening was seen engaged in cheerful conversation with other visitors at the Hotel. On Good Friday the 8th he was induced by the beautiful spring weather to stay one day longer, "in order to make a longer excursion," as he was heard saying. After having drawn up a telegram to his wife, 'Come to-morrow,' which was afterwards found in the Hotel, he started in the afternoon in one of those long and narrow boats, the oars of which lie so lightly on the outriggers, that they are lifted even at a great distance by the wash of a steamer, if they are not held tightly as soon as the waves approach. Now Bühler was seen from the banks rowing forward and backward for some time on one and the same spot after 7 o'clock in the evening. Next day the empty boat was found floating on the lake with *one* oar, while the other oar was found at some distance from it. In the opinion of experienced people living near the lake it is highly probable that he lost one oar, which he tried to secure again, and in trying to catch it he, being a stout man, fell overboard. By this natural and simple hypothesis the terrible accident becomes perfectly plain and intelligible.

A CONTRIBUTION ON BÜHLER.

BY PROF. F. KNAUER (KIEW).

In the case of Bühler I hardly know which to admire most: the greatness of his learning and mental power, or the greatness of his mind and character. I do not think I can honour his memory better than by quoting a few extracts from his letters addressed to me, and by adding an account of an incident which shows the great scholar also as a man of rare human qualities.

On January 2nd, 1891, he writes:—"I think, we shall before long become acquainted even with older temples of the Brâhmans. The excavations of Mathurâ, Ahicchatrâ and Śravastî will no doubt considerably modify our views about the religions of India."

On March 3rd, 1893:—"The [London] Congress was one of the finest and most successful. A great deal of useful work was done: some of the papers were very important; Cowell's speeches the most important of all."

On June 6th, 1893:—"The work (*Mânavagṛihyasûtra*) is one of the most interesting of its kind." And with reference to new discoveries:— "The brutal facts are now demolishing the finest theories concerning the age of Sanskrit literature, which a so-called criticism has derived from 'inner' reasons. But what we have learnt until now is only the beginning, we may look forward to far more startling discoveries, and I am afraid, of all that has been considered as the correct thing during the last forty years not much will stand the test of time. Our salvation is in the pick-axe and the shovel and in paying more attention to Hindu tradition."

On June 22nd, 1893:— "The worthy Bhaṭṭjîs never cared much for the state of their *Mantras*; they always felt like that famous priest who baptised *nomine patris filiæ et spiriti sancti*, and it did not matter in the least. The Saṁskâra has its effect with a nonsensical *Mantra* just the same as with

a correct one." — "In support of your quite correct view that the *gṛihyâṇi karmâṇi* are older than the *śrautâni*, I should also like to point out that the tariffs for the latter were much too high to be ever carried out completely."

In Vol. I. of the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1887, Bühler had published an article on the elliptic use of *iti* and *cha*, which was to a certain extent directed against myself, inasmuch as I had, in my edition and translation of the *Gobhilagṛihyasûtra*, taken a different view from that of the Hindu commentators which Bühler defends in his paper. I considered it my duty to oppose Bühler in a special article. With some misgivings — for I was an admirer of Bühler and could ill spare his help and advice — I wrote to him pointing out my objections. And what was his reply? "As to *iti* and *cha* it does not matter. I shall return to the subject on some other occasion. All I ask for, if anybody wishes to enter upon a controversy with me, is that the tone should always be that of polite society." A few days later he writes:— "The fuller the discussion the better." I do not know what impression my article published soon after in the *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk* had made upon him; but when I announced to him my intention to come to Vienna in the summer of that year 1888, he invited me to stay with him. Of course, I did not like to trouble him. But when I came to Vienna, he frequently invited me to his house, and we met every day in the Oriental Institute. With the heartiest kindness he placed everything that could be of any use to me at my disposal, and assisted me with his advice and help with an unselfishness shrinking from no sacrifice that was truly touching. What could it be that induced the wonderful man to be so exceedingly kind to me? His personal acquaintance I had only made in 1886 at the Vienna Congress of Orientalists and, of course, then only very superficially, as he could not pay much attention to a beginner in those eventful days which taxed all his energies. I had not been his pupil, and was already a professor. Neither personally nor in literary matters could I be of any service to him; besides I had attacked him in public. Were these not reasons enough for him to receive me, in 1888, with cool reserve and to grant me only such favours as he could not deny me for decency's sake? Far from that, he fully opened to me the rich stores of his learning and allowed me a deep insight into his world of ideas, which proved a lasting gain to myself. It was clear that Bühler considered no one as too unimportant whom he thought capable of contributing in any way to the progress of learning, and that he tried to help and assist any such person to the utmost of his power. At the same time he had a charming manner of placing himself on a level, as it were, with those below him, so that even the humblest became inspired with courage.

On the 10th of July, 1896, he wrote to me on some other occasion: — "This I should like now to substitute in the place of former conjectures, and you may print and criticise it as much as you like." And in his last letter to me he writes to thank me 'heartily' for the 'splendid' work (my edition of the *Mânavagṛihyasûtra*), although in this work I had repeatedly made critical remarks directed against him. **Bühler was free of all touchiness in questions of scholarship,** and granted to everybody the full liberty of his own opinion, nay, he seemed to experience a certain pleasure in meeting with views differing from his own, if only they were expressed judiciously. One might think that such a feature should be a matter of course in any scholar, particularly in one who has everything at his command and can afford to be superior to little weaknesses. However, experience teaches that this is not so and that even men of the greatness of a Bühler are not always proof against 'gnatbites' received in literary warfare, in consequence of which they become disagreeable (though it may be only for a short time). Bühler, however, was a lion without fear. He was a truly great scholar, an extraordinary character, an exceedingly keen observer of human nature, and a wise educator in matters of learning. Honour to the memory of a master!

AN APPRECIATION OF BÜHLER.

BY EMILE SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT.

WHEN I agreed to add a few words to the notice that Dr. Winternitz was writing on the life and works of Bühler, I only considered, with my old sympathy for the *Indian Antiquary*, my affectionate admiration for the eminent scholar whose loss has left us an irreparable void.

Since I have read this touching memoir however, I feel the rashness of my promise. With the accuracy of a thoroughly well informed witness, and the pious fervour of heart-felt devotion, the writer reviews the entire life and work of the master, bringing into prominent relief the originality and importance of his *rôle*. Nothing further would therefore remain for me to say, were I not eager to accept the opportunity that is offered to me to add to such numberless expressions of homage and sincere regret the tribute of the high and respectful esteem that is felt by his French fellow-workers for this indefatigable pioneer of Indianism.

In spite of the fact, that, but for a friendly exchange of correspondence, I only made the personal acquaintance of Bühler a few years before his death, I cannot forget that having followed the same course of studies under the same "Guru," there existed, if I may be allowed the expression, a bond of common origin between us. When I began the study of Sanskrit, under the direction of Benfey, I remember what high expectations that clear-sighted judge had already formed of the distinguished destiny that awaited the man, still so young, whom he loved to proclaim his most remarkable pupil. Bühler himself never failed to acknowledge on his part, with fervent gratitude and faithful sympathy, the value of his instruction and the encouragement of such flattering predictions. Benfey was not only singularly suggestive in his teaching, and his conversation; he was not only an admirable grammarian and linguist. One of the first, he had fully perceived, beyond the mere linguistic interest that had first excited the attention of the West to the study of Sanskrit, the attraction which was offered to the highest curiosity of the mind by the insight into the past history of India and the development of its life, religious, political and social. He was the first who ventured to sketch a general view of it in his famous article, which appeared in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædia;* and so he was certainly most influential in the course which his pupil's ideas early adopted. Bühler wanted to study India in itself, and for itself, and to trace, before all else, chronological, and positive data as given by its literature, and monuments With this object, he decided to seek, in the familiar intercourse of the country itself, in its scholastic traditions, in a methodical research for manuscripts and documents, the information that this great work required.

It was to himself alone, however, to his own perseverance and ardour, to his enormous capacity for work that he was indebted for the success that so largely crowned his plan. Always distrusting specious deductions and brilliant generalisations, he showed in his whole aspect that harmonious fusion of qualities peculiar both to the German and the English mind to which Dr. Winternitz has so happily alluded. Varied and profound science, decided precision, unflinching tenacity, a practical knowledge of both men and affairs, nothing was wanting to make him, not exactly the leader of a certain school, but what was even better, a diligent leader of workers, or, as I may express it, a *chef d'atelier*, endowed to a striking degree, with authority and power. Such he showed himself in India, where he succeeded in making enthusiastic fellow-workers of several Natives, as well as of those of his own countrymen whom he attracted and embued with his enterprising spirit, and still more so in Europe when he returned to Vienna and there founded a course of teaching which proved so fruitful. By the current use of Sanskrit, by certain ways of teaching — and even by certain habits, of mind, he used some coquetry to maintain the stamp of his long and affectionate familiarity with the Hindu world.

Thanks to the high position he enjoyed both with the Administration of the British Government, as well as with the Indianists of the East and West, he became under all circumstances, the natural intermediary between India and Europe, and he never refused his aid, whenever it was required, either by men or by useful enterprises. Of this I had a striking proof during the latter part of his life, the memory of which is all the more agreeable to me,

as it recalls a circumstance which gave me the opportunity of offering him a few days' hospitality and of enjoying his society more intimately. The Eleventh Congress of Orientalists having brought Bühler to Paris, where a number of other celebrated Indianists were also assembled, I thought it a duty to take advantage of the occasion for the realisation of a desire I had for some time entertained. The project in view was the organisation of an International Association, the object of which would be to further, by all means, archæological investigations in India. That Bühler should take a warm interest in the project at once, will not seem surprising. His enthusiasm, however, was not displayed only in promises. This was proved by the zeal by which he obtained the patronage of important personages, whose aid and assistance was essential to the success of the plan. He also, in a most precise and practical spirit, drew a sketch for the future working of the Association and kept up strenuously, to his death, the active correspondence which was entailed by our common interest in the undertaking. To him is certainly due, in a large measure, the valuable and powerful intervention of our eminent friends, Lord Reay and Sir Alfred Lyall, which secured for the project, the favourable disposition of the Indian Government. His loss is certainly a fatal blow to the new Association. May his memory protect it!

The least attentive observer would perceive, that in Bühler the man of work and of thought was also the man of action. Both his words and appearance, as well as an indescribable air of promptness and decision, showed it at first sight. He never indulged in reveries — in vague speculation, or in the frail adjustment of conjectures. In a field of research, where the uncertainty of chronological bases or the rarity of positive statements, as well as the national quietism and mystic disposition, opens so large an area for hypothesis, it remains a striking honour in his career that he devoted himself by a determined effort conscientiously and indefatigably to the conquest of facts, even when slightly prominent, and the fixing of dates even though secondary or provisional. It was a logical consequence of this frame of mind, that the Vedic Literature for him held a less prominent place than the epigraphic matter, that, in the study of law the genealogy of books and schools were of greater importance to him than the analysis of institutions. Even in the investigation of religious antiquities he was more busy in testing the tradition than in expatiating upon the systems.

From the first and until the end of his life, Bühler followed with undeviating firmness the path he had traced out for himself after due reflection. He has accomplished his task. He has accomplished it with *éclat*, for, with the clearness of purpose that was one of his chief characteristics, he had chosen his line in the direction of his most prominent faculties, and to it he devoted such a power for work, a vigour and an ingenuity of mind as never failed. All these brilliant qualities were at their best when the fatal accident occurred for which we shall long remain inconsolable.

In France, it revived among us sad memories, as a similarly cruel and unforeseen catastrophe had just ten years before deprived a fellow-worker and contemporary of Bühler of his life. In some respects one may say that Bergaigne, by the turn of his mind, by the direction of his favourite studies, presented a living antithesis to Bühler. But he also was cut off at the very moment when he seemed almost to have reached the crowning point of his labour, at an age when many fruitful years appeared to be still in store for him. Two masters, so widely different in their lines of work, are thus brought together for us by a common fatality which seemed to cling to their common studies. We had long been eager to manifest our high respect for the science and services of Bühler. Our Academy had considered it an honour to number him among its correspondents. While recalling a loss so near to our hearts, his tragic end, has, even for those who only knew him through his books, added a thrill of intimate emotion to the regrets which naturally accompany the premature death of a powerful worker.

His mind was of an unceasing activity and ever awake. His learning, admirably suggestive, was never taken unawares. A rich fullness of culture, a wide store of remembrances animated his conversation, which was at once solid and lively. All those who have had the good fortune to know Bühler personally will retain a faithful memory of a man, obliging, without any display — who softened by unvarying uprightness and true benev olence the commanding authority of a vast science and of a very decided turn of mind. As to the scholar, his useful impulsion is sure to survive him long, and his name will remain inscribed in the first ranks of the golden book of Indian studies.

A NOTE ON THE FACTS OF BÜHLER'S CAREER.[1]

Johann Georg Bühler, son of a clergyman, was born on the 19th July, 1837, at Borstel, a village near Nienburg (county Hoya, Hannover). The first part of his education was domestic, after which he was sent, in the spring of 1852, to Hannover, to complete the course of the Lyceum under the well known scholars H. L. Ahrens and R. Kühner. In 1855 he matriculated at the University of Göttingen and studied classical philology and archæology under K. F. Hermann, Schneidewin, E. Curtius, H. Sauppe, and F. Weiseler, and oriental philology under Th. Benfey, and H. von Ewald. Having taken his degree as Ph. D. in that summer of 1858, he went to Paris in October, 1858, thence to London in June, 1859, where he accepted in May, 1861, the post of Assistant to the Librarian of the Royal Library at Windsor, which in October, 1862, he exchanged for a similar one at the University Library at Göttingen.

He was nominated Professor of Oriental Languages at the Elphinstone College in Bombay on the 10th February, 1863; in December of the same year, Fellow and Examiner of the University of Bombay; in March, 1864, a Member of the Commission for the Publication of a Digest of Hindu Law; in June, 1864, Professor of Ancient History and English at the Elphinstone College. In January, 1866, he was promoted to the post of Acting Superintendent of Saṅskṛit Studies and Professor of Ancient History and English at the Deccan College, Poona, and was sent on a tour of research in the Southern Marâṭha and Kaṇara country during the cold seasons of 1866-69. He then returned to Bombay as Professor of Oriental Languages and Ancient History at the Elphinstone College, and was advanced, on the 20th December, 1868, to the post of Educational Inspector of Guzerat and Officer in charge of the search of Saṅskṛit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency. He was sent on special duty to Rajputana from December, 1873, to March, 1874, and to Kashmir and Central India, from July, 1875, to April 1876. His health failing, he was pensioned on the 12th September, 1880, and accepted the professorship of Indian philology and archæology in the University of Vienna in October, 1880. He was Corresponding Member of the German Oriental Society (1871), of the American Oriental Society (1873), of the Berlin Academy of Science (1878), of the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen (1883), of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna (1883), of the Petersburg Academy (1893), of the Institut de France (1887), and of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes at Paris. He was an Ordinary Member of the Imperial Academy of Science in Vienna (1885), of the Société Asiatique at Paris, of the Asiatic Society at Bombay, and of the

[1] Communicated by Prof. H. Jacobi and others.

Gujarat Vernacular Society. He was an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society (1887), of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1895), of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, and of the Anjuman-i-Punjab.

He was appointed a Knight of the Prussian Order of the Crown (III Class) in 1872, a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire 1st January, 1878, and Comthur of the Order of Franz-Josef, and was nominated K. H. Hofrath in 1889, and Honorary LL.D. of Edinburgh in 1885.

Literary Works. — He wrote his Inaugural Dissertation on the Affix *tys*, Göttingen, 1858. He contributed papers to: — Benfey's Orient and Occident, Journal of the Philological Society (London), 1859-1863; Journal of the Bombay and Bengal Asiatic Societies and of the Madras Literary Journal, 1863-1867; to the Indian Antiquary, 1872-98; to the Epigraphia Indica, 1888-1898; to the Vienna Journal für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1886-95. Together with Sir Raymond West he published the Digest of Hindu Law Cases, Part I., Bombay, 1867, Part II., 1869, second edition, 1878, third edition, 1881. He edited the Panchatantra with English Notes (Nos. 1 and 3 of the Bombay Sanskrit Series), 1868, second edition, 1881, third edition, 1881, fourth edition, 1891; the Âpastambîya Dharmasûtra, Bombay, 1868-71, second edition, 1892-94; a Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. from Guzerat, 1872-73; the Daśakumâracharita with English Notes, Bombay, 1873, second edition, 1887; the Vikramânkacharita with an Introduction, Bombay, 1875; a Detailed Report of a Tour in Kashmir, Bombay, 1877; the Pâiyalachchhînâmamâlâ, Göttingen, 1878; the Sacred Books of the Aryans, Vol. I., Oxford, 1879 (second edition, 1897), Vol. II., 1883; Leitfaden für den Elementarcursus des Sanskrit, Wien, 1883; Indische Palæographie (in the Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research), Strassburg, 1896; Inscriptions from the Caves in the Bombay Presidency in Dr. Burgess' Archæological Reports or Western India, Vols. IV. and V., London, 1883; Erklärung der Aśoka Inschriften in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, 1883-93: Palæographic Remarks on the Hriuji palm-leaf MS. in the Anecdota Oxon., Aryan Ser. I, 3. 1884; The Laws of Manu, translated, S. B. E., Vol. XXV., 1886; Translations of the Dhauli and Jaugada versions of the Aśoka Edicts in Archæological Reports for Southern India, Vol. I., 1887.

His publications in the "Schriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften" are the following: — (*a*) Über eine Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften, 1881; (*b*) Übercas Alter des Kaśmîrischen Dichters Somadeva, 1885; (*c*) Über eine Inschrift des Königs Dharasena von Valabhî, 1888; (*d*) Über eine neue Inschrift des Gujara Königs, Dadda II., 1887; (*e*) Über eine Sendraka Inschrift, 1887; (*f*) Über die Indische Secte der Jainas, 1887; (*g*) Über das Navasâhasânkachrita des Padmagupta, 1888; (*h*) Das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemachandra, 1889; (*g*) Über das Sukṛita-saṁkîrtana des Arisiṁha, 1889; (*i*) Die Indischen Inschriften and Das Alter der Indischen Kunst Poesie, 1890; (*k*) Indian Studies No. I., The Jagaḍûcharita of Sarvâṇanda, 1892; (*l*) Indian Studies No. II., Contributions to the History of the Mahâbhârata, 1892; Indian Studies No. III., On the Origin of the Brahma Alphabet, 1895 (Second edition, 1898).

BÜHLER AS A COLLECTOR OF MSS.

BY PROF. ERNST LEUMANN, STRASSBURG.

IT is generally not known or scarcely noticed to what an extent the history of any science is dependent on the local distribution of its materials. When a town or country shows some predilection for this or that branch of research we are, at first, inclined to find the reason in some local or national instinct, or in the efficacy of the teaching and writings of some scholar, who may be considered to be the 'local genius.' And this inclination is strengthened by the undoubted facts that there are such things as local 'schools' of science as there are of art, and that nationalities do tend towards different standards in science and art. This does not,

however, explain how it is that — to turn to Indian research — Denmark has only produced Pâli scholars (Westergaard, Fausböll, Trenckner, Andersen), that Northern Buddhism is chiefly cultivated in Paris (Burnouf, Feer, Senart, Lévi, Guimet), and that other branches of Indian studies are more or less equally confined to particular seats of learning. The real explanation lies in the dispersion of the materials. Rask furnished Copenhagen with a splendid collection of Pâli manuscripts which roused the interest of Danish scholars, just as Hodgson sent to Paris an excellent collection of the writings of the Northern Buddhists as preserved in Nepal. So the famous general Sanskṛit Library of Chambers went to Berlin and found there an indefatigable interpreter in Weber, while the India Office and the Bodleian have become seats of Indian philology through the manuscript libraries of Colebrooke and Wilson. In later years also Cambridge received a series of manuscript treasures from the enlightened activity of Daniel Wright, with the consequence that two Cambridge scholars (Cowell and Bendall), have made them their special study. Now on the same level with those great collectors of manuscripts who, by bringing or sending over to Europe their treasures, have founded there different seats of Indian Wisdom, we have to mention Bühler. Indeed, he not only equals Rask, Hodgson, Chambers, Colebrooke, Wilson, and Wright as a collector of manuscripts, but far surpasses, them all. And therefore, had he done nothing else for Sanskṛit Philology, he would be one of its greatest promoters, — one of those whose activity most decidedly and most happily determine the progress of Indian Research. On this fact we insist all the more, as the general public, in appreciating scholars, is inclined to overlook merits of the kind described. Well written books, like fragrant flowers, chiefly attract the general attention and also in a titanic publication (like Murray's or Littré's or Grimm's *Dictionary*), which looks like a majestic oak in the park of literary and scientific productions. But who thinks of the roots hidden in the ground, which furnish the elementary materials for stems, branches and blossoms? Who longs to hear of the pioneer work, which furnishes the materials for those publications that the general reader may use or enjoy?

But let us, nevertheless, inquire in what way Bühler has been an **unparalleled collector of Indian manuscripts.** Between 1863 and 1866 Bühler bought for himself about 300 manuscripts, which in 1888 he presented to the India Office, and the zeal and ability exhibited in bringing together this small but remarkable collection induced the Bombay Government to secure Bühler's services in that line. And so between 1866 and 1868, Bühler was specially deputed to explore the native libraries in the South Marâṭhâ and the North Kâṇarâ countries, and obtained for Government about 200 manuscripts which were deposited in the Elpinstone College; and in 1868, when a regular and most important 'Search for Manuscripts' was instituted by the Government of India, Bühler became the head of the Bombay organisation, which up to 1880, when he left India, has bought for the Deccan College Library 2,363 manuscripts. Besides all this, between 1873 and 1880, Bühler asked for and received on several occasions permission to send over to Europe such texts on sale as were already well represented in the Government Collection. Among the European Libraries it is particularly that of Berlin which unhesitatingly grasped this splendid opportunity of adding to its stock of Indian manuscripts; and thus it came about that nearly 500 manuscripts, partly presented and partly sold, have, through Bühler, found their way to Berlin.

By mentioning in each case the exact or approximate number of manuscripts acquired we only mean to give a general idea of the enormous extent of new materials that we owe to Bühler's activity in India. A considerable part of the texts represented were entirely unknown before, many of them were brilliant discoveries due only to Bühler's exceptional energy and sagacity and to his profound learning. Thus he rescued two whole branches of literature from oblivion, *viz.*, the Kashmiri branch which comprises Vedic and Sanskṛit texts and the extensive Prâkrit and Sanskṛit literature of the Śvetâmbara Jains. Who would, thirty years ago, have thought that India still contained so many unknown literary documents? And who would have found them or even looked for them, if Bühler had not gone out, of his own

accord, to India, as an adventurer of philological research — comparable in this respect only to Anquetil Duperron and Czoma Körösi ?

The majority of those five hundred manuscripts which Bühler sent to Berlin belong to the literature of the Śvetâmbara Jains. This has had the effect that Jain Philology is comparatively much cultivated in Germany, while in England and France, where the scholars are still greatly absorbed by the occupation which their rich stores of Buddhist manuscripts affords, no effort has yet been made to deal with Jainism. First of all Weber devoted to the new materials ten years of his life, as the fruits of which he brought out — not to speak of smaller publications — his *New Catalogue* (three 4to volumes of 1,364 pages) and his *Sacred Literature of the Jains* (an English translation of which was published in the *Indian Antiquary*). Klatt also was won for the new branch of study by the materials, as well as by Bühler personally (when on leave in Europe in 1878); and with a remarkable skill and assiduity he selected from the new literature all that tended to yield chronical and bibliographical facts. What Klatt contributed and what later on by ill fate he was prevented from contributing to Indian Research may be inferred from a Note in a former volume of the *Indian Antiquary* (1894, p. 169, note 2). A few years after Klatt, Leumann began, as a student in Berlin, his Jain investigations, transferring them afterwards to Strassburg where he tried to complete Bühler's work in that line by procuring for his University Jain manuscripts not represented as yet in the Berlin-Bühler Collection.

But Bühler founded the German Jain Philology not only through Berlin. In 1873-74 Jacobi had accompanied Bühler on one of his tours and had acquired with Bühler's consent and friendly support a manuscript collection of his own, containing chiefly Jain texts. It is well known how much Jacobi has fertilized this collection, and what valuable editions and translations of Jain texts he has brought out and furnished with most instructive introductions — not to mention the independent papers in which he has dealt with Jain subjects.

As to the impulses which Jain Philology received in India from Bühler we might refer to many, but confine ourselves to record here only what certainly is the chief and most promising impulse. Bühler imparted his desire of discovering or uncovering all that is hidden or unknown in Jain Literature to Peterson, his successor in Bombay, who has been so fortunate as to be able to enter sanctified temple libraries, which, in spite of all exertions, were closed to Bühler. Peterson has indeed been continuing Bühler's work in the 'Search for Manuscripts' very much to his credit, and his endeavours well supplement those of the highly accomplished scholar, Bhandarkar, who naturally favours the Brahmanic literature, though, like Weber, he has temporarily been induced to devote himself also to a very earnest perusal of Jaina texts.

We have dealt here somewhat at length on the position which Bühler holds towards Jain studies through his search for manuscripts. But his search claims to be of nearly the same primary importance in regard to the study of Indian Law and Custom. And further, all the other branches of Indian Learning have received new impulses and gained new prospects through the materials that have become available through Bühler. So, once more, we may state fairly that Bühler would have marked an epoch in Indian Philology, — he would, indeed, have remodelled it by giving it a new and larger base, even if he had done nothing else than securing for scientific investigation the three thousand manuscripts that we owe to him.

BÜHLER AND THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

A Note

BY JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., FORMERLY EDITOR.

WITH Professor Dr. J. G. Bühler, I became acquainted immediately on his arrival in Bombay as Professor of Sanskṛit in the Elphinstone College, and during the next ten years we met occasionally at the rooms of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society and at the University

examinations. But it was in 1871-72 that we became intimate. The Bombay Asiatic Society was then publishing little, and at long intervals; and it occurred to me that, by using the grant it had from Government for the publication and inviting papers from many men able to contribute such in the numerous branches of Oriental research, the Society might publish every quarter, if not every second month. This proposal I brought formally before the Society's Managing Committee, urging it as a duty to use the funds granted for publication in this way, and pointing out the extent of the field. But the Secretary, Mr. Jas. Taylor (who had formerly been in the firm of Smith, Elder & Co.), pooh-poohed the proposal as chimerical. This led me to promise to attempt what the Society declined, and towards the close of 1871, I wrote to all the scholars I knew in India, asking whether they would support a monthly magazine on the plan of the programme of the *Indian Antiquary*. I had an immediate and encouraging response from several, including Dr. Burnell, Mr. Beames, Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar, Prof. Blochmann, Dr. Bühler, Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids, Mr. F. S. Growse, and others. Thus the *Journal* was commenced. Dr. Bühler sent me his first paper "On the Chaṇḍikâśataka of Bâṇabhaṭṭa" in March 1872, and it appeared the following month. From that date we started a correspondence which continued more or less regularly till the time of his lamented death. To the *Indian Antiquary* he was a warm friend and frequent contributor, and, during the thirteen years I edited it, I never appealed to him in vain when I wanted a paper: he commended it to his friends; and though so liberal a contributor, he insisted on paying his annual subscription for it, — thereby testifying practically his anxiety for its success.

From 1885 our correspondence continued quite as regularly as before, and touched mostly on chronology, ancient geography, palæography and epigraphy. From the latter part of 1888 till 1894, his contributions to the *Epigraphia Indica* were also frequent and extensive. During all these years we had much personal conference, meeting in Vienna, Edinburgh, London, Paris, and elsewhere, and I always found him the same, — full of information drawn from all sources, enthusiastic about everything connected with Indian history and antiquities. His judgment was remarkably accurate and his knowledge of human nature instinctively clear, while his energy, wisdom and tact ensured success in whatever he undertook, and rendered his opinion one of great weight in any matter he expressed it upon. He was a true and valued friend as well as an accomplished scholar. His loss for the ancient history of India seems almost irreparable.

A NOTE ON DR. BÜHLER.

BY PROFESSOR MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

PROFESSOR BÜHLER was an almost perfect embodiment of what might be called the pragmatic scholar. His work was full of action, but in all his varied activity he never lost sight of the highest scholarly ideals. He gave freely to all that came of his advice and help. Whether it was necessary to search obscure catalogues for notices of manuscripts; to engage the co-operation of the Government officials in India; or to stir up a dreamy Paṇḍit to the point of answering a letter, or parting with a manuscript in his possession; in all these and many other contigencies you might count upon his help given in the most cordial fashion. Yet how far was he from becoming the agent and business-man of others: he always remained the master. With all his wonderful grasp of the realities of India, and Indian life and history he never lost patience with the pains-taking closet-work of the philologist that is needed to secure a firm foundation for the reconstruction of the past. He was an ideal philologist: philologist and historian in one. Every Indian scholar, that is not a mere tradesman, is something of an historian, but the force of most of us is spent at the door of historical inquiry. To edit and translate, to restore and decipher, these are certainly important and unavoidable tasks; most of us are so busy with such labours as to be at times in danger of not 'seeing the forest for the trees that

are in it.' Bühler was in an eminent degree both common labourer and architect: it is hard to to say where he will be missed most. As a searcher and finder of manuscripts, as a promoter of archæological inquiries, and as a decipherer of inscriptions he had no rival. But he was even greater when he stepped out, as it were, from the intricate maze of his knowledge of details and turned to works of generalization: when he helped to digest Hindu Law; when he presented his unrivalled essays on Indian Palæography; when he conceived and guided the first attempt at a connected Encyclopædia of Indian Philology; above all when he propounded and solved in his own clear-headed way questions in literary history and chronology. It is but the soberest truth to say that just such a man we shall not count as one of us again, that his loss will never be quite repaired. Western scholarship owes him a debt of lasting gratitude; India may fitly deplore the loss of perhaps her truest historian.

By way of adding something to the record of his extraordinary activity in India, I may be permitted a quotation from a letter of his, written scarcely two months before his untimely death (dated February 22nd, 1898). He is speaking of the unique manuscript of the Kashmirian *Atharva-Veda*, the so-called *Pâippalâda Çhâkhâ*, which was sent to the late Professor von Roth by the British authorities in India, and is now in the possession of the library of the Tübingen University: "If, as I presume, you will print a history of the manuscript, I would ask you to mention that Sir William Muir decided on my advice to despatch the MS. to Professor von Roth. On its account I had to travel from Indor to Calcutta in February 1876, because Sir William Muir did not know what to do with the ragged volume. I pointed out to him that in the first place it stood in need of a bath; this it got in Sir William's bathroom. After that the MS. looked quite fresh, and Sir William handed it to me to have it mended by the Native book-binders. The repairs lasted for nearly a week."

NOTES ON G. BÜHLER.

BY PROF. RHYS DAVIDS.

AFTER reading the strikingly able paper by Dr. Winternitz I feel that it is only possible to add one other proof of the all-round nature of Professor Bühler's enthusiasm for knowledge of all things that had to do with the history of India. When I first knew him he had scarcely read a line of Pali. But he soon afterwards became a member of the Pali Text Society, and also (this does not always follow) read the books himself. He became as keen about the issue of each new volume as if he had been a mere **Pali scholar.** And the last time he was in my study he said — we were talking about Privat-docents — that no one should be appointed a University teacher for Sanskrit unless he was at home also with Pali, and *vice versâ*. He was interested chiefly in what could be gained for Indian lexicography, and the history of social institutions. But I confess I was amazed to find — knowing how very busy he was, how many other interests he had had for so long a time — that he should have been able to make time to read so much in these new texts. His articles on Pali subjects in the Vienna *Journal*, in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, and in the *Indian Antiquary*;[1] the great importance attached by him to *Piṭaka* evidence in the opening pages of his *Indische Palæographie*, and such notes as that in his *Manu*, p. xci., show the object he had in view. And I know from personal conversation, that he was meditating other papers of a similar kind.

It is perhaps important to point out, as regards the subject of '**inner chronology**,' that no one was more skilled at drawing conclusions as to the comparative chronology of two or more books from a careful comparison of their contents, than precisely Bühler. The introductions to his translations of Manu and Âpastamba are elaborate examples of the importance and value of such comparisons, and of the right method to be followed in making them. It would be amply clear from them alone that it was not the use of 'inner chronology' as a means of investigation, that Bühler objected to, but the

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[1] See, for instance, *ante*, 1894, pp. 148-154, 242, 247.

wrong use of it — the drawing of conclusions too wide, and too absolute from insufficient data; a reliance on comparisons of isolated passages, instead of including all the passages relating to the same point; a limitation of the comparisons to one or more points, omitting other matters also available for chronological purposes, and so on. The conclusions reached by Bühler, on grounds of 'inner chronology,' in the two essays referred to, are stated, not only once, but on several instances, in quite positive terms. They have obtained the assent of those of his fellow-workers most competent to judge of them. And 'inner chronology' used in the like judicial spirit, based on the like wide and accurate knowledge, guarded by the like painstaking industry, will always form an important element in our attempts to elucidate the history of Indian thought and institutions. That is the test: — do the conclusions arrived at by the method of inner chronology gain the assent of other scholars?

I venture to hope that this is really about what Dr. Winternitz would himself say: and would express the thanks we must all feel to him for having, with so much judgment and insight, shown us the varied sides of the activity of the great scholar whose personal qualities, and whose enthusiasm for the cause, so endured to all of us that we feel his loss as that, not only of a master, but also of a personal friend.

IN MEMORIAM G. BÜHLER.

ON SOME SWAT LANGUAGES.

BY GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S.

WHEN the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* honoured me by inviting me to be one of the contributors to the Bühler Memorial Number, I felt some hesitation in complying. I could but offer a tribute of affectionate remembrance to him who I knew both as a guide and as a friend, and I knew that any poor halting, words of mine would be inadequate to express what I felt and what I wished to say while others, more able and better qualified than I, would adorn these pages with eloquent tribute to his worth. On second thoughts, I gathered courage, and it seemed to me that the best offering which I could make to his memory, would be of the first fruits of an undertaking whose inception owes much to his advice and encouragement.

It was in 1886, at the Oriental Congress held in Vienna, that I first met Bühler, and discussed with him a project, which had long occupied my mind, for holding a **Survey of the languages now spoken in India.** Encouraged by him, I laid the proposal before the Congress itself, and a resolution, strongly supported by him, was passed urging on the Government of India the advisability of undertaking the investigation. I avoid writing of the warm friendship which dated from those days, or of the close correspondence enriched by the treasures of learning ungrudgingly poured forth which continued through the next eleven years. Suffice it to say that, largely due to his personal efforts and to his advice, the preliminary operations for the **Linguistic Survey of India** were commenced some two and a half years ago. One of the last occasions that we met was when I read to the Aryan Section of the Paris Congress of 1897 the progress report of these preliminary steps, and I still seem to see him sitting on the daïs as Vice-President and to hear the words of encouragement with which he welcomed the story of what had been done. A day or two afterwards we parted, never, alas, to meet again. Early last May I learned that the project had been finally sanctioned, and was on the point of writing to him to tell him the joyful news, when the sad and much belated tidings of his death reached us in Patna. Never can I forget what I owe to him. True were the words of my Paṇḍit when I told him of it, '*Mahâbhânur astaṁ gatô 'sti,*' a great sun *had* set, and had left many without the light which they could hardly spare.

So I venture to dedicate to his memory some of the earliest results of the Linguistic Survey of India, because it was an inquiry in which he had continually taken an exceeding interest, and because these very results illustrate points on which he laid special stress in his correspondence with me.

With his full concurrence, it was determined to delay the publication of the section of his *Grundriss* which was to be devoted to the modern vernaculars of India till after the completion of the Survey. Surprises, he was sure, were in store for us, and, unless we postponed the production of the section on the **'Tertiary Prakrits,'** there would be danger of its being out of date almost as soon as it was issued. How true this was, the subsequent progress of the Survey has shown, and of the two specimens which I now proceed to give, one illustrates these surprises.

Gujarî and Ajaṛî.

One of the most well-marked dialects of Rajputana is Mêwâṛî, spoken by the Chauhân Rajputs of Mêwâṛ. It is one of the great West-Central group of Indo-Aryan languages to which belong Eastern Panjâbî, Gujarâtî and Standard Hindî, and forms one of the connecting links between these last two languages. Closely connected with it is Mârwâṛî, spoken in the neighbouring state of Mârwâṛ. The grammars of both will be found in Mr. Kellogg's work, and need not be described here.

More than eight hundred miles from Mêwâṛ, across the Indian Desert and the entire Panjab, beyond the North-West frontier of India, lies the Swât valley, inhabited principally by a Pushtô-speaking population. There are, however, two Muhammadan tribes, the Gûjars and the Ajaṛs, who speak an Indian, and not an Iranian, language. The Gûjars are cowherds, and the Ajaṛs, who are closely connected with them, tend sheep. The former are a well known tribe, and seem to be at home right through the hill country north of the Panjab, though strongest in the North-West. They are also numerous 'along the banks of the upper Jumna near Jagâdri and Buriyâ, and in the Saharanpur District, which during the last century was actually called Gujarât. To the east they occupy the petty State of Samptar, in Bundelkhand, and one of the northern districts of Gwâliôr, which is still called Gûjargâr ; but they are more numerous in the Western States, and especially towards Gujarât, where they form a large portion of the population. The Râjâs of Riwârî to the south of Delhi are Gûjars. In the Southern Panjab they are thinly scattered, but their numbers increase rapidly towards the North, where they have given their name to several important places, such as Gujrânwâlâ, in the Rechna Duâb, Gujarât, in the Chaj Duâb, and Gûjar Khân, in the Sindh-Sâgar Duâb. They are numerous about Jehlam and Hasan Abdâl, and throughout the Hazâra District ; and they are also found in considerable numbers in the Dardu Districts of Chilâs, Kôli, and Pâlas, to the east of the Indus, and in the contiguous districts to the east of the river.'[1] Regarding the Gûjars of the Panjab, I have not as yet received any certain information, except that, the language-specimens, received from the District of Muzaffarnagar on the east bank of the Jamna show several points of connection with the language spoken by their brethren of Swât. The Gûjars of the rest of the Panjab Himalayas, and those of Kashmîr are reported to speak a language of their own, but specimens of it have not yet been received. We must therefore content ourselves for the present with that spoken by those who are the most western and the most northern of all the Gûjars with whom we are acquainted. This brings us to the surprise already alluded to. The language of the Swât Gûjars is practically identical with Mêwâṛî, spoken, more than eight hundred miles away, in Rajputana. As might be expected they have borrowed a portion of their vocabulary from the neighbouring Pushtô and Panjâbî, but the grammars of Swât Gujarî and of Ajaṛi, on the one hand, and of Mêwâṛî, on the other, are to all intents and purposes identical. This will be manifest from the following notes and specimens. It is an interesting fact that, both with the Gûjars and the Ajaṛs, one of their septs is known as 'Chôhân.' I am indebted to Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., for all these specimens.

[1] Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep.* ii., 61, quoted by Crooke in the *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, s.v.* Gûjar.

GUJARI SKELETON GRAMMAR.

I. — NOUNS.

A. — Substantives —

(*a*) *Masculine.*

(1) Ending in *ô* —

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	*ghôṛ-ô*	*ghôṛ-â*
Obl.	*ghôṛ-â*	*ghôṛ-ā̃*

(2) Others—

Nom.	*bâp*	*bâp*
Obl.	*bâp*	*bâpā̃*

(*b*) *Feminine.*

Nom.	*dhî*	*dhî*
Obl.	*dhî*	*dhîā̃*

Genitive Terminations.

Masc.

Dir.	*kô*	*kâ*
Obl.	*kâ*	*kâ*

Fem.

Dir.	*kî*	*kî*
Obl.	*kî*	*kî*

B. — Adjectives —

(1) Ending in *ô* —

Masc.

Dir.	*changô*	*changâ*
Obl.	*changâ*	*changâ*

Fem.

Dir.	*changî*	*changî*
Obl.	*changî*	*changî*

(2) Others —

Do not change.

II. — PRONOUNS.

	I	Thou	He	We	You	They
Nom.	*hū̃*	*tû, tô*	*oh, wah*	*ham*	*tam*	*wê*
Ag.	*maĩ*	*taĩ*	*usâ, us*	*ham*	*tam*	*un, unâ*
Gen.	*mairô*	*tairô*	*us-kô*	*mahârô*	*thârô*	*un-kô*
Dat.	*manâ*	*tanâ*	*us-tah*	*ham-tah*	*tam-tah*	*un-tah*

Possessive, — *apṇô*; obl., *apṇâ*; fem., *apṇî*; own.

Near Demonstrative, — *yô*, this; ag., *isâ, is*; Pl., *yê*, obl., *in*.

Relative, — *chi*, who or what.

Interrogatives, — *kauṇ*, who?, obl. *kas*; *kî*, what?

III. — VERBS.

A. — Auxiliary and Verbs Substantive —

Pres., *hai*, for all numbers and persons.

Past. Masc. Sg., *thô*, Pl. *thâ*; Fem., *thî*, for all numbers and persons.

B. — Finite Verb —

Infinitive, — *mâr-aṇ*.

Pres. Part., — *mâr-tô*.

Past. Part., — *mâr-iô*.

Pres., — *mâr* + personal endings.

Future, — *mâr* + personal endings + *gô*.

Def. Present, — *mâr* + personal endings + *hai*.

Imperfect, — *mâr* + personal endings + *thô*.

Past, — *mâr-iô*.

Perfect, — *mâr-iô hai*.

Pluperfect, — *mâr-iô thô*.

Personal endings.

	1	2	3
Sing. ...	*ū̃*	*ai*	*ai*
Plur. ...	*ā̃*	*õ̃*	*aĩ*

Irregular Past Participles—

giô,	gone
kiô,	made
liô,	taken
diô, or *ditô,*	given
môyô,	dead

Imperatives.

lai,	take.
dai,	give.

The following points may be noted in regard to the grammar of the specimens : —

I. — NOUNS.

The Agent case is generally the same as the Nominative. Indeed the use of the Agent with the Past tense of a Transitive verb appears to have almost disappeared.

In the case of nouns in *ô*, the oblique form singular usually ends in *â*, but sometimes, probably owing to careless speaking, the direct form is used ; thus, *ghôṛô kô*, of a horse, instead of the more correct *ghôṛâ kô ; mandô* (for *mandâ) kam mã ; mairô bâp kâ*, for *mairâ bâp kâ*. Sometimes, under the influence of Panjâbî, the oblique form ends in *ê*. Thus, when the younger son speaks to his father, the narrative says, correctly, *apṇâ bâp tah kahiô ;* but when the elder son answers his father, the Panjâbî idiom, *apnê bâp tah*, is incorrectly used.

On the other hand, the influence of Panjâbî sometimes makes these nouns have the direct form in *â* instead of in *ô*. Thus *us kâ* (for *us kô*) *baṛô pût paṭṭî mã thô.*

Amongst the postpositions may be mentioned *mã*, in ; *kanah*, with. The postpositions *tah* and *nah* are borrowed from Puṣhtô. They are used indiscriminately to mean both 'to' and 'from.' Thus, *iṭhâr tah â-jâ*, come *to* this place, and *iṭhâr tah jâ*, go *from* this place.

The following are examples of the correct use of the direct and of the oblique forms : *mairô pût môyô thô* (Hindî, *mêrâ pût muâ thâ*), my son was dead ; *apṇâ mâ tah* (Hindî, *apnê mâl sê*), from his own property ; *chaṅgâ admî* (Hindî, *chaṅgê âdmî*), good men ; *is kâ pairã mã* (Hindî, *is kê pairõ mẽ*), on his feet ; *apṇâ dôstã kanah* (Hindî, *apnê dôstõ sâth*), with (my) own friends ; *chaṅgî trîma* (Hindî, *chaṅgî strî*), a good woman ; *is kî angrî mã* (Hindî, *is kî angulî mẽ*), on his finger.

The use of the word *yakô*, one, a, appears to be irregular. I have noted,—

> *Yakô bâp*, a father ; *yakô bâp kô*, of a father ; but *yakê ṭhâr*, in a certain place.
>
> *Yakâ dhî*, a daughter ; *yakâ chaṅgî trîmat*, a good woman ; *yakê dhî kô*, of a daughter.

II. — PRONOUNS.

The proper form of the Agent of *hũ* is *maĩ*. Thus : *maĩ tairo k͟hazmat kiô hai* (Hindî, *maĩ nê êrî khidmat kî*), by me thy service has been done. But *hũ* is sometimes substituted for it. Thus : *thũ mâriô*, I killed, instead of *maĩ mâriô*, by me killed.

An example of the Agent of the second person is *taĩ nî ditô hai* (Hindî, *tû nê nahĩ diyâ hai*), by thee has not been given.

So for the third person *usâ banḍiô* (Hindî, *us nê bãṭâ*), by him was divided ; *us kahiô* (Hindî, *us nê kahâ*), by him it was said ; but *oh* (not *us* or *usâ*) *uṭhiô* (Hindî, *wah uṭhâ*), he rose.

III. — VERBS.

In the conjugation of verbs, note the peculiar way in which the Present Definite and Imperfect are formed. Here the verb exactly follows the Mêwâṛî custom. To form these tenses, the auxiliary verb is added, not to the Present Participle, but to the various persons of the simple Present Tense. Thus : *mârũ*, I beat ; *mârũ hai* (not *mârtô hâi*), I am beating ; *mârũ thô* (not *mârtô thô*), I was beating. Other examples are *karũ hai*, I am making, used as a present subjunctive, (that) I may make (merriment with my friends) ; *karũ thô*, I was making. Irregularly influenced by Panjâbî are *diyâ nâ thâ*, (anyone) was not giving ; *chalâ nâ thô*, he was not going ; *charâ thô*, he was grazing.

The Present Participle is used to form a Habitual Past. Thus : *khaitô*, he used to eat ; Plural Masculine, *khaitâ*, they (the swine) used to eat.

In the Simple Present, which is also used as a present subjunctive, there are some irregularities observable in the specimens. In *ham k͟hushâlî karũ, k͟hushâl hũ*, the first person plural is used for the first person singular. Panjâbî is responsible for *khâ-laĩ*, and *hô jâyaĩ*, and also for *khâi* (they eat), in which last the singular is used for the plural.

As already observed, the use of the Passive construction of the Past Tense of Transitive verbs appears to be dying out. The Agent form of the personal pronouns is still usually employed before these tenses, but all traces of the Agent case have disappeared from the noun. The feeling for Gender, too, is very weak. Thus we have *maĩ tairô* (instead of *tairî*) *khazmat kiô* (instead of *kî*) *hai*, I have done thy service ; so we have *jilî kiô*, instead of *jilî kî*, he shouted.

Specimen I. — Parable of the Prodigal Son in Gujarî.

Yakô admî kâ dô pût thâ. Nanḍô pût apṇâ bâp tah kahiô chi, 'ai bâp,
One man of two sons were. By-the-young son his-own father to it-was-said that, 'oh father,
manâ apṇâ mâ tah banḍô dai-lai.' Usâ dwanyam pah apṇâ mâ banḍiô.
to-me thy-own property from share give.' By-him both on his-own property was-divided.
Kâi dĩ pachhẫ nanḍô pût harkuj yakê-ṭhâr kar-kê dûr dês tah giô. Ut
Some days after young son everything (in) one-place having-made far country to went. There
isâ apṇâ mâ mandô kam mẫ uḍâ-liô. Chi habbâ mâ wajhêṛ-liô,
by-him his-own property bad works in was-wasted. When all (his) property was-finished,
oh dês pah yakô baṛô qâhat âyô, oh sauṛô hô-giô. Oh giô, oh dês mẫ yakô
that country on one great famine came, he straitened became. He went, that country in one
khân kanah naukar hô-giô. Usâ apṇî paṭṭî tah dai-gâliô, chi 'mandah zînâwar
chief with servant became. By-him his-own field to he-was-sent, that '(you) unclean animal
châr-lai.' Oh apṇâ-mînah-pah oh bhô khâdỗ, chi zînâwar khaitâ, haḍô kauṇê diyâ na
graze.' He his-own-desire-on that straw would-eat, which animals eat, but any-one giving not
thâ. Chi sûl mẫ hô-giô, isâ kahiô chi, 'mairô bâp kâ katnâ naukar changô
was. When senses in became, by-him it-was-said that, 'my father of how-many servants good
ṭûk khai, hû̃ bhakô marû̃. Hû̃ uṭhû̃gô, apṇâ bâp tâh jâwû̃gô, us tah kahû̃gô chi,
food eat, I hungry am-dying. I will-arise, my-own father to will-go, him to will-say that,
"ai bâp, hû̃ tairô bhî gunâhgar hai, Khudâe kâ bhî gunâhgâr hai. Is kô lâyiq nî,
"Oh father, I thy also sinner am, God of also sinner am. Of this worthy not-I-(am),
chi tairô pût hô-jâwû̃ ; kho apṇâ naukarẫ mẫ manâ ghal-lai."' Oh uṭhiô, apṇâ
that thy son I-may-become ; but thy-own servants among me put."' He arose, his-own
bâp tah âyô. Yô lâ dûr thô, chi apṇâ bâp isâ ḍaṭhô, tars isâ kiô,
father to came. He yet far was, that by-his-own father to-him it-was-seen, pity on-him was-made,
isâ bhajiô, ghâṛa-ghaṛai hô-giô, isâ chômiô. Pût is tah kahiô chi, 'ai
to-him he-ran, embracing took-place, him-to it-was-kissed. By-son him to it-was-said that, 'Oh
bâp, hû̃ Khudâe kâ bhî gunâhgâr hai, tairô bhî gunâhgâr hai. Is kô lâyiq nî chî
father, I God of also sinner am, thine also sinner am. This of worth not-I-(am) that
tairô pût ho-jâwû̃.' Us kâ bâp apṇâ naukarẫ tah kahiô chi, 'changô chirṛô
thy son I-may-become.' By his father his-own servants to it-was-said that, 'good dress
lai-âô, is tah ghal-lêô yakâ angri is kî angṛî mẫ kar-lêô, paṇê is kâ pairẫ mẫ kar-lêô. Âô
bring, him-to put-on one ring him of finger on put, shoes him of feet on put. Come
chi, ṭûk khâ-laĩ, khushâl hô-jâyaĩ is sawab tah chi, yô mairô pût môyô thô, jîmtô hôyô
that, food we-eat, merry become, this reason for that, this my son dead was, living become
hai; gum giô thô, lab-liô hai.' Wê khushâl hô-giô.
is ; lost become was, recovered is., They merry became.

Huṇ us kâ baṛô pût paṭṭî mẫ thô. Chi oh âyô, ghar tah naiṛô hô-giô, gît nachaṇ kâ
Now him of elder son field in was. When he came, house to near became, songs dancing of
awâz suṇiô. Yakô naukar tah bôliô, usâ pachhiô, 'yô kî chhâ hai?'
sound was-heard. One servant to (he) called, to-him (by-him) it-was-asked, 'this what matter is?'
Us kahîô, chi, 'tairô bhâî âyô hai, tairô bâp khairât kiô hai, chi usâ
By-him it-was-said, that, 'thy brother come is, (by)-thy father feast made is, as him
rôgh jôṛ lâdô-hai. Oh rus-giô andar chalâ na thô. Bâp is ka
sound-and-well (by-him-it)-has-been-found.' He sulked within going not was. Father him of

nakṛiô, isá minnat kiô. Is apṇê báp-tah zawáb mā̃ kahiô chi,
came-out, him-to entreaty was-made-by-him. By-him his-own father-to answer in it-was-said that,
'*daikh, hitná machh múdah maĩ tairô khazmat kiô hai; hêchare tairô bê-amrî*
'see, so-much long time by-me thy service been-done is; ever thy disobedience
nî kiô hai. Bhî taĩ maná yakô lailô nî ditô hai, chi hū̃ apṇá dostā̃ kanah
not-by-me done is. Still by-thee to-me one kid not given is, that I my-own friends with
khushálî karū-hai. Har-kade chi tairô yô pût áyô, chi tairô mā̃ kachnî pah
merriment might-make. As-soon-as when thy this son came, by-whom thy property harlots on
uḍáyô-hai, taĩ us pah khairát kiô.' Us kahiô, chi, 'pût, tû nit mairô
wasted-has-been, by-thee him on feast made.' By-him it-was-said, that, 'son, thou always me
kôṛ hai, á mairô harkuj tairô hai. Yô munásib thô, chi ham khushálî karū̃, khushál
with art, and my everything thine is. This proper was, that we merriment make, merry
hū̃, tā̃chi yô tairô bhâî môyô thô, jîmtô hôyô hai; gum giô thô, ládô hai.'
be, because this thy brother dead was, alive become is; lost become was, recovered is.'

A Fable in Gujarî.

Yakô jákat har dî mhē̃sā̃ gā̃ chárá-thô, parbat mā̃ grā̃ tah dûr. Yakô dî
One boy every day buffaloes cows used-to-graze, mountain in village from far. One day
khā̃ pah jilî-kiô chi, 'bagyáṛ áyô hai.' Grā̃ ká lôk warnakṛiô, chi bagyáṛ
joke on it-was-shouted-by-him that, 'wolf come is.' Village of people went-out, that wolf
khadêṛ-lai. Chi lôk apṛiá, bagyáṛ na thô. Jákat tah iná pachhṇô kiô; us
should-drive-off. When people arrive, wolf not was. Boy from by-them enquiry was-made; by-him
chahiô chi, 'hū̃ chhā̃ karū̃ thô.' Lôk ghar tah pachhā̃ giô. Dûjā̃ dî yakô parṛô áyô.
it-was-said that, 'I joke making was.' People house to back went. Second day one leopard came.
Jákat jilî-kiô chi, 'warhûrî-dêo; parṛô áyô hai.' Lôk kahiô chi
By-the-boy it-was-shouted that, 'come-running; leopard come is.' By-the-people it-was-said that
'yô kûṛ kahai,' kauṇê na giô. Parṛô-nê jákat khá-liô. Chhā̃ mā̃ kûṛya,
this(-boy) lie tells,' any-one not went. By-the-leopard boy was-devoured. Joke in lying,
jákat mar-giô.
boy died.

Gujarî Numerals.

Êk, êkô dô tîn chár pañch chhê sat aṭh naū dáh yárā̃ bárā̃ terā̃ chaudahā̃ pandrā̃ sohā̃
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
satarā̃ aṭhárā̃ unî bî êk tê bî dô tê bî, etc. *dah tê bî yárā̃ tê bî*, etc. *chawê êk tê chawê*, etc.
17 18 19 20 21 22 30 31 40 41
dah tê chawê or *pañjah yárā̃ tê chawê*, etc. *saṭh êk tê saṭh*, etc. *dah tê saṭh*, etc. *chár bî*
50 51 60 61 70 80
êk tê chár bî dô tê chár bî tîn tê chár bî chár tê chár bî, and so on *dah tê chár bî yárā̃ tê chár bî*
81 82 83 84 90 91
bárā̃ tê chár bî and so on, up to *unî tê chár bî sau.*
92 99 100.

A Folk-Tale in Ajaṛî.

Êk jaṇô ḍhákâ mā̃ bakrî chárai thô. Êk dî paṛ mā̃ maikhû labh-liô. Us
One man mountain in goats grazing was. One day rock in a-honey-(comb) was-found. By
nê kahiô chi, 'hū̃ kap-liyū̃gô,' khô hath us kô ná apṛiô, kiô-jê ṭhár sauṛô tê
him it-was-said that, 'I will-cut-it-off,' but hand him of not reached, because the-place narrow and
aukhô thô. Mhī̃ wuh grā̃ tah áyô, dárû liô, tê paṛ tah giô; us kô
difficult was. Then he village to came, gunpowder was-taken-by-him, and rock to went; it of
hêṭ dab-chhôṛiô chi ag lá-kê paṛ uḍá-chhôṛū̃gô, tê maikhû habbā̃ kaḍ-liyū̃gô.
beneath it-was-buried-(by-him) that fire applying rock I-will-blow-up, and honey all will-extract.

Mhĩ̆ palîtah nah ag lâ-kê bais-rahiô. Mhĩ̆ ḍaz hôyô, paṛ phuṭ-giô, jaṇô
Then fuse to fire applying he-sat-down. Then explosion became, rock burst, (the)-man
uḍâ-chhôṛiô. Ut maikhû kô armân mã̆ mar-giô.
was-blown-up. There honey of longing in he-perished.

Gârwî.

The modern Indian language with which Bühler's name is most closely connected is Kâshmîrî. The first scientific account of that language appeared in his famous Kashmîr report, and during the years of our intercourse, he was never tired of dwelling on its importance for the linguistic history of India. At length, some three or four years ago, at his earnest solicitation, I took up the serious study of this interesting form of speech, and have been amply rewarded. Similarly, the late Dr. Burkhard's papers on the Musalmân form of Kâshmîrî, which are now appearing in these pages, were undertaken at his suggestion and with his assistance.

One of the result of these studies has been the establishment of the existence of a North-Western group of Indian languages, all closely connected, and extending from Karachi, in Sindh, through the Western Panjab, into Kashmîr. The Linguistic Survey, thanks to the kindness of Major Deane, the Political Officer at the Malakhand, has brought forward two more languages, also spoken in the Ṣwât country, which belong to the same group. They had been previously described by Colonel Biddulph, but their affinities had never been established. Their names are Gârwî and Tôrwâlî. They closely resemble each other, and, in this paper, I shall only give some grammatical notes, and two of the specimens which I have collected of the former. Other specimens have also been utilised in preparing the notes, but considerations of space forbid their being printed here.

Gârwî is the language of the Gawârê, a sept of which tribe is named Bashghar, a fact which has led Colonel Biddulph to erroneously call the language 'Bushkarik,' and to call the entire tribe 'Bushkar.' The language is closely connected with that of the Tôrwâl, who inhabit the Ṣwât and Panjkôrâ Valleys lower down than the Gawârê. It is evidently of Indian origin. Regarding the Gawârê, Colonel Biddulph says,[2]—

"Bushkar is the name given to the community which inhabits the upper part of the Punjkorah Valley, whence they have overflowed into the upper part of the Swat Valley, and occupied the three large villages of Otrote, Ushoo, and Kalam. They live on good terms with their Torwal neighbours, and number altogether from 12,000 to 15,000 souls . . . . The Bushkarik proper are divided into three clans, the Moolanor, Kootchkhor, and Joghior. They say that they have been Mussulmans for nine generations, and the peculiar customs still common among the Shins do not exist among them . . . . The Bushkar dialect approaches more nearly to modern Punjabi than any other of the Dard languages; but in some respects seems to show some affinity to the dialects of the Siah Posh."

With reference to the above remarks, the conversion of the people to Islâm began in the time of Akhûn Darwêza, about three hundred years ago, and has been carried on up to within the last century. Gârwî, like the other languages of the Ṣwât Kôhistân, has one remarkable peculiarity. The verb, except in the Future Tense, and in the Imperative mood, does not distinguish between the various persons. In some of these languages, *e. g.*, Gârwî (as described by Biddulph under the name of Bushkarik) even number is not distinguished. On the other hand, throughout the conjugation of the verb, the distinction of gender is carefully maintained. Thus, in Gârwî, the present tense of the verb "to be" is, masculine, *tû*, feminine, *tûi*. According to the gender of the subject, each of these words means, I am, thou art, he, she, or it is, we are, you are, they are, as the context may require.

It is not possible to form a complete grammar from the specimens, but the following instances of grammatical forms show that the language is closely connected with Kâshmîrî.

[2] Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, p. 70. A brief notice of Bushkarik Grammar is given in Appendix E. of the same work.

I. — NOUNS — *Declension.*

	Sing.	Plur.	Similarly.
Nom.	*bab*, a father	*babû*	*dûî*, a daughter.
Gen.	*bab-ẫ*	*babû-ẫ*	Genitive, *dûî-ẫ* : but Nom.
Dat.	*bab-ki* or *-ka*	*babû-ki* or *-ka*	Plur. *dûî*.
Loc.	*bab-mẽ*	*babû-mẽ*	A good man is *ak rân mêsh*.
Abl.	*bab-mẫ*, from a father	*babû-mẫ*	A good woman is *ak rain îs*.

II. — PRONOUNS —

I, *ya;* of me, *mâ, mai̋;* Obl. form, *mai;* We, *mâ;* our, *mô*.

Thou, *tû;* of thee, *chhẫ;* Obl. form, *tai;* Ye, *thâ;* your, *thô*.

He, that, *ashî;* his, *asẫ;* Obl. *âs;* they, *tum;* their, *tasẫ*; by them, *tama*.

Other forms are *sah*, he ; *tasẫ*, his ; *tas-ki*, to him ; *tan*, by him. 'This' is *eh* or *âĩ*.

III. — VERBS —

(*a*) **Verbs Substantive** —

Pres. — *thû, thô,* (masc.) ; *thî* (fem.) ; for both numbers and all persons. Used once to mean 'was.' 'The elder son *was* in the field.'

Past — *âsh, âshô, âshû;* fem. *âshî ;* for both numbers and all persons : used once to mean 'is,' 'what matter *is?*'

I may or shall be, *hôm;* he became, *hû;* be (Imperat.) *hô;* to be, *hôgê;* being, *hôg*.

(*b*) **Finite Verbs** —

Chaṇḍô, to beat.

Chaṇḍôsh, beaten ; so, *mûrsh*, dead ; *chhârôsh*, lost : *gat*, gone.

Imperative,—chaṇḍ, beat. Other examples are, *da*, give ; *giya*, bring ye ; *shâwa, shâ,* clothe ye ; *yẫ*, come (? 1st person, plural) ; *chô*, go.

Present, — chaṇḍânt, I beat, for all persons and both numbers. Other examples are *khânt*, I would eat ; *marânt*, I am dying ; *k͟haṛânt*, thou art defiling ; *wânt*, it comes ; *grânt*, thou bandiest : *bachânt*, I go.

Imperfect, — chaṇḍânt âsh, (I, etc.) was (were) beating.

Past, — (*a*) Transitive Verbs — Passive construction — With Masculine Object, — *mai chaṇḍû*, I beat (him) ; *paṛtâlû*, (he) sent (him) ; *kêr*, (he) made ; *liṭh* (he) saw (him) ; *gas*, (he) caught (him) ; *manô*, he said ; *budh*, (he) heard (a sound) ; *laṭh*, (he) found (him). With Feminine Object, — *kêth*, thy (father) has made (a feast), (I) did (not disobedience) to thee ; *dêth*, thou didst (not) give (a kid) ; *gis*, (he) caught (her) ; *khêg*, (he) ate (her).

(*b*) Intransitive Verbs, — *gâ*, (I, etc.) went ; *yâ, yâg*, (he) came ; *itiath*, (he) arose ; *bâg-chhôre*, (he) ran up (to him) ; *nûkas*, (he) came out.

The following are apparently Past Participles used as Past Tenses ; — *khiẫshta*, they ate ; *karêsh*, I might do (merriment, fem. obj.) ; *diẫsh*, (he) gave ; *bachash*, (he) went ; *pûẫsh*, they were drinking.

Future, — ya chaṇḍam, I shall beat ; *chhôm*, I will go ; *ya manam*, I shall say ; *karam*, I will make ; *ya pôham*, I will understand.

GÂRWÎ.

Specimen I. — The Parable of the Prodigal Son.

Ak mêsh-ã dû pûṭ ashû. Lakôṭ pûṭ tanî bab-ka manô, 'mai-ki mâl-mẽ tanî
One man-of two sons were. Younger son his-own father-to said, 'me-to property-in my-own
ḍah da.' Tan tanî mâl duêra ḍâh-kêr. Kidî dôs pat lakôṭ pûṭ
share give.' And his-own property (on)-both (he)-divided. A-few (some) days after younger son
harkihâ jama kêr, dêôr utan-ki gâ. Tatî bâg tanî mâl lûl kar anchan-kêr.
everything together made, far country-to went. That place his-own property bad act dissipated.
Swâ mâl khlâs-kêr, tatî utan-mẽ giân qâhat yâg, ta tî tang hû. Sah gâ tatî
All property finished, that country-in big famine came, and he straitened became. He went that
utan-mẽ khân-sah naukar hû. Tan tanî khêr partalû sûar châr. 'Ãĩ sûar
country-in chief-with servant became. And his-own field sent (him) swine graze. 'Which swine
khiãshta, ya pa khânt;' kami na diâsh. Pata khid-mẽ yâ, manô, 'mâ baba
are-eating, I also will-eat;' anyone not gave (him). Afterwards sense-in came, said, 'my father-of
kitî naukar thô, rên gil khiân, ya bûṭhô marânt. Ya itiânt, tan bab-ki chôm,
how-many servants are, good food eat, I hungry am-dying. I will-rise, and father-to will-go,
tas-ki manam, "O bab, ya Khudâê gunâhgâr chhã gunâhgâr. Atê lâyiq na kô chhã
him-to will-say, "O father, I of-God sinner thy sinner. So worthy not (am) that thy
dûṭ hôm, naukar-mẽ mai hisâb-kar."' Sah itiath, tanî bab-ki yâg. Sah
son be, servants-among me reckon."' (And) he rose, his-own father-to came. (And) he
paṭka ashô tanî bab liṭh, rahm kêr, bâg-chhôrê, mûr-mê gas, khkôl-kêr.
afar was his-own father saw (him), pity did, ran-up (to him), embrace-in caught (him), kissed (him).
Pûṭ manô, 'O bab, ya Khudâê gunâhgâr, chhã gunâhgâr. Atê lâyiq na kô chhã pûṭ
Son said, 'O father, I of-God sinner (am), thy sinner (am). So worthy not (am) that thy son
hôm.' Bab tanî naukar-ki manô, 'rân jâma giya, as shâwa; angusir angir shâwa; kõsh
be.' Father his-own servants-to said, 'good dress bring, him clothe; ring finger put-on; shoes
khur shâ. Yã, gil khâê, khushâl hôê. Tithî mâ êh puṭ mûrsh, jândô; chhârôsh
feet put-on. Come, food eat, merry be. Because my this son dead, revived (is); lost
laḍ.' Tama khushâlî kêr.
recovered (is).' They merriment made.

Môṭ tasã giân pûṭ khêr-mẽ thâ. Sêh yâg, shiṭ-ki niâr hû, sarôd nêṭah awâz
Now his elder son field-in was. (When) he came, house-to near was, music dancing sound
budh. Â naukar-ki awâz-kêr, tapaus-kêr, 'kê chhal âsh?' Tan manô, 'chhã jâ yâg
heard. A servant-to called, inquired, 'what matter is?' He said, 'thy brother come
thôn; bab khairât kêth, tithî rôgh jôṛ laṭh.' Seh bâjâg hû, shîkî na
is; father feast has-made, because whole well found.' (Then) he angry became, inside not
bachash. Bab nûkas, minat kêr. Tan jawâb-mẽ bab-ki manô, 'bêr, atê bâr mûdah
went. Father came-out, entreaty made. He reply-in father-to said, 'lo, so long time
chhã khizmat kêr, hêcharê chhã bê-amrî na kêth. Tai mai-ki â sûr na dêth, mai tanî
thy service I-did, ever thy disobedience not did. Thou me-to one kid not gave, I my-own
dôstân-sah khushâlî karêsh. Kaĩ sâat âĩ pûṭ yâg, chhã mâl kachanai-râ kharâb-kêr,
friends-with merriment might-do. Which time this son came, thy property harlots-on wasted,
tai khairât kêr.' Tan manô, 'O pûṭ, tû hallal mai-sah bai, mâ harkai chhâ. Âĩ
thou feast did.' He said, 'O son, thou always me-with livest, my everything thine (is). This
munâsib ashû, mã khushâlî kêr, khushâl hû, tithî. chhã âĩ jâ mursh, jândô;
proper was, we merriment did, merry become, because thy this brother dead, alive (is);
chharôsh, laḍ.'
lost, recovered (is).'

Specimen II. — A Folk-Tale.

Ak bôr ashû, akê chhêl âshî. Â ûs-râ û pûãsh. Bôr rat ashû, chhêl tûâ
A tiger was, a goat was. A spring-at water were-drinking. Tiger above was, goat below
âshî. Bôr manô chhêl-ka, mâ û kâ kharânt?' Chhêl manô, 'û chhã bâm-tê
was. Tiger said goat-to, my water why do-you-make dirty?' Goat said, 'water thy, side-from
wânt, ya tûâ thî. Chhã û kikî khar karam?' Bôr manô, 'tû bâr lâl thû, mai-sah
comes, I below am. Thy water how dirty can-I-make?' Tiger said, 'thou very bad art, me-with
bêt grânt. Mai-ka izhgâr manô. Ya tai-sah pôham.' Âĩ manî, ṭôp
words dost-bandy. Me-to liar say (call). I thee-with will-understand.' This saying, a-jump
kêr, chhêl gis, swa khêg.
(he)-made, goat caught, whole devoured.

Ak	*dû*	*ṭhâ*	*chôr*	*panj*	*shô*	*sat*	*aṭh*	*num*	*dash*	*ikyâ*	*bâh*	*ṭhô*	*chônḍ*	*panjâh*	*shôhr*	*satâh*	*aṭâh*	*anbîsh*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19

bîsh	*dashôbîsh*	*dûbîsh*	*dashôdûbîsh*	*ṭhabîsh*	*dashôṭhabîsh*	*chôrbîsh*	*dashôchôrbîsh*	*panjbîsh.*
20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100.

A NOTE ON BÜHLER.

BY PROF. J. JOLLY (WÜRZBURG).

WHILE referring for details to a comprehensive biography to be published elsewhere, I beg to send you for the *Indian Antiquary*, to which Bühler during the last quarter of a century has devoted so much of his time and energy, a few lines in illustration of the personal views and character of a revered friend older than myself. In all the obituary notices hitherto published it has been pointed out correctly that Bühler's surprising universality made him the born leader of such an enormous undertaking as the *Encyclopedia*. But I do not find the fact mentioned anywhere that Bühler had planned a similar work many years ago. As he told me in 1878 and later, he had made arrangements with Nikolaus Trübner, the well-known London publisher, for the publication of a bulky work on *Indian Antiquities*, destined to replace Lassen's *Indische Altertumskunde*, which work was then fast becoming antiquated. His epigraphic researches, and other works in which he had meanwhile become engaged, compelled him to lay aside his plan for some future time. Then old Trübner died, and it was reserved for his nephew, Karl J. Trübner of Strassburg — the founder and publisher of the *Encyclopedias* (*Grundrisse*), who has rendered such signal services to nearly every branch of philology — to secure Bühler as the Editor of the *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*, without knowing anything of his deceased uncle's plan.

Let me quote one more instance of Bühler's "distinguishing moral quality of unselfishness" (Tawney). In connection with his extensive preliminary work for the *Digest of Hindu Law*, he had collected ample materials for critical editions of the law-books of Baudhâyana, Gautama, Vishṇu, Vasishṭha and Nârada, but he handed them over to myself and other junior scholars to help us in the editing of those texts. Thus at all times and in everything he would care for the cause of science only; and the inspiration which he disseminated in every direction has contributed no less to the progress of learning than his own pioneer work exhibited in so many publications. But for him, many important works would never have been written or printed, many old inscriptions would never have been excavated, many temple and private libraries in India would never have been searched for MSS.

It is well known that Bühler afforded a splendid proof of his generous liberality by the presentation of his private collection of MSS. (consisting of 128 valuable old MSS. and 193 modern copies) to the India Office Library in London, in 1888. He also presented to the Royal Library in Berlin a collection of 177 MSS. in 201 volumes.

IN MEMORIAM GEORG BÜHLER.

A POSTSCRIPT.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

IT has been a melancholy pleasure to me, after much correspondence and with the effective assistance of Dr. Winternitz, to compile this memorial number of the *Indian Antiquary* in honour of my genial friend and invaluable guide and co-operator of so many years. It is natural that, when called upon, many fellow-workers should have come forward with their parting appreciation of one who was not only a matured scholar and a safe master, but also always a kindly friend, a generous opponent and a fair fighter, thinking in all controversies not so much of himself as of the right of the cause he fought for. It is natural also that the conductor of this *Journal*, which he helped from its very commencement, as we have already heard from Dr. Burgess, continuously up to his sudden death 26 years later (I had to publish his last contribution uncorrected for the press, and from the other side of the world, from Yokohama and San Francisco, in ignorance of the calamity that had overtaken my friend, I "wrote letters to the dead" about projected contributions), should desire to go out of the usual course to do honour to the memory of one who had conferred so many benefits with such unstinted, unselfish lavishness on the studies it serves to forward. Indeed, those who have been able to assist me in this undertaking have esteemed their pious labours to be a privilege; so do I in my turn esteem it a privilege to have had the right to indite this postscript as a last testimony, however inadequate, to the worth of the mutual friend, who was also the actual master and teacher of so many of us.

I have been able to set before the reader a goodly array of writers for this special number, but it will be readily understood that for individual reasons many who would gladly have come forward with friendly articles or notes have been prevented from doing so. From these I have had kindly expressions of sympathy and regret at inability to actively assist. The venerable scholars, O. von Böhtlingk and A. Weber, pleaded age and infirmity, and generous and appreciative letters were sent by Lord Reay, Sir Raymond West, Drs. Whitley Stokes and Fleet in England, and from Profs. Garbe, R. Pischel and Hillebrandt among others on the Continent of Europe.

Abundant information has already been given as to the main facts of Bühler's career:— his services to Comparative Philology and to Indian Studies of a very wide range; mythology, Vedic and Sanskrit; Indian literature, ancient and modern, Sanskrit, Pali, Jain, Buddhist, legal, Belles Lettres; geography, chronology, epigraphy, archæology, palæography; history and philosophy, ancient and modern, religious, political, epic; grammar, lexicography, philology, law:— his many works, culminating in the great *Encyclopædia* unfinished at his death:— his efficiency as an official, a teacher, an organiser:— his exceeding skill as an Oriental and European linguist:— his many fine personal qualities, knowledge of human nature, tact and skill in bringing to the fore the better instincts of those with whom he was in contact:— his knowledge and energy as a collector of MSS. and his large-hearted generosity in their disposition:— his power of making and keeping friends.

There is, indeed, nothing for me to add to the long catalogue of Bühler's capacities and works accomplished, beyond making good one small deficiency, which after all it properly lies with me to supply, a list of his 85 contributions to this *Journal*, though it cannot be a full measure of the work he did for it, owing to his never-ending kindness in looking over and improving on the work of others less gifted and less completely equipped.

Bühler's Contributions to the Indian Antiquary.

1872.

1. On the Chandikasataka of Banabhatta.
2. Note on MSS. of the Atharvaveda.

3. Note on Valabhi.
4. On the Vrihatkatha of Kshemendra.

1873.

5. The Desisabda Samgraha of Hemachandra.
6. Abhinanda, the Gauda.
7. On the Authorship of the Ratnavali.
8. On a Prakrit Glossary entitled Paiyalachhi.
9. Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra ?

1874.

10. Letter : on the Bhandar of the Osval Jains of Jesalmer.

1875.

11. The Author of the Paialachhi.
12. A Grant of King Dhruvasena of Valabhi.
13. A Grant of King Guhasena of Valabhi.

1876.

14. Sanskrit MSS.; extract from the Preliminary Report.
15. Inscriptions from Kavi (2 papers).
16. Two Inscriptions from Jhalrapathan.
17. Grants from Valabhi.
18. A Grant of Chhittarajadeva, Mahamandalesvara of the Konkana.
19. Analysis of the first seventeen Sargas of Bilhana's Vikramankakavya.

1877.

20. Further Valabhi Grants.
21. Note on Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji's "Ancient Nagari Numerals."
22. A New Grant of Govinda III., Rathor.
23. Three New Asoka Edicts.
24. Eleven Land-Grants of the Chaulukyas of Anhilavad.
25. The Rajatarangini; extract from official report.

1878.

26. The Digambara Jainas.
27. Additional Note on Hastakavapra-Astakampron.
28. MSS. of the Mahabhashya from Kasmir.
29. Gujara Grants No. II.; The Umeta Grant of Dadda II.
30. Additional Valabhi Grants, Nos. IX.-XIV.
31. The Three New Edicts of Asoka.
32. Note on the Inscription of Rudradaman, translated by Bhagvanlal Indraji Pandit.

1879.

33. An Inscription of Govana III. of the Nikumbhavamsa.

1880.

34. Inscriptions from Nepal (with Bhagvanlal Indraji).

35. Valabhi Grant No. XV.

1881.

36. Sanskrit Manuscripts in Western India.

37. A New Kshatrapa Inscription.

38. Note on the Dohad Inscription of the Chaulukya king Jayasimhadeva.

39. Note on the word Siddham used in Inscriptions.

40. Forged Copper-plate Grant of Dharasena II. of Valabhi, dated Saka 400.

1882.

41. Inscriptions from the Stupa of Jagayyapetta.

42. On the Origin of the Indian Alphabet and Numerals.

43. Valabhi Grants No. XVII.; Grant of Siladitya II., dated Sam. 352.

1883.

44. The Dhiniki Grant of King Jaikadeva.

45. Rathor Grants, No. II.; Grant of Dhruva III. of Bharoch (with Dr. Hultzsch).

46. Grant of Dharanivaraha of Vadhvan.

47. The Ilichpur Grant of Pravarasena II. of Vakataka.

48. On the Relationship between the Andhras and the Western Kshatrapas.

49. An inscribed Royal Seal from Wala.

1884.

50. The Recovery of a Sanskrit MS.

51. Prof. Peterson's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.

52. Two Sanskrit Inscriptions in the British Museum.

53. Transcripts of the Dehli and Allahabad Pillar Edicts of Asoka.

54. Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji's Considerations on the History of Nepal.

1885.

55. A Note on a Second Old Sanskrit Palm-leaf MS. from Japan.

56. The Banawasi Inscription of Haritiputa-Satakamni.

57. Notice of Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle.

1886.

58. Valabhi Inscriptions, No. 18; a New Grant of Dharasena IV.

59. Beruni's Indica.

1887.

60. The Villages mentioned in the Gujarat Rathor Grants Nos. II. and IV.

1888.

61. Gujara Inscriptions, No. 3; a New Grant of Dadda II. or Prasantaraga.

62. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji.

1889.

63. Some Further Contributions on the Geography of Gujarat.

64. The Bagumra Grant of Nikumbhallasakti, dated in the Year 406.

65. Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the Year 1883-84.

1890.

66. Texts of the Asoka Edicts on the Delhi Mirat Pillar and of the Separate Edicts on the Allahabad Pillar.

67. Note on Harshavardhana's Conquest of Nepal.

68. Alberuni's India, Ed. Edward C. Sachau.

1891.

69. The Barabar and Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscriptions of Asoka and Dasaratha.

70. The Date of the Græco-Buddhist Pedestal from Hashtnagar.

1892.

71. The Dates of the Vaghela Kings of Gujarat.

1893.

72. Asoka's Sahasram, Rupnath and Bairat Edicts.

1894.

73. The Roots of the Dhatupatha not found in Literature.

74. Note on Prof. Jacobi's Age of the Veda and Prof. Tilak's Opinion.

75. Bulletin of the Religions of India (Dr. Morison's Transaltion).

1895.

76. The Origin of the Kharoshthi Alphabet.

1896.

77. Epigraphic Discoveries in Mysore.

78. A New Kharoshthi Inscription from Swat.

79. The Sohgaura Copper-plate.

80. A New Inscribed Græco-Buddhist Pedestal.

81. Apastamba's Quotations from the Puranas.

1897.

82. The Villages in the Gujarat Rashtrakuta Grants from Torkhede and Baroda.

83. The Origin of the Town of Ajmer and of its Name.

84. A Jaina Account of the End of the Vaghelas of Gujarat.

1898.

85. A Legend of the Jaina Stupa at Mathura.

To this last paper I was obliged to add a footnote to p. 54 of the volume for 1898, the very last page of the *Indian Antiquary* on which it was destined that Bühler's handiwork should appear: —"It is right to add that Dr. Bühler, my personal friend for many years and the greatest friend and supporter that the *Indian Antiquary* ever possessed, had no opportunity of seeing this, his last article, through the press."

And now, with thanks to those who have helped in this act of piety, I conclude these last words in memory of the universal scholar, whose loss our generation will not see replaced.

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